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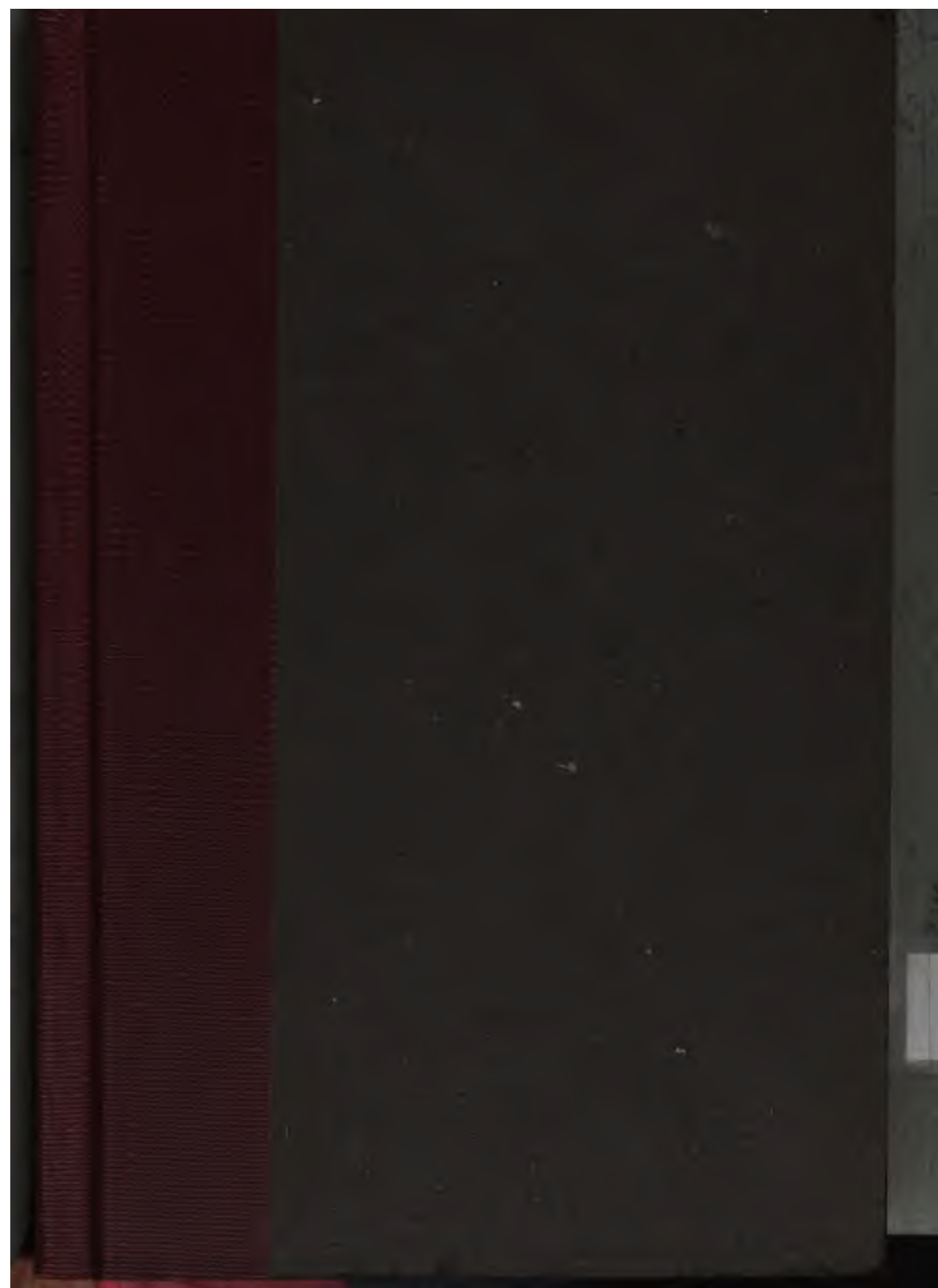
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THE ORIGIN AND AUTHORITY OF THE BIBLICAL CANON IN THE ANGLICAN CHURCH.

It has been often said that the English Reformation under Henry VIII differed from the Continental Reformation in that it was administrative and not doctrinal, and that the doctrinal reformation in England came later in the reign of Edward VI.

This is largely true, but it is not true of the greatest and most important of all the doctrinal changes that took place in the English Church in the sixteenth century, namely, the substitution of a new Bible for the old one which had been acknowledged as its Rule of Faith by the Western Church since its beginning.

When I say that the English reformers substituted a new Bible for the old one, I do not mean that they substituted a translation of the Bible into English for the old Latin Vulgate. Such translations had of course been made before. Nor yet that they introduced numerous corrections and changes into the text itself. The Latin Vulgate was, of course, undergoing revision from the earliest times.

What I mean is that they substituted a new canon for the old one, and ejected from the English Bible several books which had always been treated as canonical by the Church both in East and West, and pronounced them invalid and unauthoritative, and that in doing so they set up a new-fangled criterion of canonicity hitherto unrecognized by the Church, and thus separated themselves sharply and definitely from old and primitive tradition not merely in matters of ceremonial, or discipline, or interpretation of dogma, but in regard to the fundamental question of what rightly

constitutes the ultimate sanction of the Christian Faith and what gives the Bible its authority.

This position might be logically held by those continental reformers who discarded ecclesiastical tradition from their platform and fell back on internal intuition or some effort of private judgement to discriminate for them what was legitimate and what not in Scripture; but the Anglican Church took up no such position. It claimed to be essentially continuous with the mediaeval Church, and merely to discard the unauthorized accretions which had distorted the primitive purity of that Church. For a Church thus based upon attachment to primitive tradition wilfully and determinately to apply an entirely unauthorized criterion by which to test the canonicity of the Bible books would assuredly have been a proceeding as capricious and arbitrary as well could be.

I propose to shew that, while the Anglican Church no doubt did change its Biblical Canon, this was done indirectly and without consultation with, or the adhesion of, those with whom the Church tradition on such matters had hitherto rested. Having been so introduced it made its way gradually without any recorded protest or suspicion until the new canon had entirely occupied the ground, when it was virtually impossible to recall or undo what had been done, and the *status quo* was acquiesced in without further consideration or examination.

It will not be thought remarkable by those who have read the history of the sixteenth century with attention, that, at a time when men's minds and hearts were all on fire about concrete issues that were very practical, the introduction of a Bible Canon, which had been upheld by at least one Doctor of the Church in early times and by several individual scholars at various times afterwards and did not superficially seem to sacrifice much of real importance, should have been treated as of academic interest and ignored. What is strange is that in later times, when the controversies of that same century have been reviewed with more judicial eyes, the fateful importance of the change should not have been appreciated, and that the question should have been so perfunctorily and inadequately treated by Church historians and writers on the Bible.

The question is assuredly interesting and important enough to deserve the attention of every theologian. Its treatment involves a reference to some elementary matters.

Whatever may have been the attitude in earlier days, it is not to be doubted that the result of Lollardism was to produce in the public mind and in the mind of the clergy in England a feeling that that mixture of evangelicalism in religion and socialism in politics was largely connected with the popular reading of the Bible, and, if not to create, greatly to strengthen the prejudice against English translations of the Scriptures. The view current on the subject in the earlier part of Henry VIII's reign is well expressed in a letter addressed to the king by Dr Edward Lee, Archbishop of York. This letter is dated December 2, 1525, and refers to the impending arrival of Tindale¹ with his translation in England. In it he says *inter alia*:—‘I neede not to advertise your Grace what infection and daunger may ensue heerbie, if it be not withstonded. This is the next way to fulfill your Realme with Lutherians. For all Luther's perverse opinions bee grounded upon bar words of Scripture, not well taken ne ondrestonded. *All our forfadres, governors of the churche of England, hathe with all diligence forbid and eschued publication of Englishe bibles, as apperethe in constitutions provincially of the Church of England.*’²

With this objection to a Bible in the vernacular Henry VIII quite fell in. *Defensor fidei* was the title he probably most valued. In his answer to Luther he expressly says of the latter that he ‘fell into device with one or two lewd fellows born in this our realm for the translating of the New Testament into English’, and accordingly, as is well known, Tindale and his works were ruthlessly pursued by the English authorities.

To speak the truth, Tindale's New Testament was something more than a mere translation, and contained prologues to the books largely in the language and with the tendency of Luther. Its polemical marginal notes, the tone of which might well deserve the description ‘pestilent glosses’ from the orthodox, were also largely derived from Luther, and expressed his views; while in his published tracts Tindale more undisguisedly took Luther's standpoint, and plainly and forcibly attacked the Papacy and its teaching. On the title-page to his ‘Dialogue’, Sir Thomas More in fact links Tindale and Luther together in the phrase, ‘Touching the

¹ The name is so spelt in the only autograph of Tindale extant.

² Ellis *Hist. Lett.* 3rd ser. ii 71 seq.

pestilent sect of Luther and Tindale'. It was therefore largely as a supposed Lutheran and heretic and enemy of the Church, and not as a Bible translator in the first instance, that Tindale and his works were pursued. His offence as a translator of the Bible was a subsidiary one; for it was really the use made of such translations by the Reformers, like the similar use made of Wicliffe's translation by the Lollards, that made them distasteful and repugnant to the Church.

Tindale's translations from the Old Testament, however, did not in any way involve a departure from the old canon of the Church. When he was put to death he had published of the Old Testament the Pentateuch and the book of Jonah, with Lections from the Old Testament according to the use of Salisbury, which included lessons from Ecclesiasticus and Wisdom—that is from books treated as apocryphal in the later English Bibles.

In regard to Tindale's New Testament it has not, I think, been previously noticed that in the table of contents appended to the only fragment of the first edition which is extant, namely, that in the Grenville Library, he follows Luther precisely in detaching the Epistle to the Hebrews and those of James and Jude with the Apocalypse from the rest of the books, all of which except these four are consecutively numbered. The four books in question are further enumerated together at the end of the other Bible books and separated by a gap from the rest, so that it is clear Tindale accepted Luther's depreciatory treatment of these books. In the second edition of this New Testament, of which only two imperfect copies are known, the prefatory list of books is lost, but the four books in question, as in Luther's New Testament, are printed together in Luther's order and at the end of the Bible, thus confirming the testimony of the table of contents in the first edition.

Henry's opposition to a Bible in the English vernacular remained constant until his divorce from Katherine and his breach with the Pope in 1534. When his view on the matter was modified it was unquestionably under the powerful and adroit influence of his vicegerent, Cromwell.

Cromwell's exact attitude on many matters, warmly disputed in the sixteenth century, is not easy to gauge, but on one subject he seems to have held strong views and pressed them consistently, namely in regard to the wisdom and advantage of a new translation *of the Bible into the vernacular* and its dissemination among the

laity. In this view he was supported by Henry's archbishop, Cranmer, and apparently also at one time by More. It was difficult, however, to initiate a plan for carrying this out in England, not only because the king had committed himself so fiercely to the other view in the case of Tindale, and had to be carefully led into other ways, but also because the great mass of the clergy were opposed to it.

The matter had therefore to be carried out with some diplomacy. Convocation was induced, we do not know quite at whose instance, but probably at that of Cranmer, to petition the king *inter alia* that his Majesty would vouchsafe to decree that 'the Scriptures should be translated into the vulgar tongue by some honest and learned men to be nominated by the king, and to be delivered to the people according to their learning'.¹ This petition was formulated on December 19, 1534.

The request of Convocation probably affected Henry's opinion considerably. If we are to credit the reports of Chapuys and the other Spanish agents in London, he was further attracted towards the new venture by the fact that in the new translation it was possible to present more plausibly the critical texts, and notably Deuteronomy ch. xix, upon which the divorce from Katherine of Aragon was justified.² Meanwhile a new translation of the whole Bible had for some time been in preparation.

Notwithstanding Henry's prejudices the other way, Cromwell hardly disguised his own Lutheran sympathies. The English translation of the Augsburg Confession, and of Melancthon's 'Apology', by Taverner, published in 1636, was made, as is expressly said on the title-page, 'at the commandement of his Master the ryght honourable Master Thomas Cromwell, chefe secretare to the Kynges grace'. Taverner was a client of Cromwell's, and was appointed by him Clerk of the Privy Seal.

Probably with the knowledge and approval of Cromwell and Cranmer, Coverdale, a very competent Cambridge scholar, went abroad to Germany, where he consorted with Tindale and the continental reformers and where he found much literary help in his work and also the mechanical appliances to carry such a large

¹ Wilkins iii 769-770 and 776; Strype *Cranmer*, ed. 1840, i p. 34; see also *Calendar of State Papers of Henry VIII*, 1534, p. 581.

² See letter of Chapuys, date Feb. 25, 1536, and that of De Ortez in the *Calendar of State Papers of Henry VIII* vol. x p. 287.

printing undertaking through. Coverdale's work was complete and ready at the end of 1534, when, as we have seen, Convocation passed its resolution already named. Coverdale's Bible, however, was clearly not the sort of translation contemplated by that body. Previous translations of the Bible into English had been taken directly from the Vulgate, the recognized Bible of the Western Church, and had accepted without any question the canon of the Vulgate. Coverdale's Bible was a very different book altogether. He turned from the Vulgate to the new Bibles of Luther and Zwingli not only in regard to his text, but also in regard to the Biblical Canon, in which he completely abandoned the old Catholic usage and like the continental reformers, adopted a brand-new canon. This was a great and critical innovation in the treatment of the Bible in England, where hitherto no distinction had been made in regard to the relative authority of its several books, all having been treated as similarly canonical.

Following his German guides and the example of the Zurich Bible of 1524-9, which he accepted as his prototype, Coverdale, for the first time in England, separated a number of the Bible books from the rest, and printed them in a special class at the end of the Old Testament with a new and special heading. He did this without any kind of authoritative sanction, apparently accepting the arguments and *obiter dicta* of the German reformers as conclusive.

Immediately after the 'prologue to the reader' in Coverdale's Bible we have a list of the books of the Bible and how they are named in English and Latin, with the number of chapters in each and the number of the pages where they begin. These books are separated into four series, one of which has the heading 'The Apocrypha', with the following list of books beneath it in 'abbreviacion': 'III. Esdre. IIII. Esdre. Tob. Iudith. Certayne Chapiters of Hester. Sap. Eccli. Sus. Bel. I. Mac. II. Mac.' Then follows the list of the New Testament books which, like Tindale's, adopts Luther's order and, as in Luther's New Testament, Hebrews, James, Jude, and Revelation are printed at the end of the Bible.

Thus for the first time in these realms the so-called Apocryphal books were separated from the canonical ones and put into a distinct class and labelled with a ban of inferiority. Neither

the Prayer of Manasses nor the third book of Maccabees occurs in Coverdale's Bible at all.

Turning to the actual text of the Bible we find immediately after the book of 'Malachy' a fresh title-page, with the heading 'Apocripha'. . . 'The bokes and treatises which amonge the fathers of olde are not rekened to be of like authorite with the other bokes of the byble, nether are they fōude in the Canon of the Hebrue.' Then follows a list of the books given above, with the titles at greater length, ending up with the phrase, 'Vnto these also belongeth Baruc, whom we have set amōge the prophetes next vnto Ieremy, because he was his scribe, and in his tyme'. This apologia, based on the fact that the excluded books were not found in Hebrew, was taken over from the Zurich Bible by Coverdale, and was supplemented by a still longer apology which I must be allowed to quote, since the occasion was a very critical one in the history of our Canon. On the back of the second title-page just referred to we have an address from the translator to the reader in these words:—

'These bokes (good reader) which be called Apocrypha, are not iudged amonge the doctours to be of like reputacion with the other scripture, as thou mayest perceave by S. Ierome in *epistola ad Paulinum*. And the chefe cause therof is this: there be many places in them, that seme to be repugnaunt vnto the open and manyfest trueth in the other bokes of the byble. Neuertheles I haue not gathered them together to the intent that I wolde haue them despysed, or little sett by, or that I shulde thinke them false, for I am not able to proue it: Yee I doute not verely, yf they were equally conferred with the other open scripture (tyme, place, and circumstaunce in all thinges considered) they shulde nether seme contrary, ner be vntruly & peruersly alledged. Treuth it is: A mā's face can not be sene so wel in a water, as in a fayre glasse: nether cā it be shewed so clearly in a water that is stered or moued, as in a styll water. These & many other darck places of scripture haue bene sore stered and myxte with blynde and cuvetous opynions of men, which have caste soch a myst afore the eyes of y^e symple, that as longe as they be not cōferred with the other places of scripture, they shall not seme other wyse to be vnderstonde, then as cuvetousnes expoundeth them. But who so euer thou be that readest scripture, let the holy goost be thy teacher, and let one text expounde another vnto the: As for soch dreames, visions and darck sentences as be hyd from thy vnderstandinge, commytte them vnto God and make no articles of

them: But let the playne text be thy gyde, and the sprete of God (which is the author therof) shal lede the in all trueth.

‘As for the prayer of Salomō (which thou findest not herin) y^e prayer of Azarias, and the swete songe that he and his two felowes songe in the fyre: the first (namely the prayer of Salomon) readest thou in the eight chapter of the thirde boke of the kynges, so that it appeareth not to be *Apo-cryphum*; The other prayer and songe (namely of the thre children) haue I not founde amonge eny of the interpreters, but onely in the olde latyn texte, which reporteth it to be of Theodotios translacion. Neuertheles, both because of those y^t be weake and scrupulous, and for their sakes also that loue soch swete songes of thankesgeuinge: I haue not left them out: to the intent that the one shulde have no cause to complayne, and that the other also might haue the more occasion to geue thankes vnto God in aduersite, as the thre children dyd in the fyre. Grace be with the. Amen.

This remarkable address contains Coverdale's apology for, and explanation of, the new departure which he was taking. As I have said, it was entirely his own private composition and was appended to his translation without any ecclesiastical sanction of any kind, nor have we any reason to believe that before his Bible had itself been issued it had been even seen by any person with any authority to sanction it, certainly not by the bishops or by Convocation. Nor were they consulted about it after it was introduced, but on the contrary the introduction of it into the realm was absolutely irregular and furtive, so that there was no opportunity for protest.

No royal licence was obtained for its issue. There is no statement on its title-page that it was so licensed, and there can be no doubt that legally and according to all precedent the issue of the book was quite irregular, and might have subjected its author and printers to sharp penalties if those in high authority, like Cromwell and the archbishop, had not tacitly looked at it with a perfectly friendly eye. Although it no doubt circulated widely over the realm, it did so only as a private venture, and was apparently quite ignored by Convocation and the clergy. It was in fact very different from the translation contemplated by Convocation, viz. one to be ‘made by some honest and learned men to be nominated by the king and to be delivered to the people according to their learning’. It is quite plain from the fact that Convocation presented a second petition to the king in 1536 in favour of a new translation that it was not satisfied with Coverdale's.

In the year 1537 there appeared two new editions of Coverdale's Bible, one in folio printed at Southwark by James Nycolson, which was also unlicensed and unauthorized. In it the book of Baruch was separated from Jeremiah and definitely placed immediately after Tobit with the title 'The prophet Baruch'.

The other edition was in quarto. There is no special variation in its text, but there is a very remarkable innovation on its title-page, for on it we read for the first time 'Sett foorth with the Kynges most Gracious lycence'. Like the preceding editions this one, however, had no ecclesiastical sanction of any kind. It was never submitted to Convocation for approval, nor yet to any persons in authority in the Church, and the licence to sell it was the mere personal act of the king working through his lieutenant Cromwell. This personal intervention of the king in a matter dealing, not with the administration of the Church, but with such an important question as the issue and circulation of a particular Canon and text of the Bible, was possibly the most extravagant exercise of royal prerogative in religious matters which occurred in Henry's reign, and yet it has been scarcely noticed in the vast turmoil of discussion that his various acts initiated.

There cannot be any doubt that under the logical and unbending Erastian counsels of Cromwell, and during the dominance of that minister, Henry treated the royal supremacy not as a titular supremacy, but as a real one. In Cromwell's eyes, and in the eyes of the king until Cromwell's death, whatever power had lodged in the Pope as head of the Church passed to the king in the same capacity. He claimed to be as much the head of the spirituality as of the laity, and it was really for resisting this claim that More and Fisher died. Chapuys was quite accurate in describing the new supremacy as a new papacy.¹ When he pleased he consulted Convocation and asked its views, and when

¹ The Elector of Saxony, the head of the Lutheran league, similarly declared that Henry's only object in the Reformation was to become head of the Church. This was no more than the Lutherans themselves did when they constituted their temporal rulers *summi Episcopi*. We can hardly doubt that but for Henry's insistence on this claim, combined with his determined orthodoxy in doctrinal matters, the English Church would at this time under the influence of Cromwell and Cranmer have adopted the Augsburg Confession and become Lutheran. It is perfectly plain also that if Henry was to give the character of strict legality to his divorce, the enforcement of which was his only quarrel with Rome, he must either deny or appropriate the Pope's dispensing power in matrimonial causes.

he pleased he dispensed with the appeal, but in either case he claimed that the efficient administrative act was his own. No one can read the history of the years 1534-40 without feeling this at every moment. While the king was thus supreme, and claimed that he was specially illuminated in virtue of his divine right to judge of things spiritual as well as of things temporal, he deputed with singular confidence a great deal of very delicate and far-reaching power in matters involving theological issues to his vicegerent Cromwell, whom for some years he implicitly trusted and who was certainly devoted to his ideals, and had the courage to press them whatever the consequences might be.

The licence to print and sell Coverdale's Bible made the issue of the book legal and protected it against prosecution, but it clearly did not, except on quite ultra-Erastian grounds, give it any ecclesiastical sanction, since neither Convocation nor the authorities of the Church were in any wise consulted about it. All that it proved was that a Bible in which certain books were evicted from the Canon and placed in a separate section was issued with royal licence in England for the first time. It is hardly likely that the king's attention was specially drawn to the innovation in regard to the Canon in the book, or, if it had been, that he would have been competent to decide, as a theologian, as to its legitimacy. There can hardly be a doubt, however, that the licence greatly assisted its circulation.

It is clear that in this respect as in others Coverdale, to use Westcott's phrase, had 'established a precedent, and his successors were found at once to avail themselves of it'. The first of them was John Rogers, who was responsible for another English Bible, which was known as Matthew's Bible, and which was largely based on the text of Coverdale, whose Canon it adopted, merely adding to the books printed by the latter the Prayer of Manasses, which was now first translated into English and first appears among the Apocrypha in this Bible; this addition was the mere arbitrary act of the translator and had never been subjected to authoritative decision. This Bible also was printed abroad, and the first copies of it reached England in August 1537. Cromwell shewed the king a copy, and although the translation incorporated Tindale's, which had been so ruthlessly suppressed, he obtained a licence for it too to be bought and read in the

kingdom. As Westcott says, 'By Cranmer's petition, by Cromwell's influence, and by Henry's authority *without any formal ecclesiastical sanction*, the book was given to the English people'.¹

In Matthew's Bible there is also a second title-page after 'Malachy' with the title, 'The volume of the bokes called Apocripa: Contayned in the comen Transl. in Latyne, whych are not founde in the Hebrue nor in the Chalde. The register thereof. The thyrd boke of Esdras. The fourth boke of Esdras. The boke of Tobiah. The boke of Iudith. The reast of the boke of Hester. The boke of Wysdome. Ecclesiasticus. Baruch the Prophete. The songe of the .iij. Chyldrē in the ouē. The storye of Susanna. The storye of Bel and the Dragon. The prayer of Manasseh. The fyrst boke of the Machabees. The second boke of the Machabees.'

In this Bible Luther's order of the New Testament books was maintained as in Tindale's and Coverdale's New Testaments, and the four books Luther had treated with contumely were also placed at the end of the Bible.

In this edition we have a new *apologia* for the separation of the Apocrypha from the other books of the Bible which was literally translated from the French Bible generally known as Olivetan's published in 1535: it was from the same French Bible that the text of the Prayer of Manasses, in Matthew's translation, was chiefly derived. Behind the second title-page in Matthew's Bible we find:—

'TO THE READER.

'In consyderacyon that the bokes before are founde in the Hebrue tonge, receaved of all men: & that the other folowyng, which are called Apocripa (because they were wont to be reade, not openly & in comen, but as it were in secret and aparte) are nether founde in the Hebrue nor in the Chalde: in which tonges they haue not of longe bene written (in lesse then it were happily the boke of Sapience) wher-vpon it were now very harde to repayre & amende them: And that also they are not receaved nor taken as legyttimate and leafull, as well of the Hebrues as of the whole Church, as S. Hierome sheweth: we haue separat them, and sett them asyde, that they may the better be knownen: to thintent that men maye knowe of which bokes witnes ought to be receaved, and of which not. For the sayde S. Hierome speakinge of the boke of Iudith (which is Apocriphe) sayth, that the autoryte

¹ Westcott *English Bible*, ed. A. Wright, 71.

therof is not esteemed worthy & suffycient to confyrme and stablysh the thynges that lyght in dysputacyon. And generally of all the bokes called Apocripa, he sayth, that men maye reade them to the edyfyinge of the people: but not to confyrme & strengthen the doctryne of the Church. I leave oute here the lawe (as they call it) of Canon .c. Sancta Romana .xv. distinct. where he sheweth his iudgmēt. Lykewyse the Glose of .c. Canones .xvj. distinct. which sayth, that men reade thē, but not in generall: as though he shulde saye, that generally and thorowly they are not alowed. And not wythout a cause: For that they haue bene corrupted and falsyfied in many places, it appeareth sufficiently by Eusebius in his boke callud *Historia Ecclesiastica*: Which thinge is easye to be knowē euē now a dayes in certē poyntes, namely in the bokes of the Machabees: whose second boke S. Hiero. cōfesseth that he founde not in the Hebrue, by the meanes wherof it is become vnto vs the more suspect and the lesse receaued. In lyke maner is it of the thyrd and fourthe boke of Esdras, which S. Hierome protesteth that he wolde not haue translated, esteamyng them for dreames: where as Iosephus yet in his boke of his Antiquities declareth ye summe of the matter after the maner of a storye, as well of the boke of Machabees as of the .iiij. of Esdras: although he esteame the bokes compyled from the raygne of King Artaxerses vnto hys tyme, to be Apocripa.

‘Wherfore then, when thou wylt manteyne any thyng for certen, rendryng a reason of thy fayth, take heade to proceade therin by the lyuyng & pyththe Scriptures, folowinge S. Peter, which sayth: He that speaketh, let hym speake as though he spake the worde of God. He sayth the worde of God, as a thyng most true & certen, opened by the Prophetes & Apostles, inspyred with the holy goost: of whom we haue wytnesse moare cleare then the daye. Lawers hauynge greate desyre to confyrme and stablysh their opynyons by the lawe of man, saye, that they shame to speake wythout lawe: How moch more feare and dreade then ought he to haue, that sayth he is a Chrystyan, the whych holdeth not hym selfe, or reasteth not in the lawes of the lyvyng God: but in mennes invencyons, iudgyng of all thynges accordyng to them, and leanyng to an vncertain ymagynacyon & phantasye? Let vs therfore that are buylded on the foundacyon of the holy Prophetes & Apostles, and on the head corner stone (on which they them selues were fōūded, and which they preached, that is Iesus Christ, the suer stone) leaue the thinges that are vncerten to folowe the certē: holdinge vs and reastyng vs in them, and fasteninge oure ancre there, as in a sure place. For oure Christen fayth consysteth not in doutefull thinges, but in playne & moost certen assurance, & in moost true persuasyon, taken and confyrmed by infallible verite. In which God graunte vs to walcke perpetuallye, to thintent that accordyng

to it (fulfyllynge his holy wyll in vs, & settynge asyde all inuencyons contrary vnto hym) we maye lyue to hys honour, and to the edyfyinge of hys Church. So be it.'

Wilkins in his *Concilia*, p. 815, prints a copy of a Royal Ordinance issued to the Clergy, dated 1538, and ordering that before the Festival of the Nativity next, one book of the whole Bible of the largest volume in English should be set up by the Curate by some convenient day in every Church, the charge to be borne equally by the parson and the parishioners. This, as Anderson says, clearly refers to Matthew's Bible which was two inches longer than Coverdale's.

This injunction shews how completely Convocation and the authorities of the English Church were supplanted in the matter of issuing the Bible by Cromwell acting as the king's Vicar-General, and how lacking in all essential ecclesiastical authority the new Bible was.

The royal licence for the printing and publishing of Matthew's Bible was in fact presently followed by certain letters patent dated November 14, 1539, decreeing that no person 'should attempt to print any Bible in the English tongue during the space of five years but only such as should be deputed and approved by the said Lord Cromwell'.¹

Taverner's Bible which was also published in 1539 was a revision of Matthew's Bible, and was so named from its author, a very competent scholar. It contains as usual at the beginning a list of the books in the Bible. The Old Testament part is divided into three portions, headed respectively 'the bokes of the Olde Testament', 'the Prophets', and 'the Apocrypha'. In the list following this last heading is a variant not found in Matthew's Bible. The eighth item reads: 'Baruch the Prophet, *with the epistle of Jeremye*.' The words in italics are not found in the special title-page to the section containing the Apocrypha, although as usual the 'Epistle' is printed in the text, forming the sixth chapter of Baruch. In other respects the title-page follows that of Matthew's Bible. What is more singular, however, is that in this edition there is no prologue or apology explaining the separate and peculiar treatment of the so-called Apocryphal

¹ Strype *Eccles. Mem.* i 546.

books as in Coverdale's and Matthew's, and it is the first English Bible in which the omission occurs.

In the New Testament in Taverner's Bible, Hebrews, James, Jude, and Revelation are, as in the previous Bibles which followed Luther's example, printed together at the end of the whole Bible, and not in their usual place in the text.

Meanwhile, under the influence of Cromwell, Coverdale was commissioned to revise and correct his former translation. The new edition, known as the Great Bible, was printed in Paris and London, and issued in 1539, 'Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum'. On the fine engraved title-page to this Bible the king, Cranmer, and Cromwell are all represented in full-length figures with their usual coats of arms. The king hands the Bible with either hand to Cranmer and Cromwell, and Cranmer and Cromwell do the same to the clergy and the laity respectively, while the crowd, represented by men and women, each carry a label on which we read *Vivat Rex* or 'God save the King'. In this Bible the same apologetic preface to the Apocrypha is found as occurs in Matthew's Bible already quoted. The word Apocrypha, however, does not occur in it, but is replaced by that of Hagiographa, which is also variously spelt Hagiogrypha and Aagiographa. Precisely the same things are said of the Hagiographa that were said in Matthew's Bible of the Apocrypha and the two names are in fact used as synonyms. It is important to note that in this Bible Luther's order of the New Testament books is abandoned for that previously in vogue in the Church.

According to Westcott there is no evidence that Cranmer had anything to do with the preparation of the Great Bible, and I need not say that he had no direct part in its authorization. This was entirely Cromwell's work. When Cromwell was attainted his arms were erased from the title-page, so that they only appear in the first three editions.

Cranmer no doubt approved of the new Bible and wrote a special preface for its second edition, whence that and five subsequent editions, which appeared in 1540 and 1541, came to be known as Cranmer's Bible, although Coverdale was entirely responsible for their contents.

In this second edition, April 1540, an entirely new title-page was engraved for 'the Hagiographa' with a number of small

pictures relating to incidents in the books. In this edition for the first time we have the inscription: 'This is the Byble apoynted to the vse of the churches.'

In May, 1540, it was ordered that 'the Great Bible' should be provided by the curates and parishioners of each parish, for notwithstanding fresh injunctions many parishes still lacked Bibles. This was to be done before All Saints' Day following, subject to a fine of 40s. a month. The proclamation also fixed the price at 10s. a book unbound, and well bound and clasped not more than 12s., and charged all ordinaries to see this carried out.

These ordinances no doubt gave a great impetus to the spread of this Bible over the whole land, giving a corresponding prestige to its contents.

The fourth edition of the Great Bible, which is otherwise like the three earlier ones, has the arms of Cromwell erased on the title-page. Although dated on the title-page 1540, the colophon is dated December 1541. The delay in its issue was doubtless due to Cromwell's death.

The fifth edition, dated May 28, 1541, contains some notable changes. The arms of Cromwell are erased as in the previous one, and the list of deuterocanonical books at the beginning is headed as before 'The books of Hagiographa'; but in the second title-page the heading 'The IIII part of ye Byble contayning these bookes' is substituted for it, while the introduction to the books themselves is cancelled.

This is the first 'Great Bible' in which the books in question are not introduced by a special preface, and called either Apocrypha or Hagiographa; and in both respects the change was a conservative one and tended to minimize the difference between them and the other books.

The fact that Cranmer wrote a preface to these Bibles in no sense implies that they had any authoritative sanction from the Church. It was a private and personal act of his own, in which neither the other English bishops nor Convocation had any part. This is plain from Cranmer's own words on the fourth page of the preface in question, in which he says:—

'The kynges hyghnes beyinge supreme hede nexte under Christe of thys Church of Englande hath approued with his royall assente the setting furthe herof, which onely to all true and obedient subjectes

ought to be a sufficiente reason, for the allowance of the same, without further delaye, reclamation or resystaunce although there were no preface nor other reason hearin expressed.'

On the title-page of the third and fourth editions as on that of the second we have the words: 'This is the Byble apoynted to the use of the churches.' The meaning of the phrase is made plain by the title of the fourth and sixth editions of the same Bible, already named (which were apparently published in November 1540 and November 1541¹) where it is thus enlarged:—

'The Byble in Englyshe of the largest and greatest volume, auctorized and apoynted by the commaundement of oure moost redoubted prynce and souueraigne Lord Kynge Henrye the VIII supreme head of this his church and realme of Englande: to be frequented and vsed in every church wⁱⁿ this his sayd realme, accordynge to the tenoure of hys former Injunctions geuen in that behalfe. Ouersene and perused at the commaundemet of the kynges hyghnes by the ryght reuerende fathers in God Cuthbert bysshop of Duresme and Nicolas bisshop of Rochester.'

It is notable that, while these two Bibles contain the names of two strongly Catholic Bishops on the title-pages, that of Cranmer is not found on them as before. Neither of the words *Apocrypha* and *Hagiographa* occurs in them, the books so called elsewhere being simply headed 'The bookes of the fourth parte', nor is there any preface to them.

Whatever sanction therefore the Great Bibles had in the Church came directly from the king's prerogative, exercised at the instance of Cromwell, and from no adequate ecclesiastical tribunal.

How definitely this was so is shewn by the fact that soon after Cromwell was executed on July 28, 1540, notwithstanding Cranmer's private devotion to the cause, the printing of the Bible ceased. No Bibles, in fact, were printed in English between 1541 and 1547, that is, during the rest of Henry VIII's reign. As Foxe tells us, its sale was stopped, and Grafton the

¹ The former Bible is also dated 1541 on the title-page, but November 1540 in the colophon. It would seem that on Cromwell's death, which took place at this time, there was some delay in bringing out this edition, and that the names of the two bishops on its title-page mean little more than that there was a necessity for some one in authority to license the Bible in the place of Cromwell, for the alterations in it are few and unimportant. It is noteworthy that in these two Bibles Cromwell's arms on the title-page are also erased.

printer of the previous Bibles was sent to the Fleet prison, where he remained for 6 weeks and was bound in a sum of 300*l.* neither to 'sell nor imprint or cause to be imprinted any mo Bibles until the King and the Clergy should agree upon a translation. And thus was the Bible from that time stayed during the reign of King Henry VIII'.¹

The phrase, 'until the King and the Clergy should agree upon a translation', is particularly important in regard to the issue I am elucidating, for it shews that the existing English Bibles were looked upon as unauthoritative and unsatisfactory. In 1541 and 1542 a fresh effort was made in Convocation in the king's name to get a more acceptable translation of the New Testament made, but it broke down in consequence of the disagreement of Cranmer and Gardiner as to the kind of translation contemplated and who was to make it. As Westcott says, 'Convocation was no more consulted on the subject'. After the accession of Edward VI the disabilities on the printing of the Bible were removed, but it was not for two years, namely till 1549, that the whole Bible was again printed and issued. Between that date and Queen Mary's accession on July 6, 1553, several reprints of Coverdale's, Matthew's, Taverner's, and the Great Bible were issued, in every case except two containing one or other of the apologetic prefaces to the Apocrypha already named. One copy dated in 1549, published by Edward Whitchurche, has a separate title-page for the so-called Apocrypha entitled 'Apogrypha, the fourth parte of the Bible containinge these bookes', &c. Another was published by the same printer and is dated 1553. It also has a separate title-page which is inscribed 'The volume of the bokes called Hagiographa'. This is also a Great Bible version.

One Bible only, Becke's, a revised edition of Taverner's text, issued in Edward VI's reign, namely in 1549-1551, and printed by John Day and William Seres, is notable for our purpose. This was issued in several volumes, one of them being specially devoted to the Apocrypha. In this edition the books of 3 Esdras, Tobit, and Judith are entirely retranslated, the Greek version being used as well as the Latin, while that of 3 Maccabees appears in English for the first time. The latter

Foxe Acts and Monuments, ed. Townsend-Pratt, v p. 412.

fact again proves how perfectly arbitrary was the method adopted by these translators in excluding from or adding to the list of books in the Bible. The Prayer of Manasses also occurs in this edition. It further contains a new special address to the reader justifying the separation of the so-called Apocrypha, which is thus worded:—

'Good Christian reader you shall vnderstand that in these bokes cōmonly called Apocripa we haue takē the laboures to cōfer them with the ttranslation of Leo Juda, and finde therein more thē is contained in our cōmon Bibles, it was thought good to learned men to supply our want by their exāples. And because we lacked so much in some bokes, that it was more easy to translate them a new, then briefly to note the defect, we haue euen so done as it dothe appeare to the reader, and where both the copies fully agreed, wee haue altered nothing in the cōmon translation. This we thought to warne the of (gētle reader) that thou shouldest not be offended with the variaciō of the text sith we haue done nothing rashely of our owne head nor without cause, and that the matter itselfe is nothing at al chaūged, when it is declared more at large. And although these bokes be not founde in the Hebreue nor in the Chalde & for that not takē of so great authoritie as be the other bokes of the holy Bible, yet haue the holi fathers alwaies so esteemed thē and worthely they call thē (Libros ecclesiasticos) that is to saye, bokes of the church, or bokes mete to be read among the whole congregacion namely for that thei do agree with the other bokes of the holy Bible and containe moste godly examples and preceptes of the feare and loue of God and our neyghboure. Wherefore they are diligentlie to be read, and the learning in them earnestly to be folowed that by our good example of liuyng the name of our heauenli father thorowout al nacions may be praised & glorified to whō onelie be honoure & glorie for euer Amen.'

Neither for this nor for any other Bible issued in Edward the Sixth's reign was there any sanction, however, beyond the mere royal licence. The 'Great Synod' of the Church had nothing to say to any of them. Let us now turn elsewhere.

In the year 1549 there was published the first edition of the Prayer Book.

In no respect was the English Church more contrasted with the other reformed communities (except the Lutherans) than in its book of Common Prayer, which was a perpetual grievance to the Puritans and the continental reformers who inspired them. In

spite of alterations, of the cutting down of redundancies and other changes, it retained in a very large measure the flavour and the matter of the Breviary and the Missal from which it was mainly compiled.

It is interesting to note that among the Offertory sentences in the Communion Service, the most solemn of all our services, which are otherwise all taken from the New Testament or the Psalms and Proverbs, two are taken from Tobit, chapter iv, and they remain in our present Prayer Book as they occur in the First Prayer Book of Edward VI. Again, in the invocation of God's blessing on the married pair in the Marriage Service in Edward the Sixth's first Prayer Book of 1549 we find the sentence, 'thou didst send thy angel Raphael to Thobie and Sara, the daughter of Raguel', &c. This sentence was omitted in subsequent editions of the book and a passage from the life of Abraham and Sarah was substituted for it. A more remarkable fact in this respect is that the Song of the Three Children, which we otherwise know as the *Benedicite*, was made into a canticle to be used as an occasional alternative to the Te Deum in the Morning Service. This was done in the First Prayer Book of Edward VI, and the canticle still remains untouched, although the sixth Article, as we shall see, put it into the Apocrypha.

Let us now turn to the Lectionary. The new lectionary of the English Prayer Book was in essence the old one translated into English. Lessons from saints' lives, &c., were no doubt omitted, but otherwise the old system of lessons was in principle retained. Notwithstanding the wide diffusion which the current English Bibles had attained and the familiarity which almost every household must have consequently acquired with the discrimination in them of the Bible books into Canonical and Apocryphal, the Lectionary remains a very potent piece of evidence to shew that no such distinction was recognized by the highest and paramount ecclesiastical authority in the realm, namely, Convocation. In 1549, as I have said, there appeared the first edition of the Prayer Book, known as the First Prayer Book of Edward VI. In that book there is not a word to shew that the Church recognized any distinction in authority between the books of the Bible as they had been received from primitive times. In its preface we read 'here . . . is ordeyned nothyng to be read, but the very pure

worde of God, the holy scriptures, or that whiche is euidently grounded vpon thesame'. On turning to the Kalendar which prescribes the daily lessons to be read throughout the year, we shall find that from October 5 to November 27 the first lesson, both morning and evening, is taken from the so-called apocryphal books, including Tobit (Toby, as it is called), Judith, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, and Baruch. Assuredly this testimony is not merely strong but conclusive as to the real attitude of the English Church towards the *Old Canon* in the year 1549. The same applies to the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI issued in 1552, and in which no alteration was made in the table of lessons.

During Mary's reign the printing and circulation of the English Bible was, of course, in abeyance.

Elizabeth succeeded to the throne on November 17, 1558. No new edition of the English Bible was printed until two years after this date, when the famous so-called Genevan Bible was issued by the English Puritan colony at Geneva. In the list of books on the back of its title-page the Prayer of Manasses is separated from the rest of the apocryphal books and put immediately after 2 Chronicles, with the word 'apocryphe' added to it. In this list Baruch is named with the Epistle of Jeremiah, and the latter is duly printed in the text forming the sixth chapter of Baruch. The third book of Maccabees is omitted.

There is no special title-page to the Apocrypha, but after Malachi the heading 'Apocrypha' is followed by 'The Argument':—

'These bokes that follow in order after the Prophetes vnto the Newe testament, are called Apocrypha, that is bokes, which were not receiued by a cōmune consent to be red and expounded publikely in the Church, nether yet serued to proue any point of Christian religion, saue in asmuche as they had the consent of the other Scriptures called Canonical to confirme the same, or rather whereon they were grounded: but as bokes from godlie men, were receiued to be red for the aduancement and furtherance of the knowledge of the historie, & for the instruction of godlie maners: which bokes declare that at all times God had an especial care of his Church and left them not vtterly destitute of teachers and meanes to confirme them, in the hope of the promised Messiah, and also witnessse that those calamities that God sent to his Church, were according to his prouidence, who had bothe so

threatened by his Prophetes, and so broght it to passe for the destruction of their enemies, and for the tryal of his children.'

The additions to Esther are headed 'Certeine porcions of the storie of Esther which are found in some Greke and Latin translations'.

In this Bible the order of the New Testament books is the old one and not that of Luther.

If the previous Bibles lacked ecclesiastical sanction in these realms, much more so did the Genevan Bible. It was produced at the instance of the Calvinistic English congregation at Geneva, who paid the cost of it and to whom the Calvinistic notes it contains were specially grateful. It became the favourite Bible of the English Puritans, and between 1560 and 1644 we are told that 140 editions of it were printed. On January 8, 1561, John Bodley received from Queen Elizabeth a patent for the exclusive right to print this Bible in England for seven years. The Great Bible continued, however, to be the official Bible. In its editions of 1561 and 1562 we read on the title-page, 'accordynge to the translation that is appoynted to be red in the churches'. In that of 1566, 'according to the translation apoynted by the Queenes Majesties Injunctions to be read in all churches within her Majesties realme', which shews that the authorization, as in Henry's reign, was still a matter of the royal prerogative. It is perfectly plain therefore that up to this date no English Bible had been issued in these realms whose contents had been examined or authorized by Convocation or by any competent and adequate ecclesiastical authority. They had merely been issued with the royal licence, but without any guarantee that their contents were legitimate, and their authors were all private and irresponsible scholars who had absolutely no authority to commit the English Church to anything, much less to the drastic revolution involved in a pronouncement that certain books hitherto received by the Church were illegitimate and uncanonical, and in the ejection of them accordingly from the Bible text.

This view was practically and completely endorsed in 1559 when Queen Elizabeth's revised Prayer Book was issued, and when precisely the same lessons from the same books (all of them classed in the current Bibles as apocryphal) were prescribed to be read morning and evening on every day from October 5

to November 27, as in Edward VI's two Prayer Books, and others on several holydays, and were therefore pronounced most authoritatively to be 'the very pure word of God, the holy scriptures or that which is evidently grounded on the same'.

We have now reached a period, however, when the English Church through its Convocation made a distinct pronouncement on the contents of its Bible which looks like an entirely new departure. This was in the famous Convocation of 1562-3, in which the Thirty Nine Articles were first passed and authorized.

In the Forty Two Articles issued in Edward VI's reign there is no enumeration of Bible books whatever. This first occurs in the Articles of the year 1562, when it is appended to the fifth article of the previous series with the heading *Sacrae scripturae nomine, eos canonicos libros veteris et novi Testamenti intelligimus, de quorum auctoritate, in Ecclesia nunquam dubitatum est*. Then follows a list of the Old Testament canonical books only. After which comes another heading, namely, *Alios autem libros (ut ait Hieronymus) legit quidem Ecclesia, ad exempla vitae, et formandos mores; illos tamen ad dogmata confirmanda non adhibet: ut sunt, Tertius liber Esdrae, Quartus liber Esdrae, Liber Tobiae, Liber Judith, Sapientia, Iesus filius Sirach, Libri Machabaeorum* 2. After this we read *Novi Testamenti libros omnes (ut vulgo recepti sunt) recipimus, et habemus pro canonicis*.¹

This, the sixth of the Thirty Nine Articles, is an extraordinary pronouncement. Westcott could not repress his astonishment that no historian of the Articles had called attention to its patent ambiguities which he does not profess to solve, and which he can only explain as an attempt to satisfy two contending parties in the Church. The result, whether a compromise or not, has ended in an utterly confused and unintelligible phraseology, which entirely destroys any supposed virtue or authority in the article in question.

First we have the contradiction between its initial and its last clause in which two different criteria of canonicity are involved. In the initial clause we read *eos canonicos libros veteris et novi Testamenti intelligimus de quorum auctoritate, in Ecclesia nunquam dubitatum est*. Hardwick, in his monograph on the Articles,

¹ Cardwell *Synodalia* i pp. 37 sq.

traces this phrase directly to the Wurtemberg Confession of 1552, in the clause of which *de Sacra Scriptura* we read *Sacram scripturam vocamus eos Canonicos libros veteris et novi Testamenti de quorum auctoritate in Ecclesia nunquam dubitatum est*. The English Article, therefore, is virtually a transcript of the Lutheran.

The first criterion in question, as will be seen, is applied in the Articles both to the Old and to the New Testament, and the statement is followed by a list of the books which conform to it. Then comes, à propos of nothing, an entirely new and otherwise inconsistent criterion applied only to the New Testament books, namely, *libros omnes (ut vulgo recepti sunt) recipimus et habuimus pro canonicis*. How we are to reconcile these two statements is indeed a puzzle, for it is quite plain that the New Testament books accepted as canonical in 1562 by the English Church had not always been so accepted and were not even so accepted by Luther, nor by Tindale, nor, it would appear, by Coverdale. It is plain, therefore, that while the closing clause of the Article is merely an 'identical expression' and affirms that the books of the New Testament previously cited are to be alone deemed canonical, that statement cannot be equated with the initial phrase which applies to the New Testament as well as the Old.

When we turn to what is said of the Old Testament, apart from the New, the contradiction is still more marked, for it is plain that the books there classed as apocryphal were, for the most part, once considered canonical both by the Eastern and by the Western Church, while some others, like Canticles and Esther, which were now classed as canonical, had notoriously been disputed alike in ancient and in modern times. No wonder that critics from various sides have assailed this Article as absurd, contradictory, and meaningless. Thus Dr Salmon, a very learned churchman, points out the impossibility of reconciling the statement in the Article with the facts, and refers to the inaccuracy of its language (*Introduction to the New Testament* pp. 529-530). The Jesuit Father Hunter says of the Article, 'It will be observed that it sets up different standards for the Old and New Testament. In both cases it rests on the general acceptance of the books by the Church. This is the true Catholic principle, but it is totally inconsistent with the teaching of another clause in the same Article,

which insists on the sufficiency of Scripture as the Rule of Faith. In the application, however, of this rule to the Old Testament, it is required that there never should have been any doubt, while for the New, the actual consent of the Church in the year 1571, when the Articles were finally put into their present form, is held to be sufficient; and no account is taken of the grave doubts which once existed as to the authority of the seven deuterocanonical Books' (*Outlines of Dogmatic Theology* pp. 206, 207). I do not know how this can be answered. A similar objection is raised by the learned Nonconformist, Dr S. Davidson, in his history of the Canon. Thus he says: 'The article is ambiguous. If the canonical books enumerated are those meant in the phrase "of whose authority was never any doubt in the Church", the statement is incorrect. If a distinction is implied between the canonical books and such canonical ones as have never been doubted in the Church the meaning is obscure. In either case the language is not explicit' (*The Canon of the Bible*, third edition, pp. 243, 244).

The Article in question is not merely contradictory with itself and unintelligible, but it is also inconsistent with another Article, namely, the thirty-fifth, in which we read: 'The second book of Homilies, the several titles whereof we have joined under this Article, doth contain a godly and wholesome Doctrine, and necessary for these times, as doth the former book of Homilies which were set forth in the time of Edward the Sixth; and therefore we judge them to be read in churches by the Ministers, diligently and distinctly that they may be understood of the people.'

It was Dr Pusey who first pointed out the importance of this Article in reference to the issue we are discussing, and shewed what were the views on the Canon held by those who were responsible for the books of Homilies, who, it will be remembered, included *inter alios* Cranmer, Bonner, Harpsfield, Becon (Cranmer's chaplain), and probably Ridley and Latimer, Jewel, Grindal, Pilkington, and Parker, men therefore representing different schools of thought. The first book, which was issued in 1547, is entitled 'Certayne sermons or homilies appoynted by the Kynges Majesty to be declared and redde by all persones, vicars or curates every Sondag in their churches where they have cure'. The second was issued in 1563, that is to say, a year after the promulgation of Elizabeth's first

Articles, and is declared to be 'set out by the auctoritie of the Quene's Majestie and to be read in every Parish Church agreeablye'.

It is important, therefore, to learn how the so-called Apocryphal books were treated in the Homilies and by the men named. As Dr Pusey says, they are quoted forty-three times either in the body of the Homilies or in the margins—and how are they referred to?

In the Homily on the *Misery of Mankind*, Pt. I: '*The Holy Ghost, in writing the Holy Scripture is in nothing more diligent than to pull down man's vain glory . . . and therefore we read in many places of Scripture many notable lessons against this old rooted vice . . . we read that Judith, Esther, Job, Jeremy, with other holy men and women in the Old Testament did use sack cloth, &c. The Book of Wisdom also . . . moveth us diligently. . . . And, Almighty God commanded his prophet Esay to make proclamation,*' &c.

In that on the *Fear of Death*, Pt. III: 'The fathers of the old law . . . did by death depart . . . unto joyful refreshing in Abraham's bosom as the Scriptures do plainly by manifest words testify. *The Book of Wisdom* saith that . . . (Wisdom iii 1, &c.), and in another place . . . (v. 15), and in another . . . (iv. 7).'

In that on *Alms-deeds*, Pt. II: 'Give alms, saith he, . . . The same lesson doth the Holy Ghost also teach in sundry places of the Scripture saying, "Mercifulness and alms-giving . . ." (Tobit iv). The wise preacher, the son of Sirach, confirmeth the same, when he saith, "That as water quencheth burning fire, even so mercy and alms resisteth and reconcileth sins".'

In that *Against Peril of Idolatry*, Pt. I: 'Agreeable hereunto are many other notable places in the Old Testament. . . . Read the thirteenth and fourteenth chapters of the book of Wisdom concerning idols and images, . . . The weakness, vileness, and foolishness, in device of the images is expressed at large in the Scriptures; namely, the Psalms, the book of Wisdom, the prophet Esaias, Ezekiel, and Baruch, specially in these places of them . . . Wisdom xiii, xiv, xv, Baruch vi.' Later, Baruch is quoted as 'the prophet Baruch', later on again Wisdom xiii, xiv are referred to as 'scripture', and xiv is also prefaced with the words as it is written.

In that against *Wilful Rebellion*, Pt. I: we read, 'Will you yet hear the Word of God to the Jews, . . .? Will you hear yet what

the prophet Baruch saith unto God's people . . . ? (Baruch i 11) - Thus far the prophet Baruch's words which are spoken by him unto the people of God,' &c.

In that against *Peril of Idolatry*, Pt. III, the sixth chapter of Baruch is referred to as *the word of God*.

In that on *Obedience* we read: 'For thus we read there spoken to kings . . . (Wisdom vi 1-3). Let us learn also here *by the infallible and undeceivable word of God*, that kings . . . are ordained of God who is most highest.'

In those *For Rogation Week* and *Against Gluttony*, Wisdom and Jesus the son of Sirach are quoted alongside of and as of co-ordinate authority with the other Old Testament books.

In that on *Alms-deeds* a reference is made to *the godly fathers both before and since Christ, endued without doubt with the Holy Ghost and most certainly certified of God's Holy will . . .* Paul and Isaiah are then quoted as examples; then we read 'And the holy father Tobie giveth this counsel' (Tob. iv). In the same homily Jesus the son of Sirach is quoted in support of St James.

In that on the *Misery of Man*, Pt. II, we read 'Let us all say with holy Baruch . . . (Baruch ii); 'Let us all say with the Holy Prophet Daniel . . . (Dan. ix).

In that on *Fasting* we read, 'Fasting, thus used with prayer, is of great efficacy and weigheth much with God. So the angel Raphael told Tobias'.

In that on *Peril of Idolatry* Wisdom is quoted as from 'the godly writings of Solomon'.¹

It is perfectly plain from these extracts that the so-called apocryphal books were treated by those who had the formulating of the Articles and the fixing of the dogmatic position of the Church as books of concurrent and equal authority with the rest of the books of the Bible. Consequently the thirty-first Article (in which the Homilies containing these statements are approved—statements which cannot be equated with the depreciatory clause in the sixth Article about the Apocrypha) must be accepted as embodying the Church's teaching on the subject, and not the sixth quite contradictory and unintelligible Article.

¹ See Pusey *Eirenicon* III (1865) pp. 150-156.

It is perhaps characteristic of Dr Pusey that, having done so much to establish the validity of the deutero-canonical books in the Anglican Church, he should, in his *Eirenicon*, suggest as a means of making peace with Rome that we should be allowed to retain St Jerome's distinction as to these books, and offers to sacrifice them with no advantage to anybody, since the Church of Rome accepts them, while the Anglican Church nowhere definitely rejects them save in the discredited sixth Article.

Cardwell says that the Articles which had been passed by Convocation did not receive the Queen's sanction till February 1563, when, according to Coke, they were ratified under her Sign Manual.¹ It does not appear that any question was raised or that any discussion took place on the critical Article in question. The discussion on the whole of the Articles was indeed very short, and they were accepted virtually in the form brought before Convocation by Archbishop Parker. This is not so strange in regard to most of the contents of the fateful document, for it in the main reiterated the previous Articles of Edward VI; but in regard to the article dealing with the biblical Canon there had never, so far as I can discover, been any discussion whatever, either in Convocation or in other ways, and the matter was quite new. No wonder that its language was contradictory and unintelligible, for men of very different views had to be reconciled. One class of them doubtless felt bound by the decisions of the primitive Church in the matter, for their claim was that the authority of the English Church was largely based upon its continuity with the Church of the Apostles. Another class doubtless felt that a real difficulty had arisen, since the great mass of those in sympathy with the Reformation had learnt to look upon the Canon contained in the current Bibles as authoritative.

The fact is that the position had been hopelessly compromised. For thirty years the Bible in English had been widely disseminated and read. It had been by special royal injunctions ordered to be kept in every parish church, and had become a most familiar book to everybody, priest and layman alike. In every edition of it which had been circulated in Britain the old Church Canon had been abandoned in favour of the Jewish Canon, and

¹ Cardwell *Synodalia* i pp. 37 sq.

a certain number of books had been separated from the rest and printed apart and given the opprobrious name of Apocrypha. No one in authority had raised any question about it, and the matter was therefore tacitly accepted everywhere as settled, at least by the laity and simple people, that in some way or other there had been excellent reasons for the change. They did not realize that the only reason in fact for what had happened was that Coverdale and his successors had in this matter followed the lead of their foreign teachers, the continental reformers. As the Canon thus initiated in England had been introduced and officially sanctioned by the royal head of the Church in the days when nearly all men still remained Catholics, it is not surprising that Parker and his brethren, who were in much closer alliance and sympathy with the continental reformers than were Henry VIII's bishops, should have been prepared to accept their Canon as they accepted so much else from the same source. It would probably have caused a great deal of questioning and heartburning among men if Convocation had now definitely and frankly reverted to the older Church Canon instead of following that contained in the modern English Bibles, and notably in the Great Bible which had a special official sanction. At all events it is plain that Convocation passed without comment an Article full of ambiguity committing the English Church on the one hand to the view on the Canon contained and embodied in Coverdale's Bible, and on the other to a position which the Church of Rome might have adopted at Trent. The pronouncement on the subject in the Articles is, as we have seen, anything but clear and consistent, and in fact very much the reverse. In the one case the appeal is to the universal adhesion of the Church, and in the other merely to common usage in 1563. In both cases there is ambiguity. It cannot be truthfully said that the Church had never doubted any of the so-called Canonical books, the fact being quite the reverse; nor can it be said there was unanimity in 1563 in regard to the reception even of all the books in the New Testament declared to be Canonical in the Articles. Four of them had been treated in several English Bibles which followed in the wake of Luther as of inferior authority to the rest. The reference to the so-called Apocryphal books of the Old Testament is

also ambiguous. Those enumerated are very few, and the list is clearly not meant to be complete, but only a sample: *ut sunt* is the phrase with which they are headed, and, as we shall see, seven additional books were added in the edition of 1571. Apart from these ambiguities the definite statement above quoted from the Articles in regard to the Canon, in so far as a sharp distinction is drawn between Canonical books and apocryphal, is one that was quite unknown to the official decisions of the Church on the subject. It is contrary to the distinct pronouncements and Canons of the Councils of early times where no such distinctions are to be found; and it treats with despite and contumely alike the Bible of Christ and the Bible of Josephus in favour of what we now know to have been the delusive and unfounded theories of Jerome about the origin and authority of the Jewish Canon.

In the year 1568 there was published a new edition of the English Bible known as the Bishops' Bible, from the fact that the revision it embodied was largely the handiwork of the bishops. The Apocrypha occurs in it without any apology or explanation, but with a separate title-page entitled 'The volume of the bookes called Apocrypha, contayning these bookes folowing'. The list includes the Prayer of Manasses. The list of books at the beginning is curiously headed 'Apocryphus'. The third book of Maccabees is excluded from it. The books of the New Testament are arranged in this Bible in the old order and not in that of Luther. The Bishops' Bible now replaced the Great Bible as the official text to be read in churches.

In the instructions to the translators of this Bible they were especially admonished to follow the common English translation used in the churches, that is the Great Bible, and not to recede from it 'but where it varieth manifestly from the Hebrew or Greek original'.¹

To the preface in the Bishops' Bible is the heading 'The summe of the whole Scripture, of the bookes of the olde and new Testament'. The Old Testament books have the heading 'The order of the bookes of the olde Testament'. They are divided into four sections, each with a special heading, the last of which is prefaced 'The fourth part of the Bible called Apocryphus'.

¹ *Parker's Correspondence* p. 336 note.

This fourth part has a separate title-page headed 'The volume of the bookes called Apocrypha, contayning these bookes folowing', &c. In all these respects the so-called Apocrypha are treated as integral parts of the Bible.

This Bible never received the royal sanction, and the claim to be 'set forth by authoritie' made by the editions of 1574 and 1575 must refer, as Dr Lupton says, to the sanction of Convocation in 1571, which was apparently a mere order to have it put in the churches as the Great Bible had been before. In April 1571, in fact, the Convocation of Canterbury ordered a copy of the Bishops' Bible of 1568 to be placed in every cathedral and, as far as possible, in every church, and every ecclesiastical dignitary was told to exhibit a copy in his house.¹

This is the first time in our Church history when any English Bible was given a form of official ecclesiastical sanction outside the mere royal licence. The actual words of the critical Canon in which it occurs are therefore worth quoting; it says: *Quivis Archiepiscopus et episcopus habebit domi suae Sacra Biblia in amplissimo volumine, uti nuperrime Londini excusa sunt.* These Bibles with the *Monumenta Martyrum* and other religious books were to be placed *vel in aula vel in grandi coenaculo ut et ipsorum famulis et advenis usui esse possint . . . Eisdem illos libros quos proxime diximus decanus quisque curabit emi, et locari in ecclesia sua cathedrali eiusmodi in loco, ut a vicariis et minoribus canonicis et ministris ecclesiae et ab advenis et peregrinis commode audiri et legi possint.*

In 1571 a new edition of the Articles revised by Bishop Jewel and duly subscribed by Convocation both in Latin and English was also issued with the royal sanction. In this edition, being the text still current, seven books were added to the Apocrypha not contained in the Articles of 1562, namely, 'Liber Tobiae, Reliquum libri Hester, Baruch Propheta, Canticum trium puero-rum, Historia Susannae, De Bel et Dracone, Oratio Manasses'. 'Hester' is omitted in Dr Lamb's notice of the changes.² In this edition again the books treated as deuterocanonical are still preceded by the ambiguous words *ut sunt*, or, as they are translated, 'such are these folowing'.

¹ Cardwell *Synodalia* i pp. 115, 123.

² *Ibid.* i pp. 76 sq.

The form of the article in question is that still accepted by the Church, and it is obviously inconsistent with the very foundation of the Anglican position which is that the English Church is no new Church, but has a continuous and unbroken tie with the Church of primitive times. If that pretension is to be justified it ought assuredly to cover the question of the Bible Canon. The primitive Church as it speaks through the early Councils knows no such distinction as is made in Article VI between the Canonical books of the Old Testament and the Apocrypha, nor can the distinction be supported by an appeal to the earliest Christian Bibles, in which the books included by the Articles of the Church as apocryphal are accepted as being as fully canonical as the rest. The position in fact is most inconsequent, and should be faced by those who are responsible for giving the Anglican Church a consistent status in regard to its Bible.

We now reach a time when the influence of the more moderate continental reformers on the English Church was giving place to more drastic and revolutionary suggestions which were being pressed by the more extreme and perhaps more logical Puritans. Among these the most persistent and able was Thomas Cartwright, who, in his famous controversy with Whitgift says: 'Whereupon it appeareth that it is not so well ordained in the Church of England, where both homilies and Apocrypha are read, especially when as divers chapters of the books called Apocrypha are lifted up so high, that they are sometimes appointed for extraordinary lessons upon feast days whereon the greatest assemblies be made and some of the chapters of the Canonical Scriptures (as certain chapters of the Apocalypse) quite left out, and not read at all.'

To this Whitgift replied: 'The apocrypha that we read in the Church have been so used of long time; as it may appear in that third council of Carthage and 47th canon, where they be reckoned among the canonical books of the Scriptures. They may as well be read in the church, as counted portions of the Old and New Testament; and, forasmuch as there is nothing in them contrary to the rest of the Scripture, I see no inconvenience, but much commodity that may come by the reading of them.'¹

¹ The defence of the answer to the admonition against the reply of T. C., Tract 21.

This reply was first published in 1572. The archbishop was attacked by other Puritan champions and notably by their fiery mouthpiece John Penry, better known as Martin Marprelate. Like others of this school, he felt uneasy that there should be any books in the Bible save those which he held to be absolutely inspired. The Bible was the rock on which Puritanism built its polity, and to mix the sacred and unimpeachable books known as canonical with others having no such sanction was rank blasphemy. He accordingly, in one of his tracts published in 1589 attacked Archbishop Whitgift for insisting on the Apocrypha being issued with the other Bible books. To this attack Whitgift replied in vigorous language, which is reported by Strype. The archbishop said he had given the commandment and 'meant to see it observed: asking, who ever separated the Apocrypha from the rest of the Bible from the beginning of Christianity to that day? Or what Church in the world, reformed or other, did it at that present? And shall we, added he, suffer this singularity in the Church of England, to the advantage of the adversary, offence of the godly, and contrary to all the world besides?' He said 'he knew there was great difference between the one and the other; yet that all learned men had from the beginning given to the Apocrypha authority, next to the Canonical Scriptures. And therefore that such giddy heads as thought to deface them were to be bridled, and that it was a foul shame and not to be suffered, that such speeches should be uttered against those books as by some had been; enough to cause ignorant people to discredit the whole Bible.'¹

This controversy shews us plainly how far the movement in regard to the Judaizing of the Christian Canon had progressed among the Puritans at the end of the sixteenth century. It was reflected in the Bible texts, for in a series of Genevan Bibles published in 1599 mainly at Geneva, as my friend Mr Moule has pointed out to me, we for the first time actually find copies of the Bible in which the Apocrypha is excluded altogether. This was apparently the work of the binders. In one copy in the Bible Society's collection the titles of the Apocryphal books occur at the beginning of the Bible, although crossed out in ink, but the sheets containing the Apocrypha seem to have been dropped out by the

¹ Strype *Life and Acts of John Whitgift* iii 22.

binder, for we jump in their numeration from *qq* to *aaa*, passing from Malachi to the New Testament. This seems to be the first recorded omission of the so-called Apocrypha from any copy of the English Bible.

In 1604 a revised edition of the Prayer Book was published in which the preface to that of 1549 was retained and the Lectionary was also in large part retained also, the principal change being an addition to, and not a reduction of, the so-called apocryphal writings read as lessons, and therefore treated as Holy Scripture.

This change was a concession made to the Puritans at the Hampton Court Conference where they protested against the use of certain passages from the Apocrypha which were said to be contrary to other parts of Holy Writ. The king asked them to point these out, and, in consequence, after the termination of the Conference, he issued a commission to the Bishops to make certain alterations in the Book of Common Prayer. In conformity with the agreement that had been arrived at, we are told it was ordered that 'the Apocrypha which had any repugnancy to the Canonical Scripture should not be read, but other places chosen'. Certain changes were accordingly made in the table of lessons. Thus, on the festival of the Conversion of St Paul, Wisdom 5 and 6 are substituted for Genesis 46 and 47; on the Purification, Wisdom 9 and 12 for Exodus 12 and 13; on St Matthias's day, Wisdom 19 and Ecclesiasticus 1 for Numbers 33 and 34; on the Annunciation, Eccles. 2 and 3 for Joshua 21 and 22; on St Mark's day, Eccles. 4 and 5 for 2 Kings 3 and 4; on SS. Philip and James's day, Eccles. 7 and 9 for 2 Kings 15 and 16; on St Barnabas' day, Eccles. 10 and 12 for Esther 3 and 4; on St Peter's day, Eccles. 15 and 19 for Job 31 and 32; on St James's day, Eccles. 21, 22 for Eccles. 10, 11; on St Bartholomew's day, Eccles. 25 and 29 for Ezekiel 3 and 6; on St Matthew's and St Michael's days, Eccles. 35 and 38 and 39 and 44 respectively for Micah 1 and 2 and Zech. 7 and 8.¹ To August 26 this note was added: 'the 13. of Daniel, touching the History of Susanna, is to be read

¹ [These proper lessons were in fact provided in the Prayer Book of 1559, in addition to the lessons of the serial course on the same days. In the Kalendar of 1561 the course was modified and readjusted so as to leave these days vacant for the exclusive use of the propers; and Tobit was begun on Sept. 28 instead of Oct. 5. In 1604 the changes following in the text were made; and Eccles. 22 was substituted for Eccles. 23 on the evening of St. James's day.—F. E. B.]

until these words: And King Astyages, &c.' The same day Evening prayer Proverbs 30 was substituted for Daniel 14 concerning Bel and the Dragon. On October 1st instead of Tobit a portion of Exodus 6 was appointed at morning prayer, and in the evening Joshua 20 was to be read for Tobit 8.

All this is assuredly most difficult to equate with the sixth Article, and is, in fact, irreconcilably inconsistent with it as it is consistent with the traditional position of the English Church. In Canon 80, issued in the same year, we read *Si quae ecclesiae, vel Bibliis amplissimi voluminis, vel homiliarum libris publica auctoritate approbatis adhuc carebunt, praefati oeconomi similiter efficient, ut dicti libri parochianorum impensis infra tempus idoneum coemantur.*

When King James's Bible, so long known as the Authorized Version, was prepared and issued in 1611 the body of translators do not seem to have given any special thought to the question of the Canon; their efforts being directed only to the revision of the text. In regard to the Canon they no doubt felt themselves bound and committed by 'the Articles', and they seem to have forgotten their Prayer Books, and to have taken over the English Bible as they found it in the official copies, which were so widely and indeed so universally distributed, and accordingly separated the so-called apocryphal books from those which were treated as canonical.

The translators could hardly do otherwise, since they were especially instructed to make the Bishops' Bible the basis of their edition, just as the editors of the latter were similarly bidden to follow the Great Bible. There is no special title-page, preface, or table of contents to the Apocryphal books in this Bible. They are merely headed with the general word Apocrypha, and the same word is used as a running title at the head of every page. In the table of lessons at the beginning they are included in the general title of Old Testament. The translation of these so-called Apocryphal books was very carelessly done. It is a further remarkable fact that no evidence exists that King James's version received any definite ecclesiastical or legislative sanction. As Eadie says there can be found for it 'no Edict of Convocation, no Act of Parliament, no decision of the Privy Council, no Royal Proclamation' (*The English Bible* ii 204).

It would seem that the practice of issuing copies of the Bible without the Apocrypha being bound up with it continued, for in the year 1615 we find Archbishop Abbot forbidding any stationer to issue a Bible without the Apocrypha, under penalty of a year's imprisonment.¹

In 1640 an edition of the Genevan version of the English Bible appeared at Amsterdam, to which my attention has been called by Mr Moule; and in this for the first time the apocryphal books were deliberately omitted from an English Bible.

An elaborate apology for this omission is inserted between Malachi and the books of the New Testament, and is expressly said to be taken 'from the Dutch Bible recently published'. The Dutch Bible thus referred to was no doubt the famous Bible ordered by the Synod of Dort to be prepared and issued, which appeared in 1637 under the special authority of the States-General. In this and subsequent editions of the Dutch Bible the Apocrypha is printed in a kind of appendix at the end of the work, and is preceded by the long apologia just referred to, which was translated from Dutch and inserted in the English Bible of 1640 above referred to. In the latter, however, the Apocrypha are omitted, the exordium only occurring.

In 1643 Dr Lightfoot, when preaching before the House of Commons, complained of the use of the apocryphal writers, and *inter alia* said: 'Thus meetly and nearly should the two Testaments join together, and thus divinely would they kiss each other, but that the wretched Apocrypha did thrust in between.' 'Like the two cherubins in the Temple oracle,' he continues, 'the law and the gospel would touch each other did not this patchery of human invention divorce them asunder' (Salmon *Gen. Intr.* xxxvii).

The next year the Parliament issued regulations about public worship and ordered that all the Canonical books of the Old and New Testaments (but none of those which are commonly called Apocrypha) were to be publicly read in the vulgar tongue.

The Westminster Confession of 1648 contains a statement about the Canon shewing how far the English Nonconformists had then gone in their rejection of the Apocrypha. It runs thus: 'The books commonly called Apocrypha not being of divine inspiration, are no part of the Canon of the Scripture, and

¹ See Arber *Transcripts of the Registers of the Stationers' Co.* vol. v p. xlix.

therefore are of no authority in the Church of God, nor to be in any other wise approved or made use of, than other human writings.' This, as Dr F. C. Porter says, meant the exclusion of the Apocrypha from the Bible and from use in Church service.

The famous and very authoritative edition of the Book of Common Prayer, which in most matters controls the present practice of the Church, was issued in 1662. In this Prayer Book, as in previous ones, almost the entire lectionary (in so far as it is derived from the Old Testament) in October and November, is taken from the so-called Apocrypha. Not only so, but in addition to the books of Tobit, Judith, Ecclesiasticus, Wisdom, and Baruch, Bel and the Dragon is also drawn upon. The number of days on which the first lesson was to be taken from the so-called Apocrypha was in fact increased in this edition of the Prayer Book from 54 to 62. This assuredly shews what opinion the great Caroline divines held in reference to these books, for they were retained in the Lectionary in spite of the sixth Article and in spite of the strong efforts of the puritanical party at the Savoy Conference entirely to exclude them from the Bible.

In 1666 there was published a Bible by Field, at Cambridge, entitled 'The Old and New Testament without the Apocrypha'.

Meanwhile the exclusion of the Apocrypha was warmly advocated, notwithstanding the protests of Hooker and Andrewes and Dean Jackson who wrote in favour of the continued use of the same books. *Inter alia* Jackson says, speaking of 1 Maccabees xiii 33-52, 'He that will compare these and many other passages in this grave writer with the 9th of the prophet Zechariah, will perceive . . . that this book though apocryphal, did not deserve to be left out in the new impressions, or binding up of the Bible'.

The exclusion of the Apocrypha came to be more and more favoured among the English Nonconforming bodies, and numerous Bibles in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries occur without the Apocrypha, and it is perhaps not singular that the first Bible printed in America, which appeared in the years 1782-3, should not have included the Apocrypha.

The process of exclusion at length reached a special crisis which caused a great deal of heartburning in the Bible Society, and led to the formation of another Bible Society beyond the Tweed.

In 1826 the Bible Society in fact, urged on by the more extravagant Evangelicals and Nonconformists, and especially by its president, Lord Teignmouth, whose rhetorical phrases included the denunciation of 'the mixture of the works of man with those of God', and by the Scotch Presbyterians, decided not to print or circulate in future any edition of the Old Testament containing the Apocrypha, and to refuse assistance to any one preparing any such copy. This example was followed by the various Protestant sects of the Continent, except the Lutherans (both in Scandinavia and Germany), and was in effect followed by the English universities, which had the exclusive privilege of issuing the Bible. Thus it came about that a considerable part of the Bible, as received by St Augustine and as generally accepted, so far as we know, by the Western Church in the first four centuries, was finally evicted from that work by the Society which has done most to circulate the Bible all over the world.

The Bible Society has found itself in consequence in the extraordinary position of not being able to circulate the Bible among the Christians of Greece and Syria, of Russia, Hungary, Austria, Switzerland, Germany, Sweden, and Norway, since in all these countries Bibles without the so-called Apocrypha are treated as mutilated and impious. It is an interesting fact that at the Coronation of our present King, when the same Society offered to supply the Bible for the ceremony, the copy was rejected by Archbishop Temple on the ground that it did not contain the Apocrypha, and was therefore a mutilated and imperfect Bible.

Meanwhile, the responsible authorities of the English Church in the year 1867 caused another breach with primitive times by a needless and arbitrary revolution in the Lectionary. Our table of Lessons had largely survived the fierce controversies of three centuries, and had remained as a potent witness of the Canon accepted by the Church at least since the days of St Augustine. Inspired by a quite mistaken view as to primitive theory and practice its guardians ejected from the table of Lessons of the English Church a large number of those taken from the so-called Apocrypha, and substituted for them lessons which however excellent lacked the flavour of very old associations, and thus deprived us of a continual protest against a mutilated Bible

and in favour of the Bible used by Christ and His apostles. The number of days on which lessons from the Apocrypha were prescribed was in fact reduced from 66 to 23. Under what pretence any lessons at all from the Apocrypha were retained when this sacrifice was made I do not know. The *partial* concession to a most retrograde prejudice, to whatever motive it was due, was assuredly illogical and inconsequent.

The American Prayer Book, while retaining the lessons from the Apocrypha to be read on Saints' days, has expunged the rest. When the Irish Church, on the other hand, was disestablished and a new Prayer Book was introduced it is perhaps not strange that a more logical if deplorable conclusion was adopted and the so-called apocryphal books entirely disappeared from its pages.

A few years later the translation of the English Bible of 1611 was revised. The revision of the Apocrypha was then treated as an after-thought. This also is not to be wondered at considering the rabbinical and quite obsolete theories of exegesis and criticism which governed the revising Committee of the Old Testament. In the corresponding revision in America the so-called apocryphal books were entirely omitted. This then is the later history of what those who have most at heart the justification of the historic position of the English Church must deplore as a continuous movement in a retrograde direction.

In conclusion, whatever excuse the Lutherans and Calvinists of the Continent may have had for treating the so-called apocryphal books as non-canonical, it seems to me that that excuse cannot cover the position of the Church of England, whose polity was not a product of the sixteenth century, but is based on the practices and theories of the primitive Church.

It seems plain, in fact, from the analysis above given of the attitude of the English Church in regard to the Canon of the Bible that it has been inconsequent from the beginning. The *raison d'être* of the Anglican communion is, that it is founded on the primitive traditions of the first centuries, before the Christian Church was rent asunder, and it appeals to those primitive times to justify its constitution, its ritual, and its faith. Above all therefore should it be found in unison with the accepted theories of the earlier centuries on such a critical matter as the Canon of the Bible. Instead of this it accepted, or rather

allowed to have forced upon it by the entirely private and irresponsible men who first translated its Bible, a Bible Canon which had no adequate warrant from antiquity, but had been devised and accepted by the German reformers, and was defended by them on grounds entirely inconsistent with its own theories. When it thus adopted the foreign and in essence modern Canon, which it ambiguously professes in its Articles to accept, it did so, as far as we know, without any due enquiry and discussion, although the burden of proof was clearly upon the champions of change.

No traces of any such examination of the problem are to be found in its literature. The change was one indorsed on grounds of mere expediency, or perhaps it was made unwittingly at a time when the real theological fight was on other issues which absorbed men's attention to the exclusion of matters of more lasting moment like this. It is surely time that the matter should be reconsidered and rediscussed. At least let us revert to the practice so ably defended by Archbishop Whitgift and Archbishop Abbot (assuredly no champions of retrograde theories in these matters) of including the so-called apocryphal books in our editions of the Bible, and not pursue the road along which we were driven when the fanaticism of the ill-informed Scotch Puritans compelled the Bible Society to eject some of its most reputable contents from the English Bible, and thus to circulate it everywhere in a mutilated form.

Perhaps on another occasion I may be permitted to complete this analysis by an examination of the co-ordinate problem of the early history of the Canon among the continental reformers, and of the arguments by which that Canon has been defended.

HENRY H. HOWORTH.

NOTE 1.—It is a noteworthy fact that when the Bible Society took the very drastic step of excluding the so-called apocryphal books from the Bible it was strongly opposed by the most learned and responsible evangelical divines in the country. A very influential protest came especially from Cambridge, signed by the following very noteworthy names:—J. Lamb, Master of C.C.C.; S. Lee, Prof. of Arabic; F. Thackeray, D.D.; Wm. Farish, D.D., Jack. Prof.; A. Sedgwick, Woodw. Prof.; C. Simeon; C. King, Preb. of Ely; J. Scholefield, Fellow of Jesus and Secretary of

the Cambridge branch of the Bible Society; L. Richmond; W. Clark; W. Mandell, Fellow of Caius College; H. P. Elliot, Fellow of Trinity; G. Milman; J. Lodge, Librarian of the University; Baptist V. Noel; T. Platt, Fellow of Trinity; G. Cosin, Fellow and Tutor of Cath. Hall; W. Trigg; E. Edwards; S. Hawkes, Fellow of Trinity; H. Viner, Fellow of Queens'; H. Sperling; W. H. Markby; S. Carr, Fellow of Queens'; W. Cecil, Fellow of Magdalene; H. Godfrey, President of Queens'.

NOTE 2.—I cannot in conclusion refrain from adding a note to express my admiration of, and indebtedness to, the ideal bibliography of the English Bible by Messrs Darlow and Moule, to the next edition of which I hope I may have contributed some new facts.

ST EPHRAIM AND ENCRATISM.

IN the JOURNAL OF THEOLOGICAL STUDIES for July 1905, I took it upon myself to criticize one or two rather important historical inferences drawn by Professor Burkitt from certain passages in the *Homilies* of Aphraates. The opinion I chiefly combated was that set forth in chap. iv of *Early Eastern Christianity*, viz. that the class of Christian ascetics whom Aphraates and others call *B'nai Q'yâmâ* were simply the baptized laity of the Syriac Church; and that, in the first half of the fourth century, the whole of that Church, like the sect of the Marcionites, would have severed from communion any person who ventured to marry, or continued to live the married life, after baptism.

Professor Burkitt replied to my criticisms in the next number of the JOURNAL, upholding his former view. He further expressed the opinion that the writings of St Ephraim would, if examined, be found to bear out his interpretation of Aphraates. Professor Burkitt points out that St Ephraim in his attack on Marcion is silent about the latter's rejection of marriage. He writes: 'Ephraim cannot have been ignorant of this; but, unless I am mistaken, it seemed to him neither strange nor reprehensible'; and again, 'An examination of the genuine works of Ephraim will, I venture to think, shew that he occupies much the same position as Aphraates'.

It is in the hope of being able to elucidate a point of Church history, and with no desire to sustain a controversy, that I broach this subject again.

I agree that if Aphraates is obscure we ought to try and interpret his meaning by the clearer light of some contemporary Syriac writer—if, that is, we regard him as a normal representative of the Syriac Church of his time. And I agree also that St Ephraim should present a fair standard of comparison. He died in 373 A.D., being Aphraates' junior by perhaps little more than a decade.

I cannot claim to have examined all St Ephraim's genuine

works; but from what I have read of him I have been led to the conclusion that he held no abnormal views on the subject of Christian marriage. St Ephraim, like Aphraates, was an ascetic, and as such it is not surprising to find that he considered virginity to be a higher state than that of wedlock. To him, as to Aphraates, celibacy and the ascetical life generally were the royal road to heaven; and when he is sounding the praises of virginity he at times almost gives the impression that it is the only way; even as St Jerome on similar occasions seems to depreciate marriage. All this is fully conceded. But we want to know what St Ephraim has to say when dealing directly with the subject of marriage. And for information on this point we naturally turn in the first place to his commentary on the Pauline Epistles.

The original Syriac of this work is not known to us; but it has been preserved in an Armenian version, a Latin translation of which was published by the Mechitarist Fathers of Venice in 1893. In the following extracts the italics (which follow the Mechitarist edition) mark roughly the text of St Paul; the rest is Ephraim's commentary.

1. Rom. vii 2. *Nam sicut quae sub viro est mulier, alligata est legi viri sui, donec vixerit vir: si autem mortuus fuerit vir eius, soluta est a lege viri, ut sit quocum velit* (p. 18).

2. 1 Cor. vii (init.). Post haec locutus est ille de virginitate, quae super omnia excelsior est, quippe quia leges non dominantur eius. Videns enim ille, quod de ea praedicaverat Dominus suus, verebatur praedicare eam et ipse. Verum quum vidisset homines eam quaerentes, factus est ipse consiliarius eorum, non praeceptor; hortator, non legislator.

On vv. 2 ff. *Propter fornicationem autem unusquisque suam uxorem habeat. Utinam nullatenus frauderetis invicem* (cf. v 5), *nisi forte ex consensu ad tempus*, ad vota implenda ieiuniis et orationibus; nam per dies solemnes continetis, *ne tentet nos satanas*. Hoc autem dico indulgens, non imperans (v. 6; this sentence should have been in italics). *Volo enim omnem hominem esse sicut meipsum*. Sine mandato haec eligebat. Sed gratia unicuique data est a Deo. Idem ipsum Domini sui effatum rursus protulit, quod nempe non omnis homo ad hoc satis est. Dixit porro, *alius quidem sic, alius vero sic*; quoniam alius sic est, et in hoc potest iustificari, et alius alio modo, quum datum sit illi regnare.

Non nuptiis autem, sive uxore carentibus, iis nimirum qui vidui, aut quae viduae sunt, bonum est illis, si sic permaneant, sicut et ego. Quod si non se continent, illi quoque nubant. Melius est enim secundo nubere, quam uri cupidine. Iis autem qui matrimonio iuncti sunt, praecepit Dominus ipse, uxorem a viro non discedere. Quod si discesserit, manere innuptam, si puritatem sibi elegerit; aut viro suo reconciliari, non autem alteri tradi.

Si quis uxorem habeat idololatram, et uxori placet habitare cum viro suo, habitet. Quod si putaverit vir fidelis inquinatum iri matrimonium suum per infidelem consortem, sciat, quod sanctum est semen viri infidelis in utero mulieris fidelis; similiter et foetus mulieris infidelis sanctificatus est ratione viri fidelis (pp. 59, 60).

According to the above St Ephraim was not opposed even to second marriages. He doubtless was acquainted with the eighth Canon of Nicaea, which laid down that converts from the ranks of the Cathari were in particular to be required to 'communicate with persons twice married'. Jacob of Nisibis and Aitalaha of Edessa were among the Bishops present at Nicaea.

3. 1 Tim. iv 3. *Prohibent nubere*, non propter maiorem virginitatis gradum, sed quia foedum videtur in oculis eorum matrimonium. Haec autem a quibusdam asseruntur de Marcionistis, a nonnullis vero de Manichaeis, et de variis sectis. Namque praedicans prophetavit Apostolus de illis post se futuris. Marcionistae profanum faciunt matrimonium, et Manichaei cibos, quos Deus fecit in consolationem cum gratiarum actione fidelium; idest, in solatium comedentium, et in gratiarum actionem non comedentium.

4. In his commentary on the Diatessaron St Ephraim bears the same testimony:—

Venerunt et accesserunt, ut eum interrogarent: Licetne alicui dimittere uxorem suam? Respondit eis et dixit: 'Non licet.' Dicunt ei: 'Moyses permisit nobis; cur ergo non licet?' Moyses, ait, propter duritiam cordis vestri permisit vobis, sed ab initio creationis hoc non fuit. Itaque ex hoc uno praecepto patet, quod ea quae propter duritiam cordis populi per Moysen constituta sunt, abrogari oportebat, quia populus cordis duri permutatus est cum populo, qui fidem Abrahami amabat. Nam quod dixit: 'Non occides, non adulterabis, &c.,' etiam ante legem observabantur. In lege haec praedicabantur, sed per Evangelium perficiebantur. Omnia enim mandata legis, quae certis ex causis eis datae (sic) et apud eos introductae (sic) sunt, cessarunt, non ac si antiquum destrueretur, sed ut novum confirmaretur (Moesinger's Latin translation from the Armenian, p. 162. The italics correspond to words spaced in Moes.).

5. In the course of his comment on the words *Quam difficile est eis qui in possessionibus confidunt* [*intrare in regnum coelorum*], St Ephraim writes:—

Quomodo difficile est hoc? difficile tantum est talibus per portam perfectorum [ad verbum: Crucifixorum. Moes.] intrare in regnum coelorum. Ut porta datur in statu virginitatis degentium, ita et datur porta in mundo degentium, et in mundo degentes per suam portam in regnum possunt intrare, sed per portam virginum difficile est eis intrare. 'Difficile est,' non autem: 'Impossibile est' (p. 171).

On p. 64 St Ephraim says that riches are not necessarily harmful: 'Quum diceret, "Vae vobis divitibus," eos significavit qui nihil aliud quaerunt quam divitias.' It will be remembered that the class of persons whom Aphraates forbade to marry he also forbade to acquire worldly goods.

6. In Hymn iv *De Confessoribus* (Lamy iii 667) St Ephraim speaks of the abuse, through free will, of things in themselves lawful and good. A man, he says, is not blamed for eating, but for being a glutton: not for drinking, but for being a drunkard: not for engaging in legitimate discussion, but for being a wrangler. He goes on (I give Lamy's Latin rendering, which is quite literal):—

Nemo erubescit matrimonio iungi, quia coniugium naturae est; nemo laudatur quod adulteret, quia adulterium voluntatis est, unum amabile, alterum odibile.

Further on in the same Hymn we read (Lamy 673):—

'There are three things, lawful and unlawful: fornication is unlawful, marriage lawful, and virginity *extra naturam*' (*d'lâ k'yânâ*).

7. 'Pure to Him is wedlock, which is planted as a vine in the world, and from it babes, like fruit, are hanging' (*De Virginitate etc.* Lamy ii 797).

8. Speaking of heretical baptism, St Ephraim says that he who receives baptism from the heretics and believes in its validity 'is like Marcion, who eats (of the gifts) of the Maker and denies the Maker, and, though he was himself conceived and born, rejects marriage.—A bitter fruit that disowns its root' (*Adversus Scrutatores*, Ed. Rom. vi 126).

9. Finally there is a sermon of St Ephraim's, No. xviii of the *De Diversis Sermones* (Ed. Rom. vi 654-687), which gives

his views on the Christian layman's life. Professor Burkitt drew my attention to this work ; but I cannot agree with him as to its interpretation.

In the sermon St Ephraim denounces the sins of various classes in the community, and of married people with the rest. Married men take mistresses besides their lawful wives. Married women, it is implied, are also often unfaithful ; but their characteristic vice is that they indulge in superstition, and resort to charms and lustrations that their children may live and their husbands love them. It is made quite clear that baptized persons are in question : what aggravates their guilt is the fact that they defile themselves after having been washed from their sins in baptism. The writer sets before them as examples of faithful wedlock the lives of Abraham and Sarah, Isaac and Rebekah, Jacob and Rachel. He exhorts women to be faithful to their husbands : 'Commit not fornication against thy God, nor adultery against thy partner. Have but one husband, and only one hope.' If they have been faithful hitherto, they are not to expose themselves to danger by listening to soothsayers and diviners :—

'When the Evil One sees the marriage bed that it is altogether pure, he resorts to spells and washings, that the pure couch may be defiled.'

And so St Ephraim goes on at great length ; the lesson enforced being purity, that is mutual fidelity, in the marriage state.

Professor Burkitt writes : 'There is nothing to shew that they [i. e. married women censured by St Ephraim for unfaithfulness and superstition] are at present, or that they would be in any case, admitted to full communion.' But surely what has to be shewn is that these women were not allowed to partake of Holy Communion on the ground of their being married. But this does not appear from the sermon in question ; and the above specimens of St Ephraim's teaching on matrimony seem to make it clear that his views on the subject were not abnormal. He approved of marriage, and even of second marriages. He was acquainted with the Marcionite discipline, and condemned it. He recognized that the Mosaic laws of divorce were abrogated by Christ. Moreover the comment on 1 Cor. vii 5, in passage 2—'*ad vota implenda ieiuniis et orationibus, nam per dies solemnes continetis*'—would seem to refer to a practice current in the Syriac Church, and to

imply that respectable married folk were communicants. That this was the case ought, it seems to me, to be taken for granted, in the absence of any direct indication to the contrary.

To turn now to Aphraates. Aphraates wrote (Hom. xviii 8) of marriage thus: 'Upon matrimony, which was given to the world by God, we cast no slur, God forbid! For thus it is written: "God saw all that He had made, and lo! it was very good." Nevertheless there are some things better than others. God created the heavens and the earth, and they are very good; but the heavens are better than the earth . . . And He created matrimony, and it is very good; but better than it is virginity.' He wrote also of virginity (xviii 12): 'A great reward is in store for this state, because we observe it of our free will, and not subject to the constraint of a commandment; and we are bound therein under no law.' But again he wrote (vii 20): 'Wherefore thus should the trumpeters, the heralds of the Church, cry and warn all the Society (*Q'yāmā*) of God before the Baptism—they, I say, that have offered themselves for virginity and for holiness, youths and maidens holy—they shall the heralds warn. And they shall say: He whose heart is set to the state of matrimony, let him marry before baptism, lest he fall in the spiritual contest and be killed.'

Before we say positively that this passage implies an eccentric view of matrimony, let us compare the following words of St Ephraim with the extracts from his writings given above: 'Out of the water He made wine; He gave *it* for drink to the youths in the feast. For you who are keeping the fast, better is the unction than drink. In His wine the betrothed are wedded; by His oil the wedded are sanctified. By His wine *is* union; by His oil sanctification.'¹

St Ephraim is speaking of the baptismal unction; and his words imply that some persons undertook at the time of their baptism to live a life of celibacy.² But this passage cannot be

¹ From Hymn iii *On the Epiphany*. The translation is that given by Dr Gwynn in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* vol. xiii p. 270. These Hymns are counted among the 'less well-attested' works of Ephraim by Professor Burkitt in his *S. Ephraim's Quotations from the Gospel*; but he shews from internal evidence that they are almost certainly genuine.

² I am assuming that the words 'sanctified' and 'sanctification' here denote consecration to the celibate state, a meaning which they not infrequently bear in Syriac.

taken, in the face of St Ephraim's clear teaching on matrimony, to mean that *all* were expected to do so. There must be some other solution. So in Aphraates' case: when he says quite plainly that marriage is good and virginity optional, must there not be some other explanation of the passage in which he seems to imply that Baptism was reserved for ascetics?

The key to the difficulty in Aphraates and Ephraim alike is, I believe, that in the early Church those who wished to enter the ascetical state often did so at the time of their baptism. Thus Tertullian writes (*De Exhort. Cast.* i): 'That good—I mean sanctification—I distribute into several kinds . . . The first kind is virginity from birth; the second, virginity from the second birth, that is from the font, which either keeps pure in the marriage state by mutual compact, or else perseveres in widowhood from choice; the third grade remains, monogamy' (i.e., apparently, when a baptized person does not take another partner after the death of the first).

It would seem, then, that in the controverted passage Aphraates is contemplating only one special class of candidates for baptism, those, namely, who are also candidates for the ascetical life. By the words 'them, I say, that have offered themselves for virginity' I understand that he narrows the application of his subsequent remarks to this class. The context itself requires this, for in the next paragraph we read: 'And *after the baptism* let them observe those that are stout and those that are feeble. The stout they must encourage; but them that are slack and feeble let them send back from the contest openly.'¹

The same explanation clears up any ambiguity in the language of St Ephraim as well, and shews him to be consistent with himself. If we adopt it we are released from the strange historical paradox that a whole national Church, in full communion with all the orthodox Churches, should have adopted, and maintained till well on in the fourth century, one of the most characteristic errors of Marcion; and this without a protest from—it could scarcely have been without the knowledge of—the rest of Christendom.

I have only one more word to say: it is with reference to the passage from St Epiphanius quoted by Professor Burkitt at the end of his reply. Professor Burkitt says that Aphraates would

¹ See *J. T. S.* vi pp. 531-533.

have 'thoroughly approved' of the wording of that passage. I would go a step further, and say that Aphraates would have approved it in exactly the sense in which Epiphanius wrote it. I do not understand Professor Burkitt to imply that Epiphanius, as well as Aphraates and Ephraim, rejected marriage for the baptized. Aphraates, like Epiphanius, would certainly have condemned a professed ascetic for marrying contrary to his vow, and would as certainly have held him excommunicate until he had done penance. But this implies no disapproval of marriage for baptized Christians at large.

R. H. CONNOLLY.

DOCUMENTS

CODEX TAURINENSIS (Y). VI.

7 ἔγω δὲ ἐν τῷ κω [ἐπιβλέψομαι, ὑπομ]ενῶ ἐπὶ τῷ θω τῷ . . . εἶται
 8 μου ὁ θς μου· 8 μὴ εἰ . . . μου ὅτι πέπτωκα . . . ὅτι ἔαν καὶ πορευ[θῶ ἐν
 9 τῷ σκότει κω φ]ωτιεῖ μοι· 9 ὀργὴν κυ . . . ὦ ἕως ἂν δικαί[ωσῃ τὴν δίκην
 μου καὶ] ποιήσῃ τὸ κρίμα . . . φῶς καὶ ὄψομαι τὴν δικαιοσύνην αὐτοῦ·
 10 καὶ ὄψεται . . . χθρὰ μου καὶ κάμψει αὐτὴν αἰσχύν[η] . . . σα πρὸς μέ ποῦ κω
 ὁ θς σου ; οἱ ὁφ . . . μου ἐπόψονται αὐτὴν νῦν ἔσται εἰς . . . πάτημα ὡς πηλὸς
 11 ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς 11 ἡμέρα] ἀλοιφῆς πλίνθου ἐξαλείψει σε ἡ . . . κείνη καὶ ἀπώ-
 12 σεται νόμμά σου . . . [ἐ]κείνη· 12 καὶ αἱ πόλεις σου ἤξουσιν εἰς συγκλει[σμον
 καὶ διαμερισμὸν ἀσσυρίων . . . σου αἱ ὀχυραὶ ἔσονται εἰς διαμερ[ισμὸν ἀπὸ]
 7. ἐγὼ δὲ] om 62 86 147 ἐν τῷ κω (ἐπι-
 βλεψομαι] πρὸς τὸν κυριον ἐπιβλεψομαι θ ἐν τῷ κω] ἐπὶ τὸν κυριον BA Q (ἐν τῷ
 κω Q^a) 36 48 153 233 in dno OL^b (ἐπιβλεψομαι)] ἀποσκοπεσθαι Q^{ms} ἀποσκοπεῖν
 86^{ms} 228 ἐπισκεψομαι 147 86^{ms} 228 Syro-Hex ἐπὶ] om 153 ο θς μου] om μου
 22 153 8. καὶ] om BA Q πορευ(θω)] καθίσω BA Q (πορευθω Q^{ms}) 22^a 36^a
 (πορευθω 22 36) 48 86 153 233 (ambulavero OL^c 86^{ms} 228 Syro-Hex) κω] pr o
 A (φωτιεῖ μοι) οἱ ὁ φως Q^{ms} φωτιεῖ με 86 97 φως μοι 86^{ms} 233 φωτιεῖ μου 147 φως μου
 228 lumen est mihi OL^c 86^{ms} 228 Syro-Hex 9. (OL^c
 = Y) εἰς ἂν δικαί(ωσῃ)] εἰς τοῦ οὐ A δικαιοῦσαι αὐτὸν BA Q 48 153 233 + αὐτὸν 86
 97 εἰς ἂν δικαιοῦσαι 62 147 εἰς τοῦ δικαιοῦσαι αὐτὸν 86 εἰς οὐ δικαιοῦσαι αὐτὸν 228
 ποιήσῃ] ποιήσῃ BQ 48 62 86 147 153 228 233 ἀποισει A καὶ 2^o] om BA Q 22 48
 86 233 10. (10^a OL^c = Y) κάμψει αὐτὴν αἰσχύν(η)] περιβαλεῖται αἰσχύνην
 BA Q 48 153 κάμψει αὐτὴν αἰσχύνην 86 (ex 48 153 228 233) 86 πρὸς μέ] om 48
 τοῦ θς] πρὸς εἰς 86 οἱ] pr om 62 147 μου] + νυν 153 νυν] καὶ 185 εἰς]
 228 11. (ἡμέρα) ἀλοιφῆς ad fin com] ἡμέρα τοῦ οικοδομησά τοὺς φραγμοὺς σου·
 α τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ μακρὰν εἶται ἡ ἐπιταγὴ ἡ δὲ ἡμέρα ἐκείνη Σ (ἡμέρα)] ἡμέρας
 BA Q 62 86^{ms} 147 233 πλίνθου] πλίνθους 62 147 ἐξαλείψει σε] ἐξαλείψις σου
 BA Q καὶ] om 95 185 ἀπώσεται] ἀποτρίβεται B 48 51 233 (Syro-Hex = Y)
 καὶ ἀπώσεται ad fin com] om 62 147 νομίμα] νομίμη Q^a σου] om A Q 86 153
 233 11, 12. καὶ ἀπώσεται—(εἰς) τοῦ οὐρου] μακρυνήσεται ἡ ἀκρίσια τῆς ἡμέρας
 ἐκείνης καὶ εἰς οὐ νῆει ἐξ ἀσσοῦ καὶ πολέως πολιορκίας καὶ ἀπο πολιορκίας καὶ εἰς
 ποταμὸν καὶ θαλάσσης καὶ ἀπο θαλάσσης καὶ οὐρου τοῦ οὐρου Aq μακρυνεῖ προσταγμὰ ἡ
 ἡμέρα ἐκείνη καὶ αἱ πόλεις σου ἤξουσιν ἐξ ἀσσοῦ καὶ πολέως περιοχῆς καὶ ἀπο περιοχῆς
 εἰς τοῦ ὕδατος τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ ἀπο τοῦ οὐρου εἰς τοῦ οὐρου θ
 12. ἡξουσιν] εἰξουσιν B* (ἡξ. B^b) εἰς συγκλει[σμον] εἰς ομαλισμὸν BA Q (συγ-
 κλεισμῷ Q^{ms}) 48 86 153 233 om 228 (εἰς συγκλεισμον 228^{ms}) hab sub 2^o Syro-Hex
 cum scholio : 'Hic obelus non positus erat in libro Hexaplorum' καὶ 2^o] hab sub
 2^o Syro-Hex διαμερισμὸν] pr eis BA Q 48 86^{ms} 153 228^{ms} 233 διμερισμὸν 1^o
 —διαμερ(ισμὸν) 2^o] om 153 ἀσσυρίων] hab sub 2^o Syro-Hex ὀχυραὶ] ἰσχυραὶ
 62 147 εἰσονται] om BA Q 48 86 153 228 233 τυρὸν] περιοχὴν (s. πεμφραγμα

τίρον ἕως τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ ἀ[πὸ θα]λάσσης ἕως θαλάσσης ἀπὸ [ὄρους καὶ ἕως
 13 τοῦ ὄρους· ἡμέρα ὕδατος καὶ θ***** 13 ἔσται ἡ γῆ εἰς ἀφανισμόν [μετὰ τῶν
 14 κατοικούν]των αὐτὴν ἀπὸ καρπῶν [ἐπιτηδευμάτων] αὐτῶν 14 ποίμαινε τὸν λαόν
 [σου ἐν ῥάβδῳ] φυλῆς σου· πρόβατα κληρον . . [κα]τασκοινοῦντες κατὰ μ[όνας
 δρυμῶν ἐν μέ]σῳ τοῦ καρμήλου νεμήσον . . καὶ τὴν γαλααδεῖτιν κα[τὰ τὰς
 15 ἡμέρας τοῦ] αἰῶνος 15 καὶ κατὰ . . [ἐξοδίας] σου ἐκ γῆς αἰγύπτ[ου] δείξω
 16 αὐτοῖς θαυμάσια 16 [ὥ]σεται ἔθνη καὶ κατασυχνηθήσονται ἐκ πάσης . . ὕος
 αὐτῶν ἐπιθήσουσι χεῖρας ἐπὶ τὸ [στόμα] αὐτῶν τὰ ὦτα αὐτῶν ἀποκωφω
 17 . . αἰ 17 λήξουσιν χοῦν ὥς ὀφείς σύροντες [γῆν] συγχυθήσονται ἐν συγκλεισμῷ
 18 αὐτῶν . . [τῷ] κῶ θῶ ἡμῶν ἐκστήσονται καὶ φο . . σονται ἀπὸ σοῦ 18 τίς
 θς ὥσπερ σύ; . . ἀνομίας καὶ ὑπερβαίνων ἀσεβείας [τοῖς κατ]αλοιπίοις τῆς

VII. 18^a Chrys. *Contra Anom.* x 3. *In Paral.* 6

s. πολιορκίαν] Aq ΣΘ ἕως του ποταμου ad fin com] και εως του ποταμου συριας
 ημερα υδατος και θορυβου 86 και απο θαλασσης εως θαλασσης και απο ορους εως του
 ορους 86^{ms} εως του ποταμου] + συριας A 22 36 48 51 95 97 185 εως ποταμου (hab
 του Q^{ms}) συριας ημερα υδατος και θορυβου Q εως ποταμου συριας 62 147 εως ποταμων 153
 om του 228 και α(πο θα)λασσης—ορους 2^o] om Q* (hab Q^{ms}) απο 2^o] pr και
 BA Q L ορους 1^o] pr του A Q^{ms} 95 147 185 και 3^o] om BA Q του ορους]
 om του B^{ab} (hab B*) ημερα υδατος και θ*****] om B Q 48 86 95 153 185 228
 233 ημερα υδατος και θορυβου A 22 36 51 62 97 147 13. εσται] pr και BA Q L
 (exc εστιν 95 185) (μετα των κατοικουν]των] συν τοις κατοικουσιν B 48 αυτην]
 αυτων A απο] εκ A Q* (απο Q^{ms}) 86 153 233 καρπων] + πονηριας 36 (επι-
 τηδευματων] αυτων] επιτηδευματων . . ηριας αυτων (sic) 228 pr των 233 αυτων] om
 95 185 14. των] om BA Q 48 86 153 228 233 (σου) 1^o] μον 62 ܐܬܝܢ
 Syro-Hex φυλης] om B 48 228 (hab 228^a) φυλην A Q 233 φιλης 22 om OL^c
 Syro-Hex (κα)τασκοινοντες] -τας BA Q L (exc -ντα 153) κατα μ(ονας)] καθ
 εαυτους BA Q (κατα μονας Q^{ms}) 48 καθ εαυτους κατα μονας 86 om OL^c δρυμον]
 δρυμη Q^a vid convalle OL^c γαλααδετιν] γαλααδιτιν A Q κα(τα τας ημερας)]
 καθως αι ημεραι BA Q (κατα τας Q^{ms}) 48 97 153 233 καθ οσον αι ημεραι Σ (Syro-Hex
 = Y) 15. και] om 86 (εξοδιας] σου] εξοδους σου 36 pr της 51 86 95 147 185
 228 της διεξοδιας σου 62 profectionis eorum OL^c εκ γης] εφ BA Q (εκ γης Q^{ms}) 48
 153 233 (a terra OL^c ܐܬܝܢ Syro-Hex) (δειξω αυτοις)] οψεσθε BA Q (δειξω
 αυτοις Q^{ms}) 48 153 233 δειξω αυτοις 86 . . αυτω Σ (ostendam illis OL^c ܐܬܝܢ ܐܬܝܢ
 Syro-Hex) (θαυμασια)] θαυμαστα BA Q 48 153 233 16. (ω]σεται)] οψονται BA Q
 48 86 153 228 233 videbunt OL^c ܐܬܝܢ Syro-Hex κατασυχνηθησονται] -σεται 22
 36 51 62 97 147 αισυχνηθησεται 95 185 (confundentur OL^c ܐܬܝܢ Syro-Hex) + και
 B Q 22 48 233 (om OL^c Syro-Hex) επιθησουσι χεiras] -σιν χ. B επιθ. χειρα A
 τας χεiras επιθησουσιν Q 153 233 pr και L OL^c (om και Syro-Hex) το (στομα)] om
 το A Q 228 233 τω στοματι 86 τα ωτα] pr και A 17. (OL^c = Y) ληξουσιν]
 -σιν BA Q λειξουσιν Q^a οφεις] οφισ BA Q 86 95 185 συροντες (γην)] συρομενος
 επι της γης 86^{ms} Σ συροντες την γην 233 συγχυθησονται] συγχυθησονται Q* παρα-
 χθησονται Q^{ms} 228 συσχεθησονται 22 36 51 62 95 97 147 185 συναχθησονται 86
 συγκλεισμων] συνκλ. B συγκλ. B^{ab} A Q^a συγκλισμω Q* αυταν] om 153 (τω) κω
 θω] κυριω τω θεω 22 36 51 62 86 95 97 147 185 εκστησονται] εκθησονται 147
 18. τις] + γαρ (al om) Chrys ανομιας] αδικιας A L (exc 48 153 228 233) iniustitiam
 OL^c και] om Chrys ασεβειας] αδικιας Q 86^{ms} 153 228 233 Chrys (al ασεβειας)

19 ¹⁹ αὐτὸς ἐπιστρέψει καὶ οἱ . . εἰ ἡμᾶς καταδύσει τὰς ἁμαρτίας . . καὶ ἀπορι-
20 σθήσονται εἰς τὰ βάθη τῆς . . πᾶσαι αἱ ἁμαρτίαι ἡμῶν· ²⁰ δώσεις [ἀληθειάν
σου] τῷ ἰακώβ ἔλεον τῷ ἀβραάμ . . [τοῖς] πατράσιν ἡμῶν κα[τὰ τὰς ἡμέρας
τὰς] ἔμπροσθεν·

... στιχῶν \bar{Y}

1 ΛΗΜΜΑ ΝΙΝΕΥΗ. ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ ΟΡΑCΕΩC ΝΑΟΥΜ ΤΟΥ ΕΛΚΕC[ΑΙΟΥ] Ι

2² ὁ ἡλωτῆς καὶ ἐκδικῶν κ̅σ̅ μετὰ θυμοῦ· καὶ ἐκδικῶν κ̅σ̅ τ . . . ναντίους
3 αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἐξαίρων . . . ἐχθροὺς αὐτοῦ· ³ κ̅σ̅ μακρόθυμ . . . λη ἡ ἰσχὺς
αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀθῶον [οὐκ ἀθῶώσει] κ̅σ̅ ἐν συντελείᾳ καὶ ἐν συν[σειμῶ] . . .
4 καὶ νεφέλῃ κοινορτὸς ποδ . . . ⁴ [ἀπει]λῶν θαλάσση καὶ ξηράν . . . τας τοὺς
ποταμοὺς . . . [ὀλιγώθῃ] ἡ βασανίτης καὶ ἡ κάρμη[λος καὶ πάντα ἐ]ξανθούντα
5 τοῦ λιβ . . . ⁵· ἐσεισθῇ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ . . . καὶ ἀνεστάλη ἡ γῆ σύμ-
l. 1 Chrys. *In Is.* i 1 4 *In Muf.* § 5 *In Ep. I. ad Cor.* Hom. xxxiv 6

ἡ γὰρ ἡ. Q^{ms} αὐτοῦ 1^o] σου 95 185 (οὐ σὺν) εσχεν] οὐκ ἐκρατήσεν Q^{ms} 228 ἢ καὶ
 E (εκ 22 51 95 97 185) οὐ σὺν 153 οὐκ ἐκρατήσεν Σ non continuit OL^w εἰς μαρ-
 τυρίον] εἰς αἶ Σ εἰς τέλος Θ εἰς μαρτυρίον Quint ὁρῃν αὐτοῦ] ὁρῃν a sup ras B^{ss}
 στῆ] στ ν sup ras B¹ 19. αὐτός] οὐ B 48 228* (hab 228*) 233 (ipse OL^w)
 Syro-Hex) καταδύσει] καταλύσει 62 ἢ καὶ 95 185 καταλύσει 147 ἢ et OL^w
 αμαρτίας] αδικίας B 48 153 233 ἢ omnes OL^w ἀποριφίσσονται] ἀπορριφεί A Q^a
 (σπορή. Q^a) 86^{ms} 153 proicietur OL^w demerget OL^{text} ܡܬܪܝܢ Syro-Hex πασαι
 αἱ αμαρτίαι] πασας τας αμαρτίας B A Q 48 228 (πασαι αἱ αμ. 228*) 233 πασαι αἱ ἀνομιαί
 86 (πασας τας αμαρτίας 86^{ms}) οὐ πασαι OL^{text} (hab OL^w) ἤμων] αὐτῶν 20. δώσεις]
 δώσει B A Q 48 153 228 233 δώσεις Aq Σ Θ (dabis OL^w) ܡܬܪܝܢ Syro-Hex (αλη-
 θειαν σου)] εἰς ἀληθειαν B A Q 48 153 228 233 OL^w Syro-Hex ἐλεον] ἐλεος A Q^a
 (ἐλεον Q^a) 153 (τοῖς) παρὰ σὺν ἡμῶν] οὐ 86 κα(τα τας ἡμέρας τας) ἐμπροσθεν]
 κατὰ τας ἡμέρας τας ἀρχαίας Aq ἐξ ἡμερῶν ἀρχαίων Σ, . . τας ἐμπροσθεν Θ ἐμπρο-
 σθεν] οἱ ἡ. ἀγογγθεν Q^{ms}

Subscr Μεταίας γ' B* M^uχ. B^b A Q (pr M^uχ. τις ουτος παρ Εβραίοις ε' Q^a)

μυθίας στιχων ὁ 22

Inscr Ναουμ ζ ΒΑΑQ 22 ερμηνεία ναουμ του προφήτου 95 185 1.
λημμα] λειμμα 233 αρμα Αq νινευη] περι νινευη Σ νινευι Chrys βιβλιον] φη
ει (al om) Chrys ελκεσ(αιου)] ελκαισεον Ν* ελκεσεον Ν^{c,b} 2. (ζηλωτς]
ܐܠܟܝܣܐܝܐ ܕܥܕܝܐ Syro-Hex^{me} και εκδικων κ̄ 1^o) om 153 185 (hab
185^{me}) κ̄ 1^o) + εκδικων Β^{ab} μετα θυμον] (και) εχων θυμον Αq Σ και 2^o) om
Β (hab Ν^{c,a}) ΑQ 22 48 86 228 233 κ̄ 2^o) om Q 3. αθων] αθων Ν^{c,a}, c,b
ΑQ^a 36 53 97 αθων Q* αθων 51 228 (αθωασει)] αθωασει Β* ΝΑQ* (αθωασει
Β^bQ*) αθωαση 95 αθωασε 185 κ̄ 2^o) και 153 εν συντελεια και εν συν(σεισμω)]
και καταγιδος και λαϊλαπος Σ συντελεια] συντελεια Ν* (-λεια Ν^{c,b}) συν(σεισμω)]
νυνσιμος Β^{ab} ΝQ* και νεφελη] και νεφελα ΒΝΑQ 186 νεφης Σ Θ κοινοτοπος]
φη και 62 4. (απει)λων θαλασση και ξηραν . .] comminans mari et arefaciens
illud OL^{int} ο απειλων τη θαλασση και εξερημων al απειλων θαλασση και ξηραινων αυτην
Chrys (απει)λων επιτιμιων Αq Σ ξηραν . .] ξηραινων ΒΝΑQ 147 (ολιγωθη)]
ολιγωθη Β^b Ν* (ολιγ. Ν^{c,a}, c,b) Α 18 (εκε 62 147) ωλιγωρηθη 62 147 η 2^o) ο
ΒΝΑQ 186 (παντα)] τα ΒΝ* ΑQ παντα τα Ν^{c,b} 36 51 62 95 97 147 185 5.
εσεισθη] ισεισθησαν ΒΝΑQ 22 48 86 233 commoti sunt OL^a OL^a απ] υπ Q* 153

E 2

6 πασα καὶ [οἱ κατοικοῦντες] . . . ⁶ [πρὸ] προσώπου ὀργῆς . . . [καὶ] τίς ἀν-
 7 στήσεται ἐν . . . [ὁ θυ]μὸς αὐτοῦ τή[ει] . . . [διεθρύ]βησαν ἀπ' αὐτ' .⁷ —
 8 αὐτὸν ἐν ἡμέρῃ θλίψεως καὶ γινώ . . . τοὺς εὐλαβουμένους αὐτόν .⁸ καὶ
 . . . λυσμῷ πορείας συντέλειαν ποι . . . τοὺς ἐπεγειρομένους καὶ τοὺς ἐ . . . τ
 9 διώζεται σκότος .⁹ τί λογί[ζε]σθε ἐπὶ τὸν κν; συντέλειαν αὐτὸς ποιήσει . [κα
 10 οὐκ ἐ]κδικήσῃ δις ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐν θλί[ψει ¹⁰ ὅτι] ἔως θεμελίου αὐτῶν χερσῶθ
 [σεται καὶ] ὥς σμίλαξ περιπλεκομένη [βρωθῇ]σεται ὥς καλάμη ξηρασί .
 11 ¹¹ [ἐκ] σοῦ ἐξελεύσεται λογισμὸς κα . . . [πον]ηρὰ βουλευόμενος ἐναντί[ca
 12 ¹² . . . κσ̄ κατάρχων υδάτων . . . [δια]σταλήσονται . καὶ ἡ . . . νακουσθήσεται
 13 ¹³ ἔτι .¹³ καὶ νῦν συ . . . βδον αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ σοῦ καὶ τοὺς [δεσμοὺς σοῦ δι]αρήξω
 14 ¹⁴ καὶ ἐντελεῖται κσ̄ [περὶ σοῦ] . . . σεται ἐκ τοῦ ὀνόματός . . . ἐξολοθρεύσεται

6^b De Mund. Creat. Orat. iv 6

(ab OL^c OL^a) αὐτον] αυτων 147 (αυτου 147^a) καὶ . . . καὶ α] omi N^a (hab και ου
 βουνου εσαλευθησαν και N¹⁷? partim resc partim inst N^c) et colles contremuerunt et
 OL^c OL^a και ανεσταλη ad fin com] et formidavit universa terrae et petrae con-
 fractae sunt ante eum OL^a (cf com 6) et denudata est terra ante faciem eius et
 omnes qui inhabitant illam OL^c ανεσταλη] ανεστη N^c (ανεσταλη revoce N^c)
 εφριξεν Aq εκνηθη Σ̄ συμπασα] συνπασα N A (οι κατοικουντες)] pr παντες B
 N A Q 2L (exc 22 51 97) pr 6. (προ)] απο B N A Q 2L (exc
 22 51 62 95 97 147 185) 86 a OL^c Syro-Hex 6. (προ)] απο B N A Q 2L (exc
 ad fin com] OL^c = Y οργης] omi Q^a vid (hab Q^a (m)) (και) τις αντιστησεται] ο
 62 και τις υποστησεται 153 Σ̄ και τις αντιστησεται . . . Aq εν . . .] οργην θυμου αυτου
 (ο)] omi 22 51 97 τηκ(ει)] συνεχανευθη Aq εσταξεν Σ̄ Θ̄ (ο θυ)μος αυτου ad
 com] ο θυμος αυτου τηκει αρχας και αι πετραι εθρυβησαν απ αυτου Chrys 7. (ε
 = Y) αυτον 1^o] pon post θλιψεως 228 αυτον 2^o] + και εν ταφω 153 8.
 εν—τους επεγειρομενους] και εν κατακλυσμω παρερχομενω συντελειαν ποιησει του το
 αυτης Σ̄ εν] omi 153 πορειας] ποριας N̄ συντελειαν] συντελιαν N^a (-λειαν N̄
 τους επεγειρομενους] τους εξεγειρ. 22 51 62 95 97 147 185 απο ανισταμενων Aq cons
 gentibus ei Θ̄ a consurgentibus illi Quint 9. τι] omi Q^a (superscr Q^a) λο
 ξε(σθε)] διαλογιζεσθε 233 συντελειαν] συντελιαν N^a (-λειαν N^c) αυτος] αυ
 22 ποιησει] ποιησεται B N^c (ποιησει N^a) A Q 48 86 153 233 (και)] omi B N A
 48 86 153 228 233 Syro-Hex (ουκ ε)κδικησει—χερσωθη(σεται) in com seq] omi N̄
 (hab N^c, a, c, b) (ουκ ε)κδικησει ad fin com] ουχ ανθυποστησονται την επαναστασα
 δευτερας θλιψεως Σ̄ ουκ αναστησεται δευτερον θλιψις Θ̄ non enim vindicabit Dominus bi
 in idipsum OL^{am} δις] omi 153 10. (οτι) εως ad fin com] αλλα ομοιωι στοιβ
 συμπεπλεγμενη οντως και το συμποσιον αυτων συμπινοντων αλληλοις αναλωθησεται ω
 καλαμη μεστη ξηρα Σ̄ θεμελιου] θεμελιαν 228 αυτων] αυτου B Q 48 86 228 23
 αυτης N^c, a, c, b 6. (προ)] απο B N A Q 2L (exc
 228 233) ως σμίλαξ] ωςμίλας N^a (ως σμίλαξ N^c, b) ωςίλαξ A 22 ωςμίλαξ 62 95 14
 185 περιπλεκομενη] πεπλεκομενη 22 (βρωθ)σεται] -σονται 2L (exc 48 62 14
 228 233) ως 2^o] pr και B N A Q 2L 11. (εκ) σου] ες ου N̄ εξελευσεται
 εξηλθεν Aq Σ̄ Θ̄ (πον)ηρα ad fin com] κακιαν βουλευομενος αποστασιαν Aq (πον)ηρα
 α' κακιαν Q^{ms} omi 233 βουλευομενος] λογιζομενος A Q^a α' βουλευομενος αποστασι
 Q^{ms} εναντι(a)] pr ποιησεται A^a (ras τα A¹) pr και 62 147 pr 6. (προ)] απο B N A Q 2L (exc
 12. . . . κσ̄ κατάρχων υδάτων . . .] haec dicit Dominus princeps aquarum multarum
 OL^a (δια)σταλήσονται] διαστησονται 233 13. (σου) 2^o] omi B N^c, a (hab N^a N^a
 A 48 86 (δι)αρηξω] διαρρηξω B^b N^c, b A Q 14. κσ̄ (περι σου)] υπερ σου κυριο

6 πασα καὶ [οἱ κατοικοῦντες] . . . ⁶ [πρὸ] προσώπου ὀργῆς . . . [καὶ] τίς ἀντι—
 7 στήσεται ἐν . . . [ὁ θυ]μὸς αὐτοῦ τήκ[ει] . . . [διεθρῶ]βησαν ἀπ' αὐτ . . . ⁷ . . .
 8 αὐτὸν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ θλίψεως καὶ γινώ . . . τοὺς εὐλαβουμένους αὐτόν· ⁸ καὶ ἐν—
 . . . λυσμῷ πορείας συντέλειαν ποι . . . τοὺς ἐπεχειρομένους καὶ τοὺς ἐ . . . τοῦ
 9 διώζεται σκότος· ⁹ τί λογιζέ[σθε ἐπὶ] τὸν κν; συντέλειαν αὐτὸς ποιήσκει [καὶ
 10 οὐκ ἐ]κδικήσκει δις ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐν θλίψει ¹⁰ ὅτι] ἕως θεμελίου αὐτῶν χερσωθή—
 [σεται καὶ] ὡς σμίλαξ περιπλεκόμενη [βρωθή]σεται ὡς καλάμη ξηρασί . . .
 11 ¹¹ [ἐκ] σοῦ ἐξελεύσεται λογισμὸς κα . . . [πον]ηρὰ βουλευόμενος ἐναντί[α]
 12 ¹² . . . κσ κατάρχων ὑδάτων . . . [δια]σταλήσονται καὶ ἡ . . . νακουσθήσεται
 13 ἔτι· ¹³ καὶ νῦν συ . . . βδον αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ σοῦ καὶ τοὺς [δεσμὸν] σου δι[α]ρήξω·
 14 ¹⁴ καὶ ἐντελεῖται κσ [περὶ σοῦ] . . . σεται ἐκ τοῦ ὀνόματός . . . ἐξολοθρεύσω

6^b De Mund. Creat. Orat. iv 6

(ab OL^a OL^a) αὐτου] αυτων 147 (αυτου 147^a) καὶ . . . καὶ α] om N* (hab και οι
 βουννοι εσαλευθησαν και N^{1a2} partim rescir partim inst N^{c.6}) et colles contremuerunt et
 OL^a OL^a και ανεσταλη ad fin com] et formidavit universa terrae et petrae con-
 fractae sunt ante eum OL^a (cf com 6) et denudata est terra ante faciem eius et
 omnes qui inhabitant illam OL^a ανεσταλη] ανεστη N^{c.b} (ανεσταλη γενοε N^{c.6})
 εφριξεν Aq εκινηθη Σ συμπασα] συνπασα N A (οι κατοικουντες)] pr παντες B
 N A Q L (exc 22 51 97) pr Syro-Hex 6. (προ)] απο B N A Q L (exc
 22 51 62 95 97 147 185) 86 a OL^a Syro-Hex 6. Syro-Hex^{ms} προσωπου
 ad fin com] OL^a = Y οργης] om Q^a vid (hab Q^a (ms)) (και) τις αντιστησεται] om
 62 και τις υποστησεται 153 Σ και τις αντιστησεται . . . Aq εν . . .] οργην θυμου αυτου Σ
 (ο)] om 22 51 97 τηκ(ει)] συνεχανευθη Aq εσταξεν Σ Θ (ο θυ)μος αυτου ad fin
 com] ο θυμος αυτου τηκει αρχας και αι πετραι εθρυβησαν απ αυτου Chrys 7. (OL^a
 = Y) αυτον 1^o] pon post θλιψεως 228 αυτον 2^o] + και εν ταφω 153 8. και
 εν—τους επεχειρομενους] και εν κατακλυσμω παρερχομενω συντελειαν ποιησει του τοπου
 αυτης Σ εν] om 153 πορειας] ποριας N συντελειαν] συντελιαν N* (-λειαν N^{c.b})
 τους επεχειρομενους] τους εξεγειρ. 22 51 62 95 97 147 185 απο ανισταμεναν Aq consur-
 gentibus ei Θ a consurgentibus illi Quint 9. τι] om Q* (superscr Q^a) λογι-
 ζε(σθε)] διαλογιζεσθε 233 συντελειαν] συντελιαν N* (-λειαν N^{c.b}) αυτος] αυτου
 22 ποιησει] ποιησεται B N^{c.b} (ποιησει N*) A Q 48 86 153 233 (και)] om B N A Q
 48 86 153 228 233 Syro-Hex (ουκ εκδικησει—χερσωθη(σεται) in com seq] om N*
 (hab N^{c.a}, c.b) (ουκ εκδικησει ad fin com] ουχ ανθυποστησονται την επαναστασιν
 δευτερας θλιψεως Σ ουκ αναστησεται δευτερον θλιψις Θ non enim vindicabit Dominus bis
 in idipsum OL^{am} δις] om 153 10. (οτι) εως ad fin com] αλλα ομοιως στοιβη
 συμπλεγμενη ουτως και το συμποσιον αυτων συμπινοντων αλληλοις αναλωθησεται ως
 καλαμη μεστη ξηρα Σ θεμελιον] θεμελιαν 228 αυτων] αυτου B Q 48 86 228 233
 αυτης N^{c.a}, c.b] Syro-Hex χερσωθη(σεται)] χερσωθησονται A L 86 (exc 48
 228 233) ως σμιλαξ] ωσμιλας N* (ως σμιλαξ N^{c.b}) ωσιλαξ A 22 ως μιλαξ 62 95 147
 185 περιπλεκομενη] πεπλεκομενη 22 (βρωθη)σεται] -σονται L (exc 48 62 147
 228 233) ως 2^o] pr και B N A Q L 11. (εκ) σου] εξ ου N εξελευσεται]
 εξηλθεν Aq Σ Θ (πον]ηρα ad fin com] κακιαν βουλευομενος αποστασιαν Aq (πον]ηρα]
 α' κακιαν Q^{ms} om 233 βουλευομενος] λογιζομενος A Q^a α' βουλευομενος αποστασια
 Q^{ms} εναντι(α)] pr ποιησεται A* (gas τα A¹) pr και 62 147 pr Syro-Hex
 12. . . . κσ καταρχων υδατων . . .] haec dicit Dominus princeps aquarum multarum
 OL^a (δια]σταλησονται] διαστησονται 233 13. (σου) 2^o] om B N^{c.a} (hab N*)
 A 48 86 (δι]αρηξω] διαρρηξω B^b N^{c.b} A Q 14. κσ (περι σου)] υπερ σου κυριος

15 γλυπτά . . . ομαι ταφήν σου ὅ[τι ταχεῖς] ¹⁵ . . . πι τὰ ὄρη . . . ἀπαγγέλ-
 λαιτος εἰρήνην· ἐόρταζε ἰουδα τὰς ἐορτάς σου διότι οὐ μὴ προσθῶσιν ἐτι
 1, 2 τοῦ διελ**** εἰς παλαίωσιν· ¹ συντετέλεισται ἐξήρ[ται] ² [ἀ]νέβη ἐμφυσῶν II
 εἰς πρόσωπον αὐτ[οῦ] ἐξαιρούμενός σε ἐκ θλίψεως σκό[πευσον] ὁδὸν κρά-
 3 τησον δι' αὐτοῦ ἀνδρ[ισαι] τῇ ἰσχύ[ι] σφόδρα· ³ διότι ἀπέστρεψε κ̅ς τ . .
 ἰακὼβ καθὼς ὕβριν τοῦ ἰηλ. δ . . νάσσοντες ἐξετίαξαν αὐτὸν . . [κλή]-
 4 ματα αὐτῶν διέφθειραν· ⁴ ὅπ . . ας αὐτοῦ· ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀνδρ[ες] δυνατοὶ
 ἐμ[παίζοντες] ἐν πυρὶ αἱ ἡνία . . αὐτῶν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐτοιμ[ασίας] αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ]
 5 ἰππεῖς θορυβήσονται· ⁵ . . [καὶ] συγχυθήσονται τὰ ἄρματ[α καὶ συμπλα]-
 κήσεται ἐν ταῖς πλατεί[αις] . . τῶν ὡς λαμπάδες πυρ . . παὶ διατρέχουσαι.
 6 καὶ . . [οἱ με]γιστάνες αὐτῶν καὶ [φεύζονται ἡμέρας] καὶ ἀσθενήσουσιν ἐν
 [τῇ πορείᾳ αὐτῶν] καὶ σπεύσουσιν ἐπὶ τὰ [τείχη καὶ ἐτοιμά]σουσι τὰς προ-
 7 φυλά[κας αὐτῶν] ⁷ . . τῶν πόλεων διηνοίχθησαν καὶ τὰ βασίλεια [διέπεσε]

15^b De Serp. v. In Ascens. D. N. Ies. Chr. ii 4II. 1. 2^a Ibid.

BA Q 153 περι σου κ̅ς ΝΞ (ex 22 36 51 97) εκ του] εζ Ν^{a,b} 228 εξολοθρευσω
 —ταφήν σου] exterminabo sculptilia tua et fusilia tua in sepulturam OL^a εξολο-
 θρυνσω] εξολοθρ. BNA Q γλυπτα] pr τα BA Q (improb Ν^{a,b}) 48 86 153 233 + σου
 Α ο[τι ταχεῖς]] pr οτι ητιμαθης 22 36 οτι ητιμαθης 95 185 οτι υβρισθης Quint
 15, απαγγελλοτος] -ντες 62 147 adnuntiantes OL^a omi OL^{text} ἰουδα] ἰουδας (s ras)
 22 εορτας σου] + αποδος τας ευχας σου BA Q 48 86 153 228 233 σου αποδος τας
 te sup ras Νⁱ + αποδος τω θω τας ευχας σου 22 36 51 62 95 97 147 185 228^a Chrys +
 𐤒𐤓 𐤒𐤓 Syro-Hex προσθωσιν] προσθησασιν B 48 86 (Chrys = Y)
 διελ****] + δια σου BN 48 86 ελθειν Chrys εἰς] προς (al εἰς) Chrys
 II. 1. εξηρ[ται]] εξητε Ν* (εξηρτε Ν^{a,a} -ρται Ν^{a,b} etiam ανηλωται Ν^{a,b,mg}) ανηλωται
 36^{mg} 228 𐤒𐤓 𐤒𐤓 * Syro-Hex 𐤒𐤓 Syro-Hex^{mg,al,ne,nom} 2. (α)νεβη] + εκ
 της γης Chrys ἐμφυσαν] ενφυσαν Ν pr ο Chrys εἰς προσωπον αυτ[ου]] εἰς pr. σου
 BNA Ξ (ex 22 51 95 185) 86 εἰς το pr. σου Q* (improb το Q*) 153 Chrys (ἐξαι-
 ρουμενος σε] omi σε BN 48 86 95 185 228^{sup,lin} 233 pr και Chrys εκ] omi 22
 σκ[ο]πευσον] ad fin com] OL^a = Y (τη ισχυι)] της ισχ. (nisi forte τη εισχ.) Ν* + σου
 A 153 228 3. απεστρεψε] -ψεν BNA Q 22 (ν ras) του ἰηλ] ἰακωβ 95^{mg} omi
 του 153 (κλη)ματα] κτηματα 147 διεφθειραν] διεφθαρων 153 4. αυτου 1^o)
 αυτων BNA Q 48 51 86 153 233 𐤒𐤓 Syro-Hex 𐤒𐤓 Syro-Hex^{mg} εζ
 ανθρωπων] omi Q* (hab Q^{mg}) ανδρ[ες δυνατοι]] ανδρας δυνατους BNA Q 36 48 86
 153 228 233 (εμ)παιζοντες] εμπαζοντας BNA Q 36 48 86 153 228 233 αυτων
 αυτου Q* 𐤒𐤓 Syro-Hex 𐤒𐤓 Syro-Hex^{mg} (αυτου) 2^o) αυτων Ν^{a,b}
 (postea rurs αυτου) 36 51 97 θορυβησονται] θορυβηθησονται Ξ (ex 62 147 233) 86
 5. (και) συγχυθησονται] και συσχυθησονται Ν* (συνχυθ. Ν^{a,a,c,b}) συγχυθησονται Α*
 συγχυθησεται 22 51 62 95 97 147 185 228 και συγχυθησεται 36 (συμπλα)κησεται]
 συνελακησονται B συμπλακησονται B^b NA Q* (συμπλεκ. Q*) Ξ (ex 22 51 62 97 147)
 πλατι[αις]] πλαταιαις NA 6. (οι με)γιστάνες αυτων] οι μεγισταναι αυτων 51 omi
 αυτων 95 185 και (φευζονται ημερας]] sub 𐤒 Syro-Hex (' Hic obelus non positus
 erat in Hexaplis' in mg) ασθενησουσιν] κρατησουσιν 95 185 εν] επι 147 εν
 (τη πορεία αυτων)] εν τη απορεία αυτων 95 185 (τη πορεία)] τη πορια B* N Q* (-ρεία
 B^a) Q^a) τας πορειαις Α επι τα (τειχη)] + αυτης BN 48 86 omi επι 147 ετοιμα-
 σουν] -σιν BNA Q (-σι Q*) προφυλα[κας]] φυλακας 153 7. πολεων] signa
 v l adscr B⁷ (ras aliq in mg) ποταμων Ν* (πολεων Ν^{a,a,c,b}) βασιλεια] βασιλεια Ν*

- 8^a καὶ ἡ ὑπόστασις ἀπεκαλύφθη· καὶ αὕτη ἀνέβαινε καὶ αἱ δοῦλαι αὐτῇ
 9 καθὼς περιστεραὶ φθεγγόμεναι ἐν [καρδίᾳ] ἑαυτῶν· ⁹ καὶ νινευὴ ὡς κ
 . . ὕδατος τὰ ὕδατα αὐτῆς καὶ . [φ]εύγοντες οὐκ ἔστησαν καὶ οὐκ ἦν ὁ
 10 βλέπων] ¹⁰ διήρπαζον τὸ ἀργύριον δι[ήρπαζον] τὸ χρυσίον καὶ οὐκ ἦν
 11 . . αὐτῆς· βεβάρυνται ὑπὲρ πάν . . αὐτῆς τὰ ἐπιθυμητὰ αὐτῆς· ¹¹ ἐκ
 γμὸς καὶ ἀ]νατιναγμὸς καὶ ἐκβραγμὸς [καὶ καρδίας θρα]υσμὸς καὶ ὑπό
 γο . . ἐς ἐπὶ πᾶσαν ὄσφυν καὶ [τὰ πρόσωπα π]άντων ὡς πρόσκαυμα
 12 χύτρας ¹² τοῦ ἐ]στι τὸ κατοικητήριον . . . μὴ ἡ οὐσα τοῖς σκυ[μνοῖς ;
 ἐμπορεύθῃ] λέων τοῦ εἰσελθεῖν [ἐκεῖ σκύμνον λέοντος] καὶ οὐκ ἦ ὁ ἐκφο[
 13 ¹³ . . . ἱκανὰ τοῖς σκυ . . . ἀπέπνιξε τοῖς λέουσιν . . . θήρας νοσσιαν α
 14 καὶ τὸ κατοικητήριον αὐτοῦ ἀρπαγῆς ¹⁴ καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἐπὶ σὲ λέγει κω π
 κράτ[ωρ] καὶ ἐκκαύσω ἐν καπνῷ πληθός . . καὶ τοὺς λέοντάς σου κατ
 γεται [μάχαι]ρα καὶ ἐξυλοθρεύσω ἐκ τῆς γῆς τ . . αν σου καὶ ο
 III I ἀκουσθῇ ἔτι . . σου. ¹ ὦ πόλις αἱμάτων ὅλη ψευδ[ῆς ἀδικί]ας πλήρ
 2 ψηλαφηθήσεται θ[ῆ]ρα ². νῆ μαστίγων καὶ φωνῇ σεισμοῦ [τροχῶν
 3 ἵππου διώκοντος καὶ ἄρματ[ος ἀναβράσ]σοντος· ³ ἱππέως ἐπιβαίνον[τι
 (-λεια N^{c,a}) (διεπσε) διεπσεν B N διεπσαν A Q διεπσεν 153 233 8
 καλυφθῇ] διεκαλυφθῇ 153 ανεβαινε ανεβαινεν B Q ανεβεννεν N αναιβε
 φθεγγόμεναι] αποφθ. 36 εν (καρδια) εαυτων εν καρδιας αυτων B N Q 48 86 11
 233 εν ταις καρδιας αυτων A εν καρδιας εαυτων 36 97 9. ως ην A ην ως 36 22
 τα] τειχη A (φ)ευγοντες φθυ[τες N* (φευγοντες N^{c,a,c,b} (vid)] φθεγγομαι
 ε(πιβλεπων)] βλεπων A 10. διηρπαζον το αργυριον] ομι 233 διηρπαζ
 διηρπασαν B το] ομι 62 δι(ηρπαζον) το 2^ο] sup ras B^{ab} υπερ] επι B
 233 περι 22 αυτης 2^ο] ομι B N A Q 233 επιθυμητα επιθυμηματα Q* (-θυμητ
 233 αυτης 3^ο] ομι 22 36 51 62 95 97 147 185 11. εκ(τιναγμους)] εντι
 Q* εκτινασμος 62 (και α)νατιναγμος] ομι 62 147 και εκβραγμος] και εκβ[
 B^{fortab} N Q L (εχε 153 και βρασμος] ομι και 95 185 (και καρδιας θρα)υσμος] ο
 Q ομι 147 (θρα)υσμος] θρανμος N* (θρανσμος N^{c,a}) υπολυσις] παραλυσ
 (τα προσωπα)] το προσωπον B N A Q L (εχε 22 36 51 62 97 147) 86 (π)ο
 αυτων 95 185 προσκαυμα] προκαυμα 185 228 (της χυτρας)] ομι της L (εχε
 51 97) (χυτρας)] χυθρας N* (χυτρας N^{c,a,c,b}) χ ras revoc 22^a κυτρας 51 χυττ
 62 ^{vid} χυτης 147 12. εστι -ιν B N A Q τοις σκυ(μνοις)] (-μνοι N*
 N^{c,a}) ρr εν A 153 που 2^ο] ου A 153 εισελθειν]+ σφοδρα 95 185 (σκυ
 σκυμνος N^{c,a} A Q 153 228 σκυμνοι 22 36 51 62 95 97 147 185 (λεοντος)] ιη
 N* (λεοντ. N^{c,a} (vid)] λεοντων 36 51 62 95 97 147 185 εκφο(βαιν)] εκφοραιν N
 φοβαν N^{c,a}) εκφευγων 233 13. απεπνιξε] -ξε εν B N A Q (-ξε Q^a) + τα ικε
 λεουσιν] οδουσιν 36 228 θηρας] θηραν N* (θηρας N^{c,a,c,b}) νοσσιαν αυτου] ν. .
 62 147 14. και 1^ο] ομι B N A Q 48 86 153 228 233 εγω]+ ειμι N^{c,a} (γυι
 σε] αι N* (σε N^{c,a,c,b}) παντοκρατ(ωρ)] ρr ο A Q λεοντας] λεγοντας (si
 (μαχαι)ρα] ρομφαια B N A Q 36 48 86 153 228 233 και 4^ο] ομι Q* εξολοθ[
 εξολεθρ. B N A Q της γης] ομι της Q* (hab Q^{ms}) 62 153 ου μη ακουσθῇ
 μη ακ. ουκετι B N* 48 86 233 ου μη ακ. ετι N² ουκετι ου μη ακ. A ου μη εισακ.
 153 σου 3^ο] ομι 153
 III. 1. (αδικι)ας πληρης] tr A Q 153 233 εξανχενισμου πληρης Aq αποτομ
 μελοκοπιας] πληρης Σ ου ψηλαφηθήσεται θ(ηρα)] οπου αδιαλειπτος η θ
 θ(ηρα)] θηραι 62^{vid} 2. (τροχων)] ο superscr (ras aliq) 22 τειχων 51 6
 62 147 ιππου] ιππων N* (ιππου N^{c,a,c,b}) (αναβρασ)σοντος] ομι Q* (hab Q
 3. ιππεως] ρr και B N* (improb N^{c,b}) A Q L (εχε 228) επιβαινον(τος)]

βοήτης βομφαίας καὶ ἔξασ . . ὅπλων καὶ πλήθους [τραυματιῶν καὶ] βαρείας
 πτώσεως καὶ οὐκ ἦν πέρας τοῖς] ἔθνεσι αὐτῆς· καὶ ἀσθ[ενήσουσιν ἐν τοῖς]
 4 σώμασιν αὐτῶν ἀπὸ [πλήθους] . . . 4 πόρνη καλὴ καὶ ἐπ[ί]χ[αρις] ἡγουμένη
 5 φαρμάκων ἢ πωλοῦσα . . αὐτῆς καὶ φυλὰς ἐν . . . 5 ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἐπὶ σὲ λέγει
 κῶ . . . ἀποκαλύψω τὰ ὅπ . . . πόν σου καὶ δείξ . . . [τὴν αἰσχύνην σου
 6 καὶ βα]σιλείαις τὴν ἀτιμίαν σου· 6 καὶ ἐπιρρ[ύψω] ἐπὶ σὲ βδελυγμὸν καὶ
 7 τὰς ἀκαθαρσί[ας] σου] καὶ θήσομαι σε εἰς παράδειγμα· 7 [καὶ ἔσται] πᾶς
 ὁ ὄρων σε καταβήσεται ἀ . . αἱ ἐρεῖ διelaία νινενὴ τίς στενά[ξει] ἐπ' αὐ[τὴν];
 8 πόθεν ζητήσω παράκλη[σιν αὐτῇ]; 8 ἄρμοσαι χορδὴν ἐτοίμασαι με[ρίς] ἀμμῶν]
 ἢ κατοικοῦσα ἐν ποταμοῖς . . ψ αὐτῆς ἥς ἢ ἀρχὴ θάλασσα . . ἀ τείχη
 9 αὐτῆς· 9 αἰθιοπία ἢ . . καὶ αἰγυπτος καὶ οὐκ ἔστι πέ . . ε σου φούτ καὶ
 10 λίβρες ἐγὲ . . αὐτῆς· 10 καὶ αὐτὴ εἰς μετοικε[σίαν] πορεύσεται] αἰχμάλωτος
 καὶ τὰ νῆ . . οὖσιν ἐπ' ἀρχαῖς τῶν [ὁδῶν] . . ἐπὶ πάντα τὰ ἔνδοξα . . ἥρους
 11 καὶ πάντες οἱ . . ἐκθήσονται χειροπέ . 11 . . νσθήση καὶ ἔση παρε[ωραμένη]

BNAQ 48 86 153 233 ελαυνοντος 95 185 (τραυματιων)] *incep* κ Ν* (τρ. Α¹? α^a)
 τραυματων 153 ανηρημενων Αq τετραωμενων Σ τετραυματισμενων Θ ο(υκ ην περας τοις)
 εθνεσι αυτης] (non erat finis gentilibus illius OL^b) εθνεσι] -σιν BNAQ 95 185
 αυτης] αυτοις 95 185 ασθ(ενησουσιν)] σκανδαλισθησονται Σ σωμασιν]
 εθνεσιν 22 36^a 51 97 *επιρρ[εω]* απο] *Sygro-Hex* *سجده* 1. Sygro-Hex^{me}
 4. επιχ(αρις)] -ρης B (-is B^{ab}) NA (ηγουμένη φαρ)μακων] εχουσης φαρμακα Αq Σ
 φυλας] λαουτε BN (φυλας N^{a,a,b}) 48 86 (Sygro-Hex = Y) 5. (αισχυνην)]
 ασημοσυνην Α (βα]σιλειαίς] βασιλευσι 153 ατιμian] ιμian rescf Nⁱ 6. επιρ-
 ρ(φω)] επιρρ[εω] B (επιρρ. B^a (fort) b Q^a) NAQ βδελυγμον] *pr* τον 153 και 2^o)
 αυτα BNAQ L (exc 62 95 147 185) ακαθαρσι(as)] αμαρτιας N* (ακαθ. N^{o,b} postea
 τυτς αμ.) και θησομαι] καθισομαι 95 185 παραδειγμα] παραδισγμα N* (-δειγμα
 N^{o,b} et iam αυτου) παραδισγμα Α 7. (και εσται)—τις στενα[ξει] επ αυτην] και πας ο
 ορων σε αναχωρησει απο σου και ερει διεσκεδασται νινενη τις συμπαθησει αυτη Σ (επ
 αυτην)] οτι επ BNQ (hab Q^{me}) 48 86 153 228 (hab 228^a) απο σου Α παρακλη(σιν)]
 παρακλησις Α + ηρηνικοι 51^a (αυτη)] αυτην 62 147 8. αρμοσαι—(αμμων)]
 η αγαθυνεις υπερ αμ[ων] Αq μη βελτιαν (s. κρεισσων) συ υπερ αμων Σ ει συ καλη υπερ
 αμων (s. καλλιον αμων) Θ *سجده* *سجده* *سجده* *سجده* *سجده* Sygro-Hex αρμοσαι
 [r] ετοιμασαι μεριδα BN (οτι N^{o,b}) AQ 48 86 *pr* ετοιμασας μεριδα 153 *pr* ετοιμασε
 μεριδα 233 χορδην] χορδus (sic) 153 ετοιμασαι] οτι N^{o,b} (hab N*) ετοιμασε 233
 με[ρις] μεριδα BN* (μερις N^{o,a,b}) AQ 22^a (μερις 22) 48 86 153 233 αμμων]
 αμμων N* (αμμων N^{o,a,b}) η 1^o] οτι 95 185 εν ποταμοις] ποταμους 228
 η] ως η N* (ης η N^{o,a}) η ση 95 185 (ut videtur) αρχη] απαρχη 233 + αυτης Α
 9. αιθιοπια] *pr* και BN (οτι N^{o,b}) AQ 36 48 51 86 153 228^a (οτι 228) 233 εθιοπια N*
 (αθιοπια N^{o,a,b}) η] οτι BN* (hab N^{o,a}? a,b? postea ras) 48 51 62 86 147 228 (hab
 228^a) εστι] -ιν BNQ (-i Q^a) 36 51 95 97 185 εσται Α 233 εστη 22 48 62 86 153
 228 ετι 147 σου] οτι BN (hab N^{o,a}) 22 48 86 φουτ] οτι BNAQ 48 86 153
 233 φουθ 22^a (φουτ 22) φουθ 228 10. μετοικε[σιαν]] μετοικησιαν B* (-κεσιαν B^b(v1d))
 (πορευεται)] πορευεται Q (πορευεται) αιχμαλωτος] *tr* 153 και 2^o] + πανηγυρια
 N* (improb N^{o,a,b}) αρχαις] αρχας BN* (αρχης N^{o,b}) AQ 48 86 233 αρχης 153 228
 ταν] *pr* πασαν BNAQ 48 86 153 228 πασαν 233 (οδων)] ορεαν N* (οδ. N^{o,b})
 11. παρε[ωραμένη]] υπερεωραμένη BN (παρεωραμένη N^{o,b}) AQ (υπερεορ. Q^a) 22 48 86
 153 233 *pr* ως 147 (και συ ζη)τησεις] και συζητησει 62 σεαυτη] εαυτην 147 εαυτοι
 228 (εξ εχθρων σου)] εχθρων N* εξ εχθρων N^{o,b} οτι σου BAQ 22 48 86 153 233

καὶ δεύτεροι [ὑπὲρ τοὺς] λύκους τῆς ἀραβίας· καὶ ἐξίπ[ασονται] οἱ ἵπποι
αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁρμήσουσιν . . πετασθήσονται ὡς ἀετὸς πρὸς θυμὸς] εἰς τὸ φαγεῖν
9⁹ συντέλεια ἐπὶ ἀσεβείῃς . . θεσθηκώτας προσώποις αὐτῶν [ἐξ ἐναντί]α
10 καὶ συναίξει ὡς ἄμμον . . 10 καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν βασιλεῦσιν ἐντρύφῃσει καὶ
τύραννοι παίγνια αὐτοῦ . . ὁ χύρωμα ἐμπαίξεται [καὶ βαλεῖ χῶμα] καὶ
11 κρατήσεται αὐτοῦ· 11 τότε [μεταβαλεῖ τὸ πνεῦμα] αὐτοῦ καὶ διελυσσεται
12 καὶ [ἐξιδάσεται αὐτὴ] ἡ ἰσχὺς τῷ θῷ μου· 12 οὐ[χὶ σὺ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς κῶ] ὁ θεὸς
μου ὁ ἅγιος; καὶ οὐ μὴ [ἀποθάνωμεν] κῆ εἰς κρίμα τέταχας [αὐτό] . . τοῦ
13 ἐλέγχειν παιδείαν αὐτοῦ· 13 καθαρὸς *φθαλμός σου τοῦ μὴ ὄραν πονηρὰ
καὶ ****λέπειν ἐπὶ πόνους οὐ δυνήσῃ· τί ****λέπεις ἐπὶ καταφρονούντας;
14 παρα[σιωπῇ]σῃ ἐν τῷ καταπίνειν ἀσεβῇ τὸν [δίκαιο]ν; 14 καὶ ποιήσεις τοὺς
ἀνθρώπους ὡς τοὺς [ἰχθύας] τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ ὡς ἔρπετὰ οὐκ [ἔχοντα]

I. 13^a *Exp. in Ps. x cap. 3* 13^a *Exp. in Ps. cxl cap. 5* 14 *In Gen.*
Sermo iv 2. *Hom. xxix 2. Ad Stág. ii 5. Theod. In Ps. xciii*

της αραβιας] παρα παρδαεις της εσπερας Αq λυκουσ] λουκουσ Ν* (λυκουσ Ν^{c.b})
αραβιας] αραβειας Α καὶ εξιπ(ασονται) οι ιππεις αυτου] και εκχυθησονται οι ιππεις
αυτου Σ εξιπ(ασονται)] εξισπασονται 22 (εξιπ. 22^a) 147 ιππεις] ιππεις
(ιππεις Ν^{c.b}) ιπποι 95 185 αυτου 2^o αυτων 62 86 147 ορμησουσιν] -σι
πετασθησονται] pon post φαγειν 153 προ(θυμος)] προιμος Ν* (προθυμος Ν¹)
το] επι 22 επι το 36 51 62 86^{ms} 95 97 147 185 9. συντελεια—(εξ εναντι]
παντα εις πλεονεξίαν ηξει η προσοψις του προσωπου αυτων ανεμος κανων Σ συντελ
συντελεια Ν* (-λειαν Ν^{c.b}) επι] εις Β (επι Ν^{c.b}(vid) postea εις) 48 153 228 απ 22 ει
(exc 22 48 153 228) προσωποισ] προσωπου (?) 22 (-ποις 22^a) προ προσωπου 62 86
147 προσωπου 95 185 συναζει] συ|ναξι Ν* συ|ναξι Ν^{c.a} 10. εντρυ(φ)σε
و.ح.ل. و. و. و. و. Syro-Hex^{ms} τυραννοι] omi Q* (hab Q^{ms}) παιγ
αυτου] παιγνιον αυτου 153 γελασματα . . Αq γελωσ αυτου Σ εμπαίξεται] εμπαίξε
97 βαλει] βαλλι Ν* (βαλει Ν^{c.b}) αυτου 2^o αυτων 153 11. (μεταβαλει
μεταβαλλι Ν* (μεταβαλει Ν^{c.b}) αυτου] omi BNAQ 48 95 153 185 228 (hab 228
233 Syro-Hex καὶ (εξιδάσεται)] και εξελυσσεται 95 185 και πλημμελησει Αq
η] omi 153 12. ου(χι συ)—(αποθανωμεν)] ουχι συ απ αρχης κυριε ο θεος μου ο αγιος
μου ινα μη αποθανωμεν Σ (απ αρχης)] +μου Q υπαρχεις 153 (κῶ] κυριε BNAQ
(exc 22 51 153 228 233) 86 μου ο αγιος] ο αγιος μου BNQ 22 48 86 153 228 233
κῆ εις κριμα ad fin com] . . και στερεον εις το ελεγχειν εθεμελιωσας αυτον Αq κυριε εις τ
κρινειν ιταζας αυτον κραταιον εις το ελεγχειν εστησας αυτον Σ (αυτο)] αυτον Α
36 51 97 153 228 233 παιδειαν] παιδιαν Ν 13. καθαρσ—ου δυνηση] καθαρσ
ει τους οφθαλμους ωστε μη οραν το κακον και βλεπειν προς μοχθον ουκ ανεχομενος Σ
φθαλμος σου] omi σου BN (hab Ν^{c.a}) 22 48 153 228 (hab 228^a) 233 Syro-Hex
οφθαλμος μου Α ρr ο Α L (exc 153) Chrys πονους] πονηρους 228 ου δυνηση]
οδυνης Β Ν* (ου δυνηση Ν^{c.b}) Q^{ms} (ου δυνηση Q*) 48 233 τι ****λεπεις ad fin com]
OL¹ = Y τι ****λεπεις] ινα τι επιβλεπεις BNQ (-πης Q*) 36 48 228 εις τι επιβλε
πεις Α 153 τι επιβλεπης 86 τι βλεπεις 97 omi τι 233 παρα(σιωπ)ση ad fin com]
παρασιωπας καταπινοντος ασεβους τον δικαιοτερον αυτον Αq ΣΘ παρα(σιωπ)ση]
παρασιωπησεις Chrys καταπινειν] καπινειν Β* (καταπινειν Β^{ab}) καταπιεν Ν^{c.b} (rursus
-πινιν) Q* (-πινειν Q^{ms}) ασεβη] ρr τον Chrys (δικαιο)ν] +υπερ αυτον 36 + υπερ
αυτο 62 86 147 14. ποιησεις] ποιησης Ν ρr ου 153 τους ανθρωπους ως] omi
(al hab) Theod (ιχθυας) ηχθυς Ν* (ιχθυας Ν^{c.a}) και 2^o omi Chrys (al hab)
Theod ως] omi Chrys ωσει Theod ερπετα] τα ερπετα τα ΒΑQ (omi τα 2^o
Ν^{c.b}(vid) hab Ν^{c.a}) τα ερπετα 22 48 86 153 228 233 (Chrys Theod = Y) ουκ] μη

15 ἡγούμενον; 15 συντέλεια ἐν ἀγκι . . πασεν αὐτὸν καὶ εἴλκυσεν αὐτὸν [ἐν
ἀμφιβλήστρω αὐτοῦ καὶ συνήγαγεν αὐτὸν ἐν ταῖς σαγήναις αὐτοῦ·
16 ἔνεκεν τούτου . . σεται καὶ χαρήσεται ἡ καρδία [αὐτοῦ] . . τούτου θύσει
τῇ σαγῇ αὐτοῦ καὶ θυμιάσει τῷ ἀμφιβλήστρῳ αὐτοῦ . . [ἐλ]ίπανε τὴν
17 μερίδα αὐτοῦ [καὶ τὰ βρώματα] αὐτοῦ ἐκλεκτά· 17 διὰ τοῦτο ἀμφιβαλεῖ τὸ
1 ἀμφιβλήστρον αὐτοῦ καὶ . . [ἀ]ποκτενέειν ἔθνη οὐ φείσεται· 1 [ἐπὶ τῆς II
φυλακῆς] μου στήσομαι καὶ ἐπιβήσομαι [ἐπὶ πέτραν] ἀποσκοπεύσω τοῦ
2 . . καὶ τί ἀποκριθῶ ἐ . . 2. ἀπεκρίθη πρὸς με κ̄σ καὶ εἶπεν γράψον ὄρασιν
3 σαφ[ῶς] εἰς πυξίον ὅπως διώκη ὁ ἀναγ . . αὐτά· 3 διότι ἔτι ὄρασις εἰς
καιρὸν καὶ ἀνατελεῖ ἐσπέρας καὶ οὐκ εἰς κ[ενὸν] ἐὰν ὑστερήσῃ ὑπόμεινον
4 αὐτὸν . . μενος ἤξει καὶ οὐ μὴ χρονίσῃ· 4 ἐὰν ὑπο]στείληται οὐκ εὐδοκεῖ

II. 4 Ep. cxxiii

Theod (εχοντα)] εχοντας (αλ εχοντα) Chrys 15. συντελεια] συντελειαν B N^{c.b}
αυτον 1^o] om B N A Q 48 153 228 233
Syr-Hex ειλκυσεν] ανηλκυσεν 62 συνειλκυσεν 86 ανειλκυσεν 147 (εν αμφι-
βληστρω—αυ(του) 3^o] om 22 αυτου 1^o] om B N A Q 48 86 153 228 (hab 228*)
σαγήναις] συναγωγαις 62 86 95 147 185 16. ενεκεν τουτου—η καρδια (αυτου)]
* 62 95 147 185 pon post σαγηνη αυ(του) 86 και χαρησεται] om 153 η καρδια
του)] om Nⁱ (postea restit) Syro-Hex θυσει] θυμιασει Q τη σαγηνη] τω
αμφιβλήστρῳ A Q 153 233 (και θυμιασει] ενεκεν τουτου θυση 86 τω αμφι-
βλήστρῳ] τη σαγηνη A Q 153 233 (ελι)πανε] -γεν B N A Q 22 (ν ras) την] om
N A Q 2 (εxc 36 51 97) (και τα βρωματα] αυτου] om Q* (hab Q^{ms}) 62
(αμφιβαλει)] αμφιβαλλει N* (αμφιβαλει N^{c.b?}) ε(πι)βαλει] Q^{vid} (αμφιβαλει το
αμφιβλήστρον αυτου] εκκαινωσαι μαχαιραν αυτου 86^{ms} (το) αμφιβλήστρον αυτου]
* 228 (α)ποκτενέειν] αποκτεινέειν N^{c.b} A 95 153 185 αποκτενει N^{c.a} (vid) 62 86 147
αποκτενει 22 (αποκτενέειν 22*) 51 228 233
II. I. (επι) 1^o ad fin com] ως φυλαξ επι της σκοπιας μου στήσομαι et stabo velut
Iulus (circinum Aq Quint γυρον Θ) et contemplabor ut videam quid dicatur mihi
quid respondeam et contradicam adversum arguentem me Σ (επι της φυλακῆς)
υ] εν τη φυλακη 86^{ms} (super custodiam meam OL^c) στήσομαι] στήσωμαι 62
abo OL^c) και επιβήσομαι] om Q* (hab Q^{ms}) (et gradum figam OL^c) (επι
τραν)] super petram OL^c αποσκοπεύσω] ην και B N A Q 2 και σκοπεύσω 95 185
προς με κ̄σ] κ̄σ προς με A Q 233 ειπεν] ειπε (ν ras) 22 γραψον] γραφον 147
παιν] οραματισμον Aq σαφ(ως)] ην και B (om N^{c.a} postea revoc) A Q 48 153 233
[] επι A Q 153 εις πυξιον] εις επιξιον 86 επι σελιδων Σ διωκη] ιωκη N* (διωκη
1^a) γνωση 51 τρεχη Aq Σ 3. διوتي] οτι A ορασις] ορασεις A Q* καιρον]
μακρον 2 (εxc 48 153 228* 233) (om Syro-Hex) ανατελει] απαγγελει N^{c.a} (vid) mg inf
postea ras) ανατελεις 62 εσπερας] es peras A εις peras B N Q 2 (εxc 51 = Y) και
νε εις κ[ενον]] και ου διαφενεσται Aq Σ κ[ενον]] καινον A 62 147 233 και
υστερηση ad fin com] εαν (δε) μελληση προσδεχον αυτον οτι ερχομενος ηξει (s. ελευσεται)
και ου βραδυνη Aq (εαν) στραγγευσθαι . . Σ υστερηση] -σει N A 62 147 ου
μη χρονιση] και ου χρονισει 62 147 και ου χρονισει 86 4. ε(αν υπο)στειληται ad
fin com] ο δε δικαιοσ μου εκ πιστεως ζησεται και εαν υποστειληται ουκ ευδοκει η ψυχη μου
ο αυτω Theod ε(αν υπο)στειληται—(εν αυτω)] ιδου νωχελευομενον ουκ ευθεια η
ψυχη μου εν αυτω Aq ε(αν υπο)στειληται] α' ιδου νωχελευομενον 86^{ms} εαν υποστε-
λειται 147 ευδοκει] ευδοκισ N* (σ improb et ras Nⁱ) (εν)] επ 95 185 ο δε δικαιοσ
ad fin com] και δικαιοσ εν πιστει αυτου ζησεται Aq ο (δε) δικαιοσ τη εαυτου πιστει ζησει

5 ἡ ψυχὴ μου [ἐν αὐτῷ] ὁ δὲ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεώς μου ζήσεται ^δ ὁ δὲ κατοί-
 μενος καὶ ὁ καταφρονήτης ἀνὴρ ἀλαζών οὐθὲν οὐ μὴ περ[άνη] ὅς] ἐπλάτυνε
 καθὼς ᾄδης . . αὐτοῦ· καὶ αὐτὸς ὡς θάνατ . . πλάμενος καὶ ἐπισυνάξ . .
 6 πάντα τὰ ἔθνη καὶ εἰσδέξ[εται] πρὸς] αὐτὸν πάντας τοὺς λαο . . ^α [οὐχὶ
 ταῦτα] πάντα παραβολὴν κ . . καὶ πρόβλημα εἰς δ . . ροῦσιν· οὐαὶ ὁ πληθ
 7 . . κ ὄντα αὐτοῦ ἕως τ . . . κλοιὸν αὐτοῦ στιβαρῶς· ^τ . . . [ἐ]ξανάστη-
 8 σονται δ . . νήψουσιν οἱ ἐπὶ . . . [διαρ]παγὴν· ^δ διότι ἐσκέλευσας ἔθνη . .
 σκυλεύουσιν πάντες οἱ ὑπολε . . . οἱ λαοὶ δι' αἵματα ἁγίων καὶ ἀσεβεῖ[ας]
 9 . . καὶ πόλεως καὶ πάντων τῶν κατ[οικου]ντων αὐτήν· ^δ ὁ ὅ πλεο . . κακὴν
 τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ τοῦ τάξαι [εἰς ὕψος] νοσσιὰν αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἐκσπασθῆναι κακῶν
 10 ¹⁰ ἐβουλευσάω αἰσχύνην τῷ [οἴκῳ σου] συνεπέραντας λαοὺς πολλοὺς [καὶ
 11 ἐξή]μαρτεν ἡ ψυχὴ σου· ¹¹ διότι λίθος ἐκ . . σεται καὶ κάνθαρος ἐκ ξύλου
 12 φθεγ . . . ¹² οὐαὶ ὁ οἰκοδομῶν πόλιν ἐν αἰ[μασιν] καὶ ἐτοιμά[ζων] πόλιν ἐν

II. 11 Chrys. *De Casco et Zacchaeo* § 5

Σ iustus autem ex fide mea (sua al mea OL^a) vivit OL^a OL^a iustus autem meus ex
 fide vivit semper OL^b + ܡܝܢ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܥܝܢܐ Syro-Hex^m
 δίκαιος] + μου A 36 86 228 μου 2^o om 36 86 153 185 228 5. (ο) δε κατοιο
 μενος—αυτου] ille vero (al autem) qui praesumit et (al om praesumit et) contumaci
 est vir sui iactans nihil omnino proficiet qui dilatavit tamquam inferi animam suam
 OL^c sibi placens autem contemptor et vir superbus nihil proficiet . . . OL^a placens e
 contemptor vir superbus nihil proficiet qui dilatavit sicut inferus animam OL
 και ο καταφρονήτης om και B* (hab B^{ab}) Q om o BNA 2L (exc 22 36 51 97) 22
 ανηρ αλαζων om B* (hab B^{ab}ms) ουθεν ουθεν BN* (ουθεν N^a) ου μη
 om ου BNA Q 48 153 228 (hab 228^a) 233 ουθεν ου μη περ(ανη)] ουκ ευπραγησε (α
 ουκ ευπορησει) Σ περ(ανη)] περανει 228 επλατυνε] -νεν BNA Q 22 (ν ras
 αδης) pr o NA 36 51 62 95 147 185 228^{sup} 11a αυτος ουτος BN^a, c^b (ουτως N*) A Q
 48 153 228 ως] ο 228 παντα τα—αυτον om 97 εισδεξε(ται)] εκδεξεται 95 181
 παντας τους λαο . .] παντα τα εθνη 86 153 6. (ουχι ταυτα) παντα—εις δ . .] μη ουχ
 ταυτα παντα περι αυτου εις παραβολην ληφθησεται και αιγιμα προβλητος κατ αυτου :
 (ταυτα) παντα] tr N 62 147 παραβολην κ . .] τα κατ αυτου παραβολην κατ αυτων δ:
 147 κατ αυτον παραβολην 86 παραβολας κατα 153 κατ αυτου παραβολην 228 αυτον 1^o
 αυτω 153 228 7. (ε)ξαναστησονται αναστησονται BNA Q 48 153 228 233 εξε
 γερθησονται Θ (διαρ)παγην] + αυτοις BNA Q 48 153 228 233 8. διοτι] + σ
 N^a (postea ras) A Q 2L (exc 48 51 147) εσκελευσας συνεσκελευσας 147 σκυ
 λευσουσε] -σιν BAQ 2L σκυλευσι N* (-σιν N^a) + σε NAQ 2L (exc 48 233
 ασεβει(ας)] ασεβιας N ασεβειαν A 86^{ms} 233 ευσεβειας 185 πολειω] pr απο 62 84
 147 και παντων—αυτην] Aq Θ = Y hab και sub X Syro-Hex αυτην] εν αυτ
 233 9. ω ο—αυτον 1^o OL^a = Y ω ο] ως 62 ω] οναι Σ του 1^o 95 181
 του ταξαι—αυτον 2^o OL^a = Y (υψος)] οικδ N* (υψος N^a, c^b) αυτου 2^o εαυτο
 62 147 εκσπασθηναι] εκσπαθ. B (εκσπασθ. B^{ab}) εκπαθ. N* (εκσπασθ. N^a, c^b) ε
 ρυσθηναι 86 10. εβουλευσα—(σου) 1^o OL^a = Y λαους πολλους] tr 48 22
 (εξη)μαρτεν η ψυχη σου] OL^a = Y σου 2^o νου N^a 71d (σ sup ras N^a) 11. διοτι
 ad fin com] . . . και μαζα εκ ξυλου αποκριθησεται Aq . . . και συνδεσμος οικοδομη
 ξυλινος αποφθεγγεται αυτα Σ . . . και συνδεσμος (s. ενδεσμος) ξυλου φθεγγεται αυτα ε
 Quint quia lapis de pariete clamabit quasi vermis in ligno loquens Sext lapis enin
 de pariete vociferabitur et σκωληξ de ligno loquetur ea Sept λιθος εκ τοιχου φθεγ
 ξεται αυτα και κανθαρος εκ ξυλου λαλησει Chrys εκ ξυλου] κ ξυλου sup ras B^{ab} u i
 improb N¹ (οι resc) 12. ο οικοδομων] οπικοδομων N* (π improb N¹ fort) qu

13 ἀδικίας¹³. παρὰ κῦ παντοκράτορος; καὶ . . . νοὶ ἐν πυρὶ καὶ ἔθνη [πολλὰ]
 14 . . . ¹⁴ ὅτι ἐμπλησθήσεται ἡ γῆ . . . [τὴν δόξαν] κῦ ὡς ὕδωρ πολὺ [κατακαλύψαι]
 15 θαλάσ]σας¹⁵ ὡ ὁ ποτιζών . . . τροπὴν θολέραν καὶ . . . [ἐπιβ]λέπῃ ἐπὶ τὰ
 16 σπ[η]λαία αὐτῶν¹⁶ . . . ἣν ἀτιμίας ἐκ δό . . . [καρδίη σαλ]εύθητι καὶ σείσθητι
 17 ἰσίου¹⁷ δι[ό]τι ἀσεβεία τοῦ λιβάνου καλύψει σε [καὶ τα]λαιπωρία θηρίων
 18 κατοικούντων αὐ[τὴν]¹⁸. ὠφελεῖ γλυπτὸν ὅτι ἐγλύψαν αὐτό; [ἐπλασαν] αὐτὸ
 19 ποιῆσαι εἰδῶλα κωφά¹⁹. οὐαὶ ὁ λέγων τῷ ξύλῳ ἐκνήσων καὶ ἐξεγ . . . λίθῳ
 20 πνεῦμα [οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν αὐτῷ²⁰ δ] δὲ κῶ ἐν ναῷ ἀγίῳ αὐτοῦ . . . προσώπου
 αὐτοῦ πᾶσα . . .

14 *Cur in Pentec. iv. Theod. Haer. Fab. Compend. Lib. ii. In Ps. cl. In Ezech.*
 15 *Chrys. De Virg. xxi. Pater si possib.*

edificant OL¹ πολιν 1^o 2^o πολεις 153 (ετοιμα)ζων] praeperant OL¹ 13.
 θεου 153 εθνη (πολλα)] om 153 14. σι] και Α εμπλησθησεται]
 πλησθε Ν* πλησθησθε Ν^{c.a} (-ται Ν^{c.c}) ενεπλησθη Α Q 86^{ms} 153 233 πλησθησεται Ξ
 (exc 48 153 233) Chrys πληρωθησεται (αλ επληρωθη) Theod γη] ρη συμπασα Α Q
 86^{ms} 153 Theod συμπασα 233 (την δοξαν)] om Theod κῦ] τον κυριον Chrys
 Theod πολυ] om Β N 48 233 πολυν 147 Chrys (hab Theod) (κατακαλυψαι
 θαλασ]σας] κατακαλυπει αυτους Β N A Q 48 233 κατακαλυπει θαλασσας 51 95 185
 καλυψαι θαλ. 62 κατακαλυψαι αυτους 153 κατακαλυψαι επι θαλ. 228 (Chrys Theod = Y)
 La. αμαζα Syro-Hex 15. ω ο ποτιζων—θολεραν] . . . εξ επιρριψεως χολου
 σου Α q . . . και αφιων ακρωτις τον θυμον εαυτου Ξ . . . απο χυσεως σου Θ . . . εξ απροσ-
 θεατου ανατροπης της οργης σου αλ ουαι τω ποτιζοντι τον εταιρον αυτου αελλαν πετο-
 μετην αλ ουαι τω ποτιζοντι τον πλησιον αυτου εκστασιν οχλουμενην Quint ουαι τω
 ποτιζοντι (αλ ο ποτιζων] τον (αλ τω) πλησιον αυτου ανατροπην θολεραν Chrys ω] ως
 62 ποτιζων] ποντιζων 95 185 . . . τροπην θολεραν] ανατροπη θολερα Β N A Q
 48 153 (ανατροπην θολεραν 153*) 233 (επιβ]λεπη] -ψη 51 -πει 62 147 επι τα σπη-
 (λαια)] γυμνωσιν Α q ασχημοσυνην Ξ αυτων] αυτου Q 16. ατιμας] ατιμα Ν* (-μας
 Ν[ιδ]α) (καρδια σαλ]ευθητι] και διασαλευθητι Ν^{c.b} (vid) (postea καρδ. σαλ. genoc)
 22 51 62 97 147 καρδια 86^{ms} om Α (καρδια σαλ]ευθητι και σεισθητι] και καρωθητι
 Α q ενεκλωσεν] -σαν Ν* (-σεν Ν^{c.a}, c.b) ρη και 147 circumdedit OL¹ επι] om OL¹
 σε—ατιμα] OL¹ = Y συνηχθη—(δι)στι in com seq] om Ν* (hab Ν^{c.a}) επι την
 λω[αν σ(ου)] om σου 153 super tuum OL¹ 17. ασεβεία] ασεβιαν Ν* (-βια Ν[?])
 αμα Α q πλεονεξίαν Ξ (και τα]λαιπωρια θηριων] και προνομη κτηνων Α q (και
 διαταγη κτητων Ξ πτοησει σε] καταπηξει Α q ηττησει Ξ δια] δι Ν^{c.a}, c.b 228
 (αμα]τα] αιματος] 228 ασεβειας] -βιας Ν ασεβιαν Α και 3^o om Q* (hab Q*)
 153 233 αυ(την)] αυτων Α εν αυτη 228 18. αυτο 1^o om 62 86 147 (επλα-
 σαν)] επλασεν Β N (-σαν Ν^{c.b}) 48 (επλασαν] αυτο] πλασσαν Θ αυτο 2^o] το
 Ν^{c.a} (postea αυτο) (πε]ποιθεν] πεπονθεν 95 185 ποιησαι] ρη του Β N A Q 36 48
 86 153 228 233 κωφα] αλαλα Ξ 19. ο λεγων] οι λεγοντες Ν* (ο λεγων Ν^{c.b})
 τω [υλ]ω] om τω Q^{vid} (hab Q*) και 1^o] om Ν^{c.b} Ξ (exc 51 228*) και τω λιθω
 υψωθητι] om 153 ελασμα] ιλασμα 153 εκ] om Β N A Q 48 153 228 (hab 228*)
 233 παν] om Q* (hab Q^{ms}) (εν αυτω)] εν αυτοις 62 86 147 εν εγκαιτοις αυτου
 Α q 20. προσωπου αυτου] om αυτου Β

III. ¹+ΠΡΟCEΥΧῆ ἈΒΒΑΚΟΥΜ ΤΟΥ ΠΡΟΦ[ΗΤΟΥ ΜΕΤὰ ΨΔΗC]+

2 κἔ εἰσακήκοα τὴν ἀκο[ήν σου καὶ ἐφοβή]θην· κἔ κατενόησα [τὰ ἔργα σου
καὶ ἐ]ξέστην· ἐν μέσῳ δύο [ζώων γνωσθήσῃ] ἐν τῷ ἐγγίξειν τὰ ἔτη ἐπ[ιγνω
στήσῃ ἐν τῷ] παρῆναι τὸν καιρὸν [ἀναδειχθήσῃ ἐν τῷ] ταραχθῆναι τὴν
3 ψυχὴν μου ἐν ὀργῇ [ἐλέ]ους μνησθήσῃ· ² ὁ θς ἀπὸ θαιμὰν ἤξει καὶ ὁ
ἅγιος ἐξ ὄρους φαρὰν κατασκίου δασέος [διά]ψαλμα· ἐκάλυψεν οὐρανοῦ
4 ἡ ἀρετὴ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς αἰνέσεως αὐτοῦ πλη[ρῆς ἡ γῆ] ⁴ καὶ φέγγος αὐτοῦ
ὡς φῶς ἔσται [κέρατα] ἐν χερσὶν αὐτοῦ ὑπάρχει αὐτῷ· [καὶ ἔθετο ἀγ]άπησι
5 κραταιὰν ἰσχύος [αὐτοῦ ⁵ πρ]ὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ πορεύσεται λόγος] κα

III. ²^{ba} Chrys. In S. Steph. Protomart. ii ³^b In Princ. erat Verbum ii. In
Ps. cvii. i. Theod. 3. In Cant. Cantic. Lib. iii. In Ps. lvi. In Ps. viii. 5 Chrys.
In Ps. lxxxiv. Theod. In Ps. lxxxv

III. ¹ 1. Totum comma deest 153 228 (ωδη 228^{ms}) προσευχή] πρ τερας εκδοχη
86^b αββακουμ] αμβακουμ BNAQ^L (exc 22 51) 86^a 86^b του προφ(ητου)] om
36 51 62 86^b 97 147 μετα ωδης] μετ ωδης A 86^a 86^b + των ὁ ἐρμηνευται 86^b επ
αγνοησματος Aq^Σ Quint υπερ των εκουσιασμων (fort. ακουσιασμων) Θ ⲁⲃⲃⲁⲕⲱⲙ
Syr-Hex 2. (εφοβή]θην) ευλαβηθην 62 86^a (εφοβ. 86^b) 147 extimui OL^{ms}
timui OL^m ⲁⲃⲃⲁⲕⲱⲙ Syr-Hex κἔ 2^o] om BAQ 48 153 233 OL^{tert} (hab OL^m
Syr-Hex) κατενόησα—(γνωσθήσῃ)] . . . εν τω ἐγγίζειν τα ετη ζωσων αυτο Α
. . . εντος των ενιαυτων αναζωωσον αυτον Σ . . . εν μεσω εταν ζωωσον αυτον Θ (OL^{ms}
OL^m = Y) εν μεσω—(γνωσθήσῃ)] Chrys = Y (εν τω) παρειναι—ψυχην μου
hab sub ⲁⲃⲃⲁⲕⲱⲙ Syr-Hex 3. ο θς—δασεος] ο θεος εκ θαιμαν ηξει . . . Aq^Σ Quin
Ελπειμ απο νοτιου (s. νοτου) ηξει και ο αγιος εξ ορους φαραν Θ απο] εκ BN (ap
N^{ca}, c^b) A Q 48 95 185 233 θαιμαν] θειμαν N λιβος 62 86^a (θαιμαν 86^b) 14
φαραν] om N^{ca}, c^b (+ φαραν superser ab man recen 22) 36 (hab 36^a) 51 97 153 22
ⲁⲃⲃⲁⲕⲱⲙ Syr-Hex κατασκίου δασεος] κατ. δασεως NAQ (δασεος Q¹) om δασε
22 51 (hab 22^a 51^a) 97 om 62 86^a (hab κατ. δασεως 86^b) 147 ⲁⲃⲃⲁⲕⲱⲙ Syr-H
(δια]ψαλμα] non inst B^b om 22^a (hab 22^a) 36 153 228 μεταβολη διαψαλματος 62 86^b
(διαψαλμα 86^b) 147 αει Aq^Σ εις τέλος Θ σελα Quint ⲁⲃⲃⲁⲕⲱⲙ Syr-H
εκαλυψεν ad fin com] Chrys Theod OL^c OL^{tert} OL^b OL^m = Y ουρανους] ο ουραν
62 86^a (ουρανους 86^b) 147 (Syr-Hex = Y) η α(ρετη)] την ευπρεπειαν της δοξης δ
86^a (η αρετη 86^b) 147 της αινεσεως] om BNAQ της 48 86^b (hab 86^a) 23
συνεσεως (al αινεσεως) Chrys Theod πλη[ρῆς η γῆ)] επλησθη η οικουμνη 62 86^b
(πληρης η γῆ 86^b) 147 4. και φεγγος—εσται] διανυσμα φωτος εσται αυ
(υπαρχει αυτω 86^{ms}) 62 86^a (86^b = Y) 147 (OL^c OL^{tert} = Y) εν χερσιν] ε
χειρος 62 86^a (εν χερσιν 86^b) 147 (OL^c OL^{tert} OL^m = Y) υπαρχει αυτω] om
BNAQ^L (exc 22^a (ras) 36 62 97 147 (hab 86^a 86^b) erunt OL^c OL^{tert} sunt OL^m
(και εθετο) ad fin com] εκει επεστηρικται η δυναμις της δοξης αυτου 62 86^a (86^b = Y
147 και εθετο αποκρυφην ισχυος αυτου Aq και εθετο κεκρυμμενην ισχυιν αυτου Σ και εκ
αποκρυφῃ ισχυος αυτου Θ et illic constabilita est virtus glorie eius et constitue
dilectionem validam OL^c illi confirmata est virtus glorie eius et posuit claritate
firmam OL^m 5. (πρ]ὸ προσωπου—λογος] προ προσωπου αυτου προελευσεται
(προσελευσεται 62) πτωσις 62 86^a (86^b = Y) 147 προ προσωπου αυτου πορευσεται

¹ In this chapter the signs 86^a and 86^b represent respectively the two version
contained in Cod. Barberinus, not the first and second correctors of the MS.

ἔξελίσσεται εἰς πεδιά [κατὰ πόδα]ς αὐτοῦ· ὁ ἔστη καὶ ἐσαλεύθη [ἢ γῆ
ἐβλεψεν] καὶ διετᾶκη ἔθνη διεθρύβη τὰ ὄρη βί[α] ἐτάκσαν βουνοὶ
ἡ αἰῶνιοι πορείας αἰωνίους αὐτοῦ ἡ ἀντὶ κόπων [εἶδον] σκηνώματα αἰθιώπων
ἡ ἐποθήσονται καὶ αἱ σκηνᾶι γῆς μαδιάμ. ἡ μὴ [ἐν ποταμοῖς ὀργί]σθης κῆ;
ἡ ἐν ποταμοῖς ὁ θυμὸς σου ἡ ἐν θαλάσῃ τὸ ὄρμη[μά] σου; ὅτι ἐπιβήσ[η]
ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους [σου καὶ ἡ ἵππασία] σου σρία ἡ ἐντεινῶν [ἐντεινῆς τὸ τόξον
σου] ἐπὶ τὰ σκηπτρα [λέγει κῶ] ποταμῶν ραγήσεται ἡ γῆ ὅφονται σε καὶ

6^a Chrys. In Ps. cviii. iii 1. 8^a Theod. In Cant. Cantic. Lib. ii 9^b In Ps.
xlv. In Ps. xcii 10^b In Ps. xciii

λοῖμος Aq προ προσώπου αὐτοῦ προπορεύεται θάνατος Σ προ προσώπου αὐτοῦ περπατήσει
θάνατος Quint (OL^c OL^m Chrys Theod = Y) καὶ ἐξελευσεται ad fin com] καὶ κατα
πόδας αὐτοῦ ἀκολουθήσῃ (-σει 62 147) τὰ μέγιστα τῶν πετῶν (πετεινῶν 62 147) 62 86^a
(86^b = Y) 147 καὶ ἐξελευσεται εἰς παιδείαν κατὰ πόδας αὐτοῦ Chrys Theod et praecedet
in campos secundum greges suos OL^c et exivit in campos pedes eius OL^m καὶ
ἐξελευσεται] -σονται Q^a 153 233 om καὶ 153 εἰς πεδιά] εἰς πεδῖαν N^{c,a} ἐν πεδίοις A
ἐν πεδίοις Q πτηνῶν Aq πετεινῶν Σ Θ Quint (κατὰ πόδα]ς] οἱ ποδες A Q 153 233
6^a ἔστη ad fin com] στας διεμετρήσεν τὴν γῆν κατανοήσας ἐξεκασεν τὰ ἔθνη διεθρύβη
καὶ τὰ ὄρη θραυσθήσονται ταπεινωθήσονται αἱ νῆπαι ἐκ τοῦ αἰῶνος αἱ ὁδοὶ αἱ ἐξ ἀρχῆς
ἐλπίσονται αὐτοῦ ἐνεκα σείσθησεται ἡ οἰκουμένη 62 86^a (86^b = Y ex: ἐτακῇ pro
διετᾶκη: πορείας pro πορείας] 147 ἔστη] steterunt OL^m (ἡ γῆ)] om ἡ N^a (hab
N^{c,a}) ἐπεβλεψεν] γ ras 22^a ἐπεβλεψεν—ἐθνή] ἐπεβλεψε καὶ ἐτακῇ ἐθνή
Chrys διετᾶκη—αἰωνιοὶ] OL^a OL^m = Y διετᾶκη] ἐτακῇ N^a (διετᾶκη N^{c,b}) 22 33
51 95 97 153 185 228 ἐθνή] ἡ γῆ 95 185 διεθρύβη] pr καὶ A^a Q 153 233
(βί]α] βίαν N^a πορείας] πορείας N^{c,a} Q^a (πορείας Q^a) πορείας 22 (πορείας 22^a) 36^a vid
97 αἰωνίους] αἰωνίας BN Q 48 95 185 233 αἰωνίους 22 (-ους 22^a) 36 97 αὐτοῦ]
αὐτῶν 22^a (αὐτοῦ 22) 7. ἀντι κοπῶν ad fin com] κατανοήσας τὰς σκῆνας αἰθιώπων
θραυσθήσονται οἱ κατοικοῦντες τὰς ὁδοὺς μαδιάμ (βαρίαμ 62) 62 86^a (86^b = Y sine
αἶδον: αἱ: δ ὁδοὺς in mg pro γῆς 147 ἀντι] + δε N^{c,a} (vid) (postea ras) 36 22 (ras)
95 97 185 ἀντι κοπῶν] ἀντι ἀνωφελούς Aq δια ἀδικίαν Σ ἀντι ἀδικίας Θ (εἶδον]
20 Q ἰδὼν 233 pr ὡν 22 (ras) 36 97 + te OL^m τὰ σκηνώματα ad fin com] OL^m = Y
αἰθιώπων] ἐθιώπων N^a (αἰθ. N^{c,a}, c^b) (καὶ)] om 51 (hab 51^a) 95 97 185 (αἱ)] om
N 22 36 51 95 97 153 228 μαδιάμ] μαδιαν N^a (-αμ N^{c,a}) 8. μὴ (ἐν ποταμοῖς)
ad fin com] μὴ ἐν ποταμοῖς ὀργίσθης κυριε ἡ ἐν ποταμοῖς ὁ θυμὸς σου ἡ ἐν θαλάσῃ ἡ ὀργή
σου ἀνέβης ἐπὶ τὰ ἄρματα σου ἡ ἵππασία σου σωτήρια ὁ προέβης 62 86^a 147 (86^b ex:
ἐφίσθης pro (ὀργί]σθης) Numquid in fluminibus ira tua domine? aut in mari impetus
tuus? qui ascendit super equos tuos et equitatus tuus sanitas OL^m (ὀρι]σθης) ὀργί-
σθης BN 48 95 97 185 (ἡ ἐν) θαλάσῃ το ὀρμη(μα σου)] om N^a (hab N^{c,a}) (ἐπιβήσ]η
ad fin com] Theod = Y ἐπὶ ἐπ N ἵππους (σου)] ἵππου σου N (ἡ ἵππασία)]
ἵππασίας N^a (pr ἡ N^{c,a}) 9. ἐντεινῶν ad fin com] ἐξεγέρθη το τόξον σου ἐχορτάσας
βόλιδας τῆς φαρέτρας αὐτοῦ (διαψαλμα a man sec?) ποταμούς διεσκέδασας καὶ γῆν σείσεις
62 86^a (86^b = Y ex: (λέγει [εἶπεν in mg] κῶ) διαψαλμα: γῆ pro ἡ γῆ] 147 (ἐντεινῶν)
(λέγει κῶ) intendens extendens arcum super sceptrā dicit dominus OL^m
(ἐντεινῶν] ἐντεινῶν B 48 51 233 (το)] om B 48 233 τα] om BN 48 153 228
σκηπτρα] σκηπτα N^a (-τρα N^{c,b}) (λέγει)] εἶπεν Q (κῶ)] + διαψαλμα BNA Q 48
95 153 185 233 (κῶ)] hab sub ~ Syro-Hex ποταμῶν] ποταμῶν N^{c,a} (postea
~ ποταμῶν] ποταμῶν 95 97 185 ποταμῶν ραγήσεται ἡ γῆ] ποταμούς σχίσεται γῆς Aq
fluminibus dirumpetur terra OL^{tert} Theod = Y ραγήσεται] διψήσεται superscr
153^a ἡ γῆ] om ἡ BNA Q L (ex: 22 (ras) 95 185) 10. ὀφονται ad fin com]

ὠδινῇσουσι λαοὶ [σκορπί]ζων ὕδατα πορείας ἔδωκ[εν ἡ ἄβυσσ]ος φωί
 11 αὐτῆς ὕψος φαντα[σίας αὐτῆς] 11 ἐπῆρθη εἰς φῶς βολιδ* (?) συν
 12 εἰς φέγγος ἀστραπῆς ***** 12 ἐν ἀπειλῇ συμπατήσεις *****
 13 κατὰξεις ἔθνη 13 ἐξῆλθες [εἰς σωτηρίαν] λαοῦ σου τοῦ σώσαι τοὺς χ*****
 βαλεῖς εἰς κεφαλὰς ἀνόμ[ων θάνατον ἐ]ξήγειρας δεσμούςς ἕως τ[ραχ]ήλου
 14 εἰς τέλος 14 Διέκοψας ἐν ἐκστάσει κε[φαλὰς δυναστῶν] σεισθήσονται ἐν
 15 αὐτῇ δ[ιανοί]ζουσιν χαλὶ νούς αὐτῶν ὡς ἐσθίων [πτωχὸς λάθρα] 15 καὶ ἐπεβί-

εν τω αντοφθαλμειν σε παραχθονται τα ορη εν τω τον εξαισιον σου ομβρον διελθειν δε
 αυτης η αβυσσος ανεφανησεν μειζον (μειζων 62 μειζ 147) 62 86* (86^b = Y exc: ωδιν-
 σουσιν pro -σι: δ ορη in mg pro λαοι: πορίας pro πορείας: πορείας αυτου) 147 οφονται
 σε ad fin com] (OL^{tert} OL^m = Y) ωδινησουσι] -σιν BNA Q (-σι Q^a) σκορπιζων
 —αυτου] εντιναγματα υδατων παρηλθεν Σ πορείας] πορίας N + αυτου A Q 36 153 233
 εδωκ(εν) ad fin com] Theod = Y φαντα(σίας)] φαντασία 153 (αυτῆς—
 βολιδ* in com seq] omi 51 (hab 51^a) 11. (OL^{tert} OL^m = Y exc: elata est.
 Sol et luna constituit in suo ordine) ἐπῆρθη ad fin com] φως το λαμπρον του ηλιου
 επεσχεν το δε φεγγος της σεληνης εσταθη κατα το φεγγος των βολιδων σου πορευονται
 κατα το φεγγος αστραπης μαχαιρας σου 62 86* (86^b = Y exc: επηρθη ο ηλιος και η
 σεληνη εστη εν τη ταξει αυτης) 147 επηρθη] + ο ηλιος και η σεληνη εστη εν τη (omi
 τη N* hab N^{a,c}, c^b) ταξει αυτης BNA Q L (exc 97 hab 22^a sine εστη omi 22^a) +
 αλ? ܠܡܕܐ ܡܥ ܠܝܥܥܐ ܠܡܥܐ ܡܝܠܠ? Syro-Hex εἰς 1^o es N* (εἰς
 N^{a,c}, c^b) εἰς φως] omi 153 (hab 153^a) 12. εν απειλη ad fin com] μετα θυμου
 εγενηθη επι την γην μετ οργης αλοησεις εθνη 62 86* (86^b = Y exc: ολιγωσεις γην in
 mg pro συμπατησεις***) 147 OL^{tert} OL^m = Y exc: omi εν OL^m: + tua post
 απειλη OL^{tert} OL^m: indignatione tua OL^{tert} furore tuo OL^m pro **μω duce pro
 καταξεις OL^m απειλη] + σου A Q^{ms} 95 185 233 συμπατησεις] ολιγωσεις N^{a,c}
 (ολιγωσεις N*) Q 22^{ms} 51 97 ολιγωσεις A **μω] + σου A Q^{ms} 233 + και supra li 87^a
 καταξεις] καταρξεις Q* (καταξεις Q^{ms}) 13. εξηλθες ad fin com] ανεφανη
 σωτηρια του λαου σου ρυσασθαι τους εκλεκτους σου κατετοξενας κεφαλας ανθρ
 υπερηφανων εως αβασσου της θαλασσης καταδυσονται 62 86* (86^b = Y exc: εβαλα
 βαλεις: τραχηλους pro τραχηλου: διαψαλμα ras εἰς τέλος a man recen) 147 εἰη
 —τους χ (10 litt)] εξηλθες εἰς σωτηριαν λαου σου εἰς σωτηριαν συν χριστω σου
 Quinta εξηλθες του σωσαι τον λαον σου του σωσαι τον χριστον σου Σ εξηλθες
 σωτηριαν λαου σου του σωσαι τον χριστον σου Θ εξηλθες του σωσαι τον λαον σου
 δια Ιησουν τον χριστον σου (potius δια Ιησου του χριστου σου) Sext (OL^{tert} O I^m
 = Y) λαου] pr του 22 (ras) 95 97 185 τους χ (10 litt)] τον χριστον σου
 BN* 48 τους χριστους σου N^{a,c} (vid) A Q L (exc 48) ܡܬܬܐܢܐܝܐ Syro-Hex βαλεις
 ad fin com] . . . εκοσμησας θεμελιον εως τραχηλου . . . Θ . . . εξεκενωσας θεμελιον
 εως τραχηλου . . . Quint OL^m = Y exc ad bellum pro εως τ(ραχηλου): omi (εἰς
 τέλος) βαλεις] εβαλας N^{a,c}, c^b A 153 εβαλες Q L (exc 48 153) (ε)ξηγειρας]
 εξηγειρες 95 δεσμούς] + σου Q 233 (εἰς τέλος)] διαψαλμα BAN* 48 εἰς
 τέλος διαψαλμα N^{a,c} 95 185 233 14. διεκοψας ad fin com] εφεδικησας μετα
 δυναμεις σου του αρχηγους των αμαρτωλων τους πεποιθотas επι τη αυθαδεια αυτων
 ενεκεν του καταφαγειν τους πτυχους λαθρα 62 86* (86^b = Y exc: διανοιζουσι pro -σιν:
 add διαψαλμα post λαθρα) 147 του διασκορπισαι γαυριαμα αυτων του φαγειν πενητα
 εν απορυφω Αq επελθοντα σκορπισαι τους γαυριαντας ωστε καταφαγειν πτωχον κρυφαιως
 Σ (OL^m = Y exc: in ea gentes et pro εν αυτη: omi ως) διεκοψας] διεκοπας N*
 (-ψας N^{a,c}) διεκοψεν Q* (-ψας Q^a) εν αυτη] εν αυτοις 22^a (εν αυτη 22) εσθιων]
 εσθων BN* (εσθιων N^{a,c}) A Q 48 233 pr ο 36 51^a 95 153 185 228 (πτωχος)]
 πτωχον 153 15. και επεβιβασας ad fin com] ανεβιβασας επι θαλασσας τους ιππους

16 βασας ἡ οὖς ἵππους σου εἰς θάλασσαν ταρασσόντες [ὑδατα πολλά] 18 ἐφυ-
λαξάμην καὶ ἐπ[ι]θή ἡ καρδία μου ἀπὸ φωνῆς προσει[χ]ῆς χειλέων μου
καὶ εἰσῆλθε τρόμος εἰς [τὰ ὀστέα μου καὶ ὑπο]κάτωθέν μου ἐτ[α]ράχθη
ἡ ἕξις μου ἀναπαύσομαι ἐν [ἡμέρᾳ θλίψεως τοῦ ἀ]ναβῆναι εἰς λαὸν [παροι-
17 κίας μου 17 διότι] σνκῆ οὐ [καρποφορήσει καὶ οὐκ ἔσται γενήματα] ἐν τοῖς
ἀμπελοῖς ψεύσεται ἔργον [ἐλαίας] καὶ τὰ πεδία οὐ ποιήσει βρώ[σιν ἐξέλ]ειπεν
18 ἀπὸ βρώσεως πρόβα[τα καὶ οὐχ] ὑπάρχουσι βόες ἐπὶ φάτναις 18 [ἐγὼ δὲ ἐν]
19 τῷ κῶ ἀγαλλιάσομαι χαρήσο[μαι ἐπὶ] τῷ θῶ τῷ σ[τ]ρι μου 19 κῶ ὁ θ[σ] μου

III, 15* Chrys. In Ramos Palm. Theod. 15. In Cantic. Cant. Lib. ii. In Ps. xlv.
In Ps. xlv. In Ps. lxxvii. 19 In Cantic. Cant. Lib. ii

σαν εταραχθη τα εξαισια υδατα της αυσσου (θαλασσης 147 f) 62 86* (86b = Y exc :
pon τους ιππους σου post eis θαλασσαν : ταρασσοντας pro -tes : υδωρ πολυ in mg pro
υδατα πολλα 147 imposuisti (misisti OLm) in mari equos tuos turbantes aquas
multas OLf OLm και om Theod επιβιβασας B N* (επιβιβασας Nca) 48
ܡܝܬܐ ܠܠܝܐ Syro-Hex τ(ους ιππους σου)] pon post (eis θα)λασσαν B N A Q L
(exc 22* (22 = Y) 51 95 97 185) Chrys Theod Syro-Hex (υδατα πολλα)] υδωρ
πολυ B N (υδατα πολλα Nca) A Q 48 233 (Syro-Hex = Y) 16. εφυλαξαμην
ad fin com] εταξαμην και ανεσταταωθη τα σπλαγχνα μου απο της φωνης του στοματος
σου εισεδν τρομος εις τα οστα μου κατ εμαυτον εταραχθη ταυτα φυλαξει εν ημερα
θλιψεως επαγαγειν επι εθνος πολεμουν τον λαον σου 62 86* 147 OLm = Y exc :
custodivit me pro εφυλαξαμην : venter meus pro (η καρδια μου) : om μου 4° : virtus
mea pro η εξις μου : et ascendam pro (τον α)ναβηναι : ad tabernacula transmigrationis
meae pro εις λαον (παροικιας μου) (η καρδια μου)] η κοιλια μου B N* (η καρδια
μου Nca) A Q 48 51 86b (η καρδια μου 86b me) 97 233 ܡܝܬܐ ܠܠܝܐ Syro-Hex
ܡܝܬܐ ܠܠܝܐ .ܝܠܝܐ .ܝܠܝܐ .ܝܠܝܐ Syro-Hex (a)πο pr η Nca, c, b εισηλθε—(η εξις μου)]
om 86b (hab in mg man ead ut vid) εισηλθε] -θεν B N A Q 22 (ν ras τρομος) + με
Nca, c, c (ras Nca) εις 1° is sup ras B 1 και 3° om Nca, c, b (υπο)κατωθεν εν
(ε ras aliq) 22 μου] μοι 22* (μου 22) εξις] ισχυς Nca, b 22* (εξις 22) (θλιψεως)]
+ μου 86b 153 228 (α)ναβηναι] + με 36 86b 153 εις 2° ει N* (εις Nca)
λαον] ναον 228 (λαον 228*) παροικιας] παροικειας 86b 17. (διوتي) σνκη ad
fin com] η σνκη ου μη παραδω τον καρπον αυτης και εν τοις αμπελοις ουκ εσται φορα η
ελαια εξιτηλος εσται η δε γη ου μη εκβαλη βοτανην εκλειψει εκ μανδρας προβατα και boes
ουχ υπαρξουσιν επι φατναις 62 86* (86b = Y exc : ταις pro τοις : εξελειπον pro
(ε)λειπεν : υπαρξουσι pro υπαρχουσι 147 OLc OLm = Y exc : om (διوتي) OLc :
αἶος pro βρω(σιν) OLm : in praesibus boves OLc ad praesepia boves OLm pro boes
τι φατναις τοις] ταις B Nca (τοις N*) A Q (ε)ελ]ειπεν] εξελειπον Nca (-πεν Nca)
228 εξελειπον A Q* viid (-λιπ, Q*) 36 95 153 185 (και) 3° om N* (postea revoc)
(και ουχ) υπαρχουσι ad fin com] και ουχ υπαρχουσα επι φατναις boes εξιλασεως αυτων
86b me (ουχ) υπαρχουσι] (-σιν B N A Q) ουκ υπαρξουσι 22 36 95 153 185 228 boes
τι φατναις] επι φατνης boes Q φατναις] + εξιλασεως αυτων A Q* 153 + εξ ιασεως
αυτων Q* + εξιλασεως αυτης 233 18. (OLc OLm = Y) (εν) τω κῶ] επι τω
κυριω A Q εν κυριω 62 86* 147 αγαλλιασομαι ad fin com] 62 86* 86b 147 = Y
αγαλλιασομαι] αγαλ. N* (αγαλλ. Nca) 19. κῶ ο θ[σ] μου ad fin com] κυριος ο θεος
μου εδωκε μοι ισχυν και κατεστησε τους ποδας μου ασφαλεις και επι τους (om τους 62)
ταχυλους των εχθρων μου επιβιβα με (επιβιβηκα 147) ταχισας κατεπανασατο 62 83*
(86b = Y exc : ωσει ελαφου pro (εις συντελειαν) hab εις συντ. in mg : και επι pro επι)
147 dominus virtus mea statuet pedes meos in consummatione super excelsa imponet
me vincam in claritate eius OLm μου 1° om B N* (hab Nca postea ras) A Q 48

[δύναμεις μου] καὶ τάξει τοὺς ποδὲς μου [εἰς συντέλειαν] ἐπὶ τὰ ὑψηλὰ ἐπι-
βιβᾷ με [τοῦ νικῆσαι ἐν] τῇ ῥῥῳ αὐτοῦ :-

. . . βακου
. . . ΩΝ PNZ

W. O. E. OESTERLEY.

(μου) 2^a] om 233 (εἰς συντέλειαν)] εἰς συντέλειαν K^a (-λεων K^{a,b}) εἰς ελαφον 2^a
i lit ras post φ (εἰς συντέ 22^a ^ααἰμαῖμα) 51 97 εἰς ελαφον 95 185 Theod ἐπὶ] ὅν καὶ
K^{a,b} (postea ras) 36 95 185 228^a ^ααἰμαῖμα Theod (νικῆσαι)] + με K^{a,b} (improb K^{a,b})
A 228 Theod ὡδῃ] οὗν K^a (ὡδῃ K^{a,b})

Subscr αμβακουμ η Β Κ Α Q αμβακουμ ^{XX} ^{XX} PN 22

την ὡδῃν του αμβακουμ ουχ ευρον συμφανουσιν ουτε τοις δ ουτε ακολα ουτε
συμμαχῳ ουτε θεοδοτιανι (ἡγησας οὖν εἰ της εἰ της εἰ εκδοσεως εστιν 62 86^a 147
αμβακουμ αμειλις και ο πατηρ ἀνέστη στιχοι PN 86^b

SAHIDIC FRAGMENTS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

SOME time ago, when I was working in Paris, M. Omont was kind enough to call my attention to their collection of Sahidic O. T. fragments (*Bibl. Nat. Copt.* 129¹), all of which, he thought, had not been published. When I had the opportunity of comparing them with the edition of M. Maspero (*Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique Française au Caire* tom. 16 fasc. 1) I found that for the Octateuch there was not much new matter which was legible, or at any rate which an amateur could decipher. The following four fragments however contain, I believe, hitherto unpublished verses of the Sahidic version. Mr Crum has kindly read through my transcription, and in a few instances the restitutions of letters illegible in the MS are due to his suggestion.

(1) Paris *Bibliothèque Nationale* Copt. 129¹ f. 4. The *recto*, as now bound up, contains Gen. ix 21-23, and the *verso* Gen. ix 17-19. The first column of the *verso* has not been reproduced. I could only decipher a few letters here and there. It is part of a fragment (Gen. d) containing, according to M. Amélineau's catalogue in the *Bibl. Nat.*, fragments of chaps. ix and xi 11-25. Maspero has published Gen. xi 11-27 *d'après une copie de M. Amélineau*. It is also published by Ciasca, p. 9, and by Amélineau (*Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes* vol. vii). According to Amélineau the MS is of the ninth century.

Fol. 4, *recto*.

αϣ]†ϣε αϣκω	κoт[1 пeжaϣ
κaρηт ϣπ пeϣ	жe [ϣcρoтopт
нeт	пe ϣ[αпααп
αϣпaт жe πoт ϣαα	
πωт πϣαпα	
αп eπκωκa	eϣeщω[пe п
ϣηт мпeϣeт	ϣπρaλ πп[eϣ
ωт · αϣeт eθoλ	cпηт · [αтω

Fol. 4, *recto* continued.

αρχος Ημερ

сон снат [са

βολ α снм

мн ѿφεο π

πτεπτηн

αυταλος ερραї

екн тетхн

се ѿнеснат

ατμοο[πe

.. ωπτε ..

ατρ[ωbc . .

(Gen. ix 21-23)

некаѣ же ѣс

маат нѣї нхо

екс ннотте

нсмн [ере

χαμαα[н πω

не каѣ [нрн

ρλ

(Gen. ix 25, 26)

Verso (vv. 17-19).

νωρε же нас

не нмаєнн н

ταλαφηνн н

ταїναас нта

мнте ατω н

таинте нса

ρζ нма етрг

хнн нкаѣ .

πωнре αе н

νωρε ептаѣ

εї εβολρн т[н

αωτος не

смн χαα

(*Illegible.*)

Verso (vv. 17-19) continued.

ἰαφεο χαμ λε

πε πωτ ἡχα

πααν · παῖ

πε π] προμῆν

πνρε] ἡνωρε

εβολ λε παῖ ἡ

(Gen. xi 17, 18)

(2) *Bibl. Nat. Copt.* 129¹ f. 11. Described by Amélineau (Gen. f) as containing Gen. xxviii 4 sqq., xxix, xxx, fragments, and as belonging to the ninth century. It is described by Maspero (*Mémoires*, vi 1, pp. 12, 16), who used it for Gen. xxviii 4-6, 14-16, and edited xxix 35-xxx 29. The following verses do not seem to have been published by any of the three editors. I give the *recto* only, as the contents of the *verso* are in Ciasca. The following variants from the text of A are to be noticed. In ver. 20 the Sahidic has the words *και ησαν εναντιον αυτου ως ημεραι ολιγαι παρα το αγαπαν αυτον αυτην*. Ver. 21 om. *μου* 2° with E b d p w Armenian, Bohairic (ed. Wilkins), and Old Latin. The cursives probably represent the Lucianic (b w) and the Hesychian texts (d p). Ver. 22 *τουτου*] + *εκεινου* with fi^ar Bohairic Old Latin. The group fi^ar shews many cases of assimilation to the Hebrew. Ver. 24. It has the order *τη θυγατρι αυτου Ζελφαν την παιδισκην αυτου*, agreeing with M b d f i k l p r w and the Old Latin. Again it agrees with the 'Hesychian MSS', but the variants are not of sufficient importance to afford decisive evidence.

Recto.

α ἰακωβ βρῆραλ

ετῆε ρραχῆλ

πσαπρε προμ

πε · ατω πετ

πποπ μπεγ

αἰτο εβολ ἡε

ἡρεκποτι ἡ

тесщере п

зелфа те [срп

рал нас ἡ[рп

рал а рто[те

ле шопе а[τω

εερεντε [πε

λεα τε [πε

Recto continued.

ροοτ εἶολ γε
 πεγοταϣε
 πεχε ἱακωῆ γε
 ἡλαῖαν γε μα
 παῖ πτασρμε
 α περοοτ γαρ
 πωκ εἶολ γε
 εἶεῖωκ εροτη
 шарос * α λα
 ἕαν γε σωοτγ
 εροτη ἡῖρω
 με τιροτ α
 πια ετεμματ
 α]χερε πτше
 λεет * α роτ
 γε γε шωπε

(Gen. xxviii 20-23)

γε ἱακωῆ [ἡ
 λαῖαν γε [οτ
 πε παῖ ετ[ακ
 ααγ παῖ [αγ
 ῤεῖραλ [πακ
 αν ετῆ[ε ρρα
 χηλ

(The rest is illegible.)

(24, 25)

(3) *Bibl. Nat.* Copt. 129¹ f. 65. A fragment ascribed by Amélineau to the ninth century, and described by him as containing p. Lev. xxii. In the top right-hand margin is the number ρλε (25). The only parts of the chapters hitherto published are vv. 1-9 Ma and vv. 1-8 Amélineau (*Recueil* vol. viii p. 27). The following columns vv. 18-25. The chief variants from the text of B are xxii 18. ισραηλ πρ. των υιων | και ερεις] *dicens* | om. των υιων 2^o | om. προς αυτο τα δωρα] *τινις* 21 κατα] πρ. η 22 καρπωσιν] ολοκαρπωματα 25 δωρα] + υμων | του θεου] τω θεω. Latin renderings are given for variants not supported by any Greek MSS. None of the readings is of special interest or importance.

In the first column of the *recto*, ll. 26, 27, the reading must have been πρηττητητ. Cf. Lev. xvi 29 (Ciasca).

Recto.

ре мп̄ тсѣпа
 тѡгѣ тнрѣ
 п̄п̄шнре м̄
 п̄п̄л елжѡ
 м̄ос пат
 же прѡме
 прѡме еѡл
 р̄п̄ п̄шнре
 м̄п̄л н е
 ѡл]р̄п̄ непро
 снлѣтос
 п̄аї ептат
 опот еп̄л
 петнаеї
 не п̄неѣѡ
 рон ката ро
 м̄ологѣ п̄м
 п̄тат н ката
 отѡш • п̄м
 п̄тат петот
 п̄п̄тот [ета
 лот] прѣм̄ м̄
 п̄п̄тте етѣо
 локатѡ
 м̄а петшнп̄
 п̄т. тнѣт
 тн емепт
 ж̄лп̄ п̄рнтот
 п̄роот еѡл
 (Lev. xii 18, 19)

р̄п̄ пероот
 атѡ еѡлр̄п̄
 несоот • атѡ
 еѡлр̄п̄ п̄а
 ампе • п̄а
 п̄м етеот
 п̄ж̄лп̄ [п̄рн
 тот п̄пот̄п̄
 тот етало
 от ерѣм̄ м̄п̄ж
 еї[с] же п̄се
 п̄ашѡпе ап
 етшнп̄ п̄
 т̄п̄ атѡ прѡ
 ме етпаеїне
 п̄ототсѣа
 п̄отж̄аї ета
 лос ерѣм̄ м̄
 п̄ж̄оеїс еаѣ
 ерѣм̄ п̄оте
 рнт н ката
 ототѡш н
 р̄п̄ пет̄п̄ш̄а
 еѣешѡпе
 еѣсот̄п̄ еѡл
 р̄п̄ пероот
 н еѡлр̄п̄ не
 соот ем̄п̄
 ж̄лп̄ п̄рнтѣ
 (19-21)

Verso.

ημελαατ η̄
 χηηη ψωπε
 ηρηηη οτ
 μη̄τ η̄λλε η
 οτοτοψη
 η ερεμααχε
 αα · η εχο
 η̄χαχη · η ε
 ρε οτψωρα
 η̄ατρηον ρι
 ωωη η ερε
 ρεημεχηω
 ηε ριωωη
 ηᾱῑ η̄ηετ̄η̄
 τοτ εταλο
 οτ ερρᾱῑ η̄
 η̄χοε̄ῑς · ατω
 η̄ηετ̄η̄ϛ ε
 η̄ολ · η̄ρητοτ
 εοτρηολοκαρ
 ηωηα εχη̄η̄
 ηεο̄η̄ςῑας
 η̄ηρηον η̄ηε
 η̄χοε̄ῑς · ατω
 οτμ̄ᾱσε · η̄
 οτ̄ε̄σο̄ο̄τ ε
 ρε ηεη̄μᾱα
 ηε ψαατ η̄
 εχο η̄ςᾱατ̄

(xxii 21-23)

сит елеша
 атоτ пак η̄
 ηετχητοτ
 ηε епекρηт
 οτ̄ολᾱη̄ας
 ете ηετ̄ла
 асе ηе · аτω
 ηετ̄χοо̄η̄
 аτω ηετ̄ρηт
 аτω ηе[т̄ш̄а
 аτ · η̄ηετ̄η̄
 η̄тоτ ета
 лоот ерра̄ӣ η̄
 η̄χοе̄ӣς · аτω
 η̄ηετ̄η̄ та
 м̄ӣо̄ο̄т ρӣη̄η̄
 ηετ̄η̄ка̄ρ
 аτω η̄ηετ̄η̄
 χ̄ӣ η̄то̄ο̄т̄η̄
 η̄ο̄т̄η̄е̄п̄о̄с
 η̄ш̄η̄η̄ӣо̄ е̄е̄ӣ
 ηе η̄ηετ̄η̄
 η̄ω̄ро̄η̄ · е̄η̄ол
 ρ̄η̄ ηᾱӣ η̄η̄ро̄т
 ета̄ло̄ο̄т ε
 ρра̄ӣ η̄ηετ̄η̄
 ηо̄т̄η̄е̄ ηе
 οτ̄η̄ ρε̄п̄та
 ηо̄ ш̄о̄о̄η̄

(23-25)

Verso.

πετεγῶλον
 αποκ ρω †πα
 †κωρ πατ ε
 χῆν οτρεθνος
 αν · †πα†ποτ
 ετ πατ εχῆν οτ
 ρ]εθνος πα
 τρη]τ · κε ατ
 κω]ρτ κερο ε
 ἁολρ]π παθω
 πτ εην]αρω
 κρ επε]снт

(Deut. xxxii 21, 22)

ἡοῆρε ἡ
 οκριο[π †
 πα πα[αε
 εροοτ · μῆ
 πῶπτ ἡπ
 σωψε ριχῆ
 πκαρ · οτῆ
 снге пааа[т
 ἡατψиρε [ἡ
 ἁολ · ατω [π
 ροτε εἰο[λρῆ
 πετταμ[ιοπ
 οτρῖψиp[ε μῆ
 οτπαρθ[επος
 ατω οτα ε]тх
 ек[иε μп

(24)

A. E. BROOKE.

NOTES AND STUDIES

EMPHASIS IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.

THE following are notes of an attempt to find an accurate definition of emphasis in the New Testament.

To some, looking at the weakness of English in this regard, it may seem, at first sight, a form of expression too intangible for accuracy. Indeed, the investigation is based on certain assumptions.

(i) For instance: that there is a great deal more in language than can be reproduced in written words and sentences. The delicate aromas of thought are expressed in speaking, not so much by the *machinery* of language, which is always more or less stiff and awkward, as by the audible music of *tone*, and by the visible drama of *gesture*.

(ii) And again: that these subtle refinements were always in the mind of every writer originally. He wrote with fire, with passion, with pity, with sarcasm, with humour, with antithesis, with emphasis. But these more delicate odours passed away—always to a large extent, yet not always to the same extent—under the hand of the writer. It rests with literary appreciation to recall them by some subtle sympathy with the writer's trend of thought; by closer study of his manner of expression; by getting back, so far as may be, mentally into the physical and intellectual circumstances in which he wrote; or by a minute criticism of his vehicle of expression; which last, being the only basis for accuracy, is what is under discussion here.

(iii) English, the vehicle through which the New Testament is presented to us, is much like other analytic languages. We have one or two lame devices for expressing emphasis. *By phrase*, 'It is', 'It was'; *by typography*, underlines or italics. But, beyond this, almost all is guess-work. The third assumption here made is that far less is left to guess-work in the Greek of the New Testament. This is, perhaps, not entirely assumption. We are dealing with the language of precision *par excellence*, which shews, by its use of particles, what fine and accurate shades of expression it can define: and we are taking it, where it is the vehicle for a subject-matter, above all others didactic and impassioned; which sounds the gamut of all human emotions, and is the voice of men whose hearts, above all others, were filled with a divine enthusiasm, and also, as has been suggested to the writer, in a form which was purposely constructed, in almost every case, for oral delivery. In this language, on these subjects, if anywhere, we may expect to find emphasis expressed.

Thus, perhaps, the search is justified. There is *this* justification further, that students in the course of general reading have detected some sure traces of emphasis in the Greek Testament. It is common and tantalizing in reading Alford's notes to find emphasis claimed, now and again, by an *ipse dixit*; and though, generally, as it seems, accurately, yet without any reference to any proof, or any critical apparatus by which it was estimated.

With this preliminary justification, then, it will be well, without further preamble, to give in outline the system which has been arrived at: not going through the inductive process, by which it was gradually formulated, but yet supplying crucial instances by which the several points may be tested in passing.

There is, of course, in the apparatus of every language, one part of the vocabulary which is there on purpose to supply emphasis. There are *particles*. In these Greek is peculiarly rich. Such are, in every form of Greek, *καί* with *οὐδέ* and *καὶ γάρ*, *γε*, *οὐ μή*, *μέν* and *δέ*, *νή* and, in New Testament Greek especially, *ἰδοὺ*, and the rising scale of asseveration, by which the Great Preacher was wont to mark the graduated importance of His utterances, *λέγω ὑμῖν—ἀμὲν λέγω ὑμῖν—ἀμὲν ἀμὲν λέγω ὑμῖν*. Again, there are intensifying *pronouns* and *adverbs*: *αὐτός*, for the former; and for the latter we may take as our example the emphatic adverb forms, beloved especially by St Paul, *περισσῶς*, *ἐκ περισσοῦ*, *περισσότερον*, *λίαν ἐκ περισσοῦ*, *ἐκ περισσοῦ μᾶλλον*, *ὑπερεκπερισσοῦ*, *περισσότερον μᾶλλον*. Or one may instance the rising force of the phrases used to express eternity, which take as many as ten different forms, all of them apparently with very nearly the same meaning.

εἰς αἰῶνα Jude 13, &c., &c.

ἕως αἰῶνος Luke i 55.

εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα Mark iii 29, &c., &c.

εἰς ἡμέραν αἰῶνος 2 Pet. iii 18.

εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας Rom. i 25, &c., &c.; Rev. *passim*.

εἰς πάντα τοὺς αἰῶνας Jude 25.

εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ αἰῶνος Heb. i 8.

εἰς αἰῶνας αἰώνων Rev. xiv 11, &c.

εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων Gal. i 5, &c.

[*ἕως τῆς συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος* Matt. xxviii 20.]

εἰς πάσας τὰς γενεὰς τοῦ αἰῶνος τῶν αἰώνων Eph. iii 21.

There are also *adjectives* and *substantives* in which an emphatic sense seems so naturally inherent that they almost always stand out in a prominent position, such as *πᾶς*, *μόνος*, *ὅλος*, *οὐδεὶς*, *μακάριος*; and from natural dignity, *Θεός*, *Χριστός*, *Κύριος*.

These, however, are words, on the surface, visible. Is there any other device available in this synthetic language, which is not in the

nature of things at the disposal of our modern analytic type of speech? It is believed that such a device is found in the *Order*.

One way of testing it is by examining sentences which, from the nature of their meaning, almost certainly are wholly free from emphasis. Compare these—

- (a) Matt. xiii 53 ὅτε ἐτέλεσεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τὰς παραβολὰς ταύτας.
 John v 10 ἔλεγον οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τῷ τεθεραπευμένῳ.
 Matt. xii 38 ἀπεκρίθησαν αὐτῷ τινές.
 John vi 11 ἔλαβε τοὺς ἄρτους ὁ Ἰησοῦς.
 Matt. xiii 41 ἀποστελεῖ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ.
 Matt. xiv 6 ὠρχήσατο ἡ θνηγάτηρ τῆς Ἑρωδιάδος ἐν τῷ μέσῳ.
 Matt. xiv 29 καταβὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ πλοίου Πέτρος: so xv 29.

Another test is applied by going to the opposite extreme, and taking passages by which a *maximum* of emotion seems clearly expressed. For example—

- (b) Acts xix 2 ἀλλ' οὐδ' εἰ Πνεῦμα Ἅγιον ἔστιν ἀκηκόαμεν.
 Acts xv 21 Μωσῆς ἐκ γενεῶν ἀρχαίων κατὰ πόλιν τοὺς κηρύσσοντας αὐτὸν ἔχει, ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς κατὰ πᾶν σάββατον ἀναγινωσκόμενος.

It is clear, by the sense, that (a) are ordinary sentences, while (b) are almost wholly emphatic. It will be noticed that the order of words in (a), presumably the common order, is entirely reversed in (b).

Let it be remembered, further, that we are dealing with the most *logical* of languages. From both these considerations it seems plain that the ordinary order of words will be that of their importance. That, *in ordinary*, the verb,—the word, τὸ ῥῆμα,—is the most important, and therefore stands first, and following it—in order, just as they do in importance—the subject and object, each along with its qualifying words, and then after these adverbial adjuncts.

The inspiring principle in Greek being vivid representation (πρὸ ὁμμάτων ποιεῖν), and the order such as will serve this purpose most clearly, it follows that if any word calls for exceptional emphasis it must, on the same principle, be thrown into marked prominence, *παρὰ προσδοκίαν*, by breaking the order. This seems to be done by two chief methods. The commonest, by which most of the 'order-emphasis' is expressed, consists in throwing the word in question *before the verb*. There is, at the same time, another, much less common, which consists in setting a word at a distance from that with which it is in agreement. The *further* it is separated the more effective the emphasis becomes. Practically, it frequently amounts to putting the word *late*,—say, right at the end of the sentence, where it comes in as by a surprise. This latter device it will be convenient to refer to under the term *Dislocation*.

These two methods though on the surface they have a contradictory appearance—one throwing the emphatic word early in the sentence and the other late—have yet really a common principle underlying them, as was suggested above; and in practice—with some further limitation, which will be given later on—they do not seem to clash with one another, nor to cause any confusion. It is obvious, at the same time, that neither is available in a non-inflectional language such as ours. We cannot, to begin with, have a *logical* order, for the subject must come before the verb to distinguish it from the object. We cannot, at will, put the object before the verb, for a like reason. Nor can we dislocate words, since it is proximity alone, in most cases, which indicates concord.

At this stage, before proceeding to examine these two principles in greater detail, and in the light of exceptions, it may be well to illustrate the whole subject by giving as a luminous instance a case in which, most of all, Greek shews its versatility in the expression of emphasis.

It is well known that the pronoun in the nominative, being already present in the verb inflexion, is not expressed separately, unless it calls for special prominence. Hence the canon: the nominative case of a pronoun is always emphatic. One may note, as a useful example, 1 Cor. xv 36 ἄφρων, σὸν δὲ σπείρεις, 'that which *thou* sowest,' &c., an emphasis, usually ignored, which gives admirable prominence to the parallel St Paul is drawing between the husbandry of God's acre and that of the acres of earth.

Suppose, then, we combine this with the other devices of emphasis, (a) emphatic *particle*, (b) emphatic *adjective*, (c) *order*, (d) *dislocation*, and tabulate, by instances selected from the actual text, all the degrees of diverse emphasis, which, in the case of the personal pronoun, are found in actual use.

How *many* different shades of emphasis are herein implied may be considered open to question, but that there are a good many, seven at the least, is hardly matter of doubt.

I am &c.		
No emphasis	εἰμι	
Very slight emphasis	εἰμὶ ἐγώ	Acts xiii 25
From this point emphasis } increases	λέγει αὐτός	Acts ii 34
	ἐρωτήσω καὶ ἐγώ	St Luke xx 3
	στοιχεῖς καὶ αὐτός	Acts xxi 24
	δεῦτε ὑμεῖς αὐτοί	St Mark vi 31
	(ἀνάθεμα) εἶναι αὐτὸς ἐγώ	Romans ix 3
	πέπεισμαι καὶ αὐτὸς ἐγώ	Romans xv 14
	ἐγὼ εἰμι	St John xiv 6

{ (<u>ὅποιος</u>) καὶ ἐγὼ εἰμι	Acts xxvi 29
<u>ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ</u> εἰμι	Acts x 21
<u>ἐγὼ</u> εἰμι <u>αὐτός</u>	St Luke xxiv 39
<u>αὐτός</u> ἐστι	St Matt. xi 14
καὶ <u>αὐτὸς</u> ἤμην	Acts xxii 20
<u>αὐτὸς ἐγὼ</u> δουλεύω	Romans vii 25
<u>καὶ ἐγὼ αὐτὸς</u> εἰμί	Acts x 26
<u>καὶ αὐτοὶ οὗτοι</u> προσδέχονται	Acts xxiv 15

Very strong emphasis—

<u>ὕμεις</u> <u>τίνες</u> <u>ἐστέ</u> ;	Acts xix 15
{ <u>ἐγὼ</u> <u>ὅτι</u> <u>τὴν ἀλήθειαν</u> λέγω	John viii 45
cf. <u>σὺ δὲ σπείρεις</u> (above)	1 Cor. xv 36
<u>καὶ αὐτοὶ</u> . . . <u>ἔχοντες, ἡμεῖς καὶ αὐτοὶ</u> στενάζομεν	Romans viii 23

N.B. Such orders as αὐτός εἰμι ἐγὼ
and ἐγὼ αὐτός εἰμι

are not found.

If now it may be assumed that the main principles are clear, it will be well, even in a brief outline such as this must necessarily be, to consider these two divisions of the general principle rather more in detail, to give examples of them, and most of all to try and elucidate the method underlying the numerous *exceptions*, which make the interpretation of the emphasis the rather baffling investigation which, at first sight, it appears to be.

I. Order.

Examples of emphatic word before the verb.

Pronoun and adverb. Matt. xv 33 Πόθεν ἡμῖν ἐν ἐρημίᾳ (verb supplied) ἄρτοι τοσούτοι ὥστε, &c.

Subject and object. Luke ix 58 αἱ ἀλώπεκες φωλεοὺς ἔχουσι . . .
ὁ δὲ Υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἔχει ποῦ, &c.

Adjective. John xv 13 μείζονα ταύτης ἀγάπην οὐδεὶς ἔχει.

Genitive and participle. Gal. iii 15 ὁμῶς ἀνθρώπου κεκυρωμένην διαθήκην οὐδεὶς ἀθετεῖ.

Almost every word emphatic. Mark xiv 30 Σὺ σήμερον ταύτη τῇ νυκτὶ πρὶν ἢ δις ἀλέκτορα φωνῆσαι τρίς με ἀπαρνήσῃ. So too Acts xv 21, quoted above.

2 Peter ii 8 βλέμματι καὶ ἀκοῇ δίκαιος ἐγκατοικῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἡμέραν ἐξ ἡμέρας ψυχὴν δικαίαν ἀνόμοις ἔργοις ἐβασάνιζεν.

Antithesis. One well-known group of examples of this, very common in Greek, is *antithesis*. Never marked, of course, with chiasmus, as in Latin, but with μὲν . . . δέ, οὐ μόνον . . . ἀλλὰ καί, and the like, the antithetical words, by rule of order, standing first.

So far the general rule of order, case after case, makes it clear that words before the verb are emphatic. But what of the exceptions, which are many? It quickly becomes obvious that by no means *all* the words before the verb, in *all* cases, are set there to convey emphasis. How then did they get there?

These variants seem clearly explicable in almost every case as one manifestation or another of a common principle, which may be called **Attraction**. This is due, in the main, to considerations either (a) of *Sense* or (b) of *Artistic Effect*.

(a) *Sense*, and the desire to make the sentence compact and easy of apprehension.

(i) By taking a word out of its place to stand close beside one with which it is intimately connected in meaning. Acts xix 34 φωνή ἐγένετο μία ἐκ πάντων; where μία is drawn away from φωνή to ἐκ πάντων to contrast the 'one' with the 'many'. Gal. ii 9 δεξιὰς ἔδωκεν ἐμοὶ καὶ Βαρνάβᾳ κοινωνίας, ἵνα ἡμεῖς . . . αὐτοὶ δὲ . . . : κοινωνίας being put last, to stand next the following clause, which explains it.

(ii) By putting a word next that to which it is bound by the construction. *Genitives of relatives* present frequent instances; e.g. Acts xviii 7 οὗ ἡ οἰκία ἦν συνομοροῦσα. So too a word is put between two, both of which, to some extent, govern it. 2 Pet. iii 1 διεγείρω ὑμῶν ἐν ὑπομονῇ τὴν εἰλικρινή διάνοιαν, where ὑμῶν is not emphatic but belongs to the sense partly of the verb and partly of each of the two nouns. So Acts xxi 31 ζητούντων αὐτὸν ἀποκτείνειν.

(b) *Artistic effect*.

(i) To *weld a clause together*, enveloping between two words in agreement all those other words which closely qualify them: this being a more extended example of the common case of genitive between article and noun.

Col. ii 3 ἐν ᾧ εἰσὶ πάντες οἱ θησαυροὶ τῆς σοφίας καὶ τῆς γνώσεως ἀπόκρυφτοι.

This is especially used with periphrastic verbs.

Col. iii 1 ὁ Χριστὸς ἐστὶν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ θεοῦ καθήμενος.

(ii) To set a *weak word*, especially one of the pronominal forms, next a strong one, or an emphatic one. A common case is pronoun next to pronoun.

Acts xviii 15 κριτὴς ἐγὼ τούτων οὐ βούλομαι εἶναι, where though ἐγὼ is emphatic τούτων need not be.

1 Tim. iv 12 μηδεὶς σου τῆς νεότητος καταφρονεῖτω.

1 Thess. v 3 αἰφνίδιος αὐτοῖς ἐφίσταται ὀλεθρος.

Mark xiv 30 (already quoted) τρίς με ἀπαρνήσῃ.

Here there is no emphasis on σου, αὐτοῖς, με, although before the verb. Two points should be noted here about enclitic pronominal forms.

σου and other similar forms, ordinarily enclitic, may bear emphasis, and are then accentuated. (b) The monosyllabic cases of ἐγώ are, of course, always unemphatic. When, therefore, in spite of this they are placed in such cases *before the verb*, the evidence for this method of attraction seems complete.

Possessive Genitive.

A note ought to be made here, in passing, as to the possessive genitive of pronouns. The old idea that the pronoun takes emphasis by being placed before its noun appears to be quite untenable. There are numbers of cases to the contrary.

2 Thess. ii 17 παρακαλέσαι ὑμῶν τὰς καρδίας.

John iv 34 τελειώσω αὐτοῦ τὸ ἔργον.

Commonly, though by no means always, these are cases of attraction.

Phil. i 7 συγκοινωνοὺς μου τῆς χάριτος.

Luke vii 48 ἀφένονται σου αἱ ἁμαρτίαι (ἀφένονται αἱ ἁμαρτίαι αὐτῆς αἱ πολλαί, in ver. 47), and frequently with σοι as a variant.

To claim emphasis it must be thrown into a still more prominent position.

Eph. ii 10 αὐτοῦ γάρ ἐσμεν ποίημα.

Matt. xiii 16 ὑμῶν δὲ μακάριοι οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ ὅτι βλέπουνσι.

An interesting case is John xiii 6 σύ μου νίπτεις τοὺς πόδας;

One would be much inclined to translate 'Dost THOU wash *my* feet?', though μου would then require an accent, and it may well take its earlier order by attraction to the emphatic pronoun; and this is borne out by a similar order in Mark v 30 τίς μου ἤψατο τῶν ἱματίων; where 'my' can hardly bear any emphasis (see also note (b) above).

II. Dislocation.

(a) Notable examples are:—

Heb. vii 4 θεωρεῖτε πῆλικος οὗτος ᾧ δεκάτην Ἀβραὰμ ἔδωκεν ἐκ τῶν κεκοιμημένων ὁ πατριάρχης.

Heb. xiii 8 Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἐχθὲς καὶ σήμερον ὁ αὐτός, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.

1 Pet. ii 12 τὴν ἀναστροφὴν ὑμῶν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἔχοντες καλήν (for some force of emphasis seems to lie regularly in the tertiary predicate).

1 John i 5 ὁ Θεὸς φῶς ἐστὶ, καὶ σκοτία οὐκ ἐστὶν ἐν αὐτῷ οὐδεμία.

And so with the particles καὶ τοῦτο.

Phil. i 28 ἡτις ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς ἐνδειξις ἀπωλείας, ὑμῶν δὲ σωτηρίας, καὶ τοῦτο ἐπὶ Θεοῦ.

On the other hand, it must be carefully noted that there are plenty of cases to be found of spurious dislocation, due to nothing more than the need of separating two agreeing words, in order to put emphasis on *the former only*. It is not enough for the later word to stand separate; it

must also be thrown into a marked position. If, though after the verb, it is in its ordinary order, we may be certain that only its fellow word *before the verb* has a stress on it. Such cases are:—

Hebrews ii 3 τηλικαύτης ἀμελήσαντες σωτηρίας.

Acts xvi 23 (&c.) πολλὰς ἐπιθέντες αὐτοῖς πληγὰς.

Titus ii 10 πᾶσαν πίστιν ἐνδεικνυμένους ἀγαθὴν: where σωτηρίας, πληγὰς, ἀγαθὴν are without emphasis.

Real dislocation is a very different matter, involving wider separation of the words; those to bear the stress being thrown very late in the sentence, in a way that disturbs the even flow of sense and thought, and is obviously without any other adequate explanation.

(b) *Abruptness*. This is similar in effect to dislocation.

Acts xviii 6 τὸ αἷμα ὑμῶν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ὑμῶν καθαρὸς ἐγώ.

John viii 55 ἔσομαι ὅμοιος ὑμῶν, ψεύστης.

This effect is most commonly produced by the omission of the copulative verb, as in Luke xxii 21 ἰδοὺ ἡ χεὶρ τοῦ παραδιδόντος με μετ' ἐμοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης: or by putting a word right out of its place, even before an interrogative, as the demoniac in his frenzy: Acts xix 15 ὑμεῖς δὲ τίνας ἐστέ; or by *Asyndeton*, Luke xii 19 ἀναπαύου, φάγε, πίε, εὐφραίνου.

(c) *Iteration*. Finally there is a method, which is a survival of the simplicity of early human speech, commonly called Hebraism in the New Testament, which lays stress on an idea by repeating it, and may be called *Iteration*.

Mark v 42 ἐξέστησαν εὐθὺς ἐκστάσει μεγάλῃ = very greatly.

Rev. xiv 2 καθαρωδῶν καθαρίζοντων ἐν ταῖς κιθάραις.

Luke xxii 15 ἐπιθυμίᾳ ἐπεθύμησα.

Especially οὐδεὶς. Mark xvi 8 οὐδενὶ οὐδὲν εἶπαν.

Iteration is a notable device for adding force to extended passages, as 1 Cor. xii 4-12, where ὁ αὐτός and ἔν echo and re-echo in assertion of Christian unity in diversity; and the magnificent panegyric of *faith* in the eleventh chapter of Hebrews.

This, then, in brief outline, is the suggested apparatus of emphasis, critically considered.

(i) *Words* which speak it:—particles, adverbs, pronouns, adjectives, nouns.

(ii) Order, *the main principle*, the emphatic word being thrown into marked prominence, usually *before the verb*, exceptions being due to *Attraction*.

(iii) Then the more occasional subsidiary methods: expression of *pronouns in the nominative*; *dislocation*, along with *abruptness*, *brevity* and *asyndeton*; and last of all, *iteration*.

Sometimes these methods are used singly; often two or even more

are combined, to add weight to the same passage, of which it would be easy to quote instances, and indeed many have occurred incidentally among the examples already quoted.

One thing only remains in order to complete the outline of the subject. A word or two ought to be added about what may be called *tone-emphasis*. In putting passages to the test of reading, it quickly becomes apparent that it is not enough merely to lay *voice-stress* on an emphatic word; but that the true sense often depends on the *tone* in which this is done.

Emphasis, properly used, is a vehicle of *emotional* expression. There is a single interjection, a monosyllable, in our language, which by varied voice inflexion is used from time to time to cover a whole vocabulary of emotions. *Oh!* is not so simple a word as it looks. It can be made to express surprise, indignation, pain, pleasure, merriment, incredulity, admiration, vexation, interrogation, as well as simple address. The *toning* of the word will be found on consideration to vary in the different cases.

So it is with emphasis in general; we find it take colour with varieties of tone, as follows:—

Admiration. Rev. xxi 21, 22 'The twelve gates were twelve pearls; each one of the several gates was', &c. 'The *Lord God* the Almighty, and the *Lamb*, are the temple.'

Contempt. Acts xix 26 ὁ Παῦλος οὗτος, 'This *Paul*'.

Anger and excitement. Luke xv 29, 30 'Lo, *these many years* do I serve thee, and I *never* transgressed a *commandment* of thine'.

Impulsiveness and enthusiasm. Acts x 28 ὑμεῖς ἐπίστασθε, &c. 'Ye yourselves know how that it is an *unlawful thing* for a man (that is a Jew)', &c.

Determination. Acts xxvi 14 'Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? it is *hard* for thee to kick against the *goads*'.

Vehement sorrow. Acts xx 25 καὶ νῦν ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ οἶδα ὅτι οὐκέτι ὄψεσθε τὸ πρόσωπόν μου ὑμεῖς πάντες, ἐν οἷς. 'And *now, behold, I know* that ye all shall see my face *no longer*, among whom'.

Indignant reproof. Gal. ii 14 'If thou, being a *Jew*, livest as do the *Gentiles*', &c.

Despair and anguish. Rev. xviii 10 'Woe, woe, the *great city*, *Babylon*, the *strong city*!'

Grief and lamentation. Matt. xxiii 37 'O *Jerusalem, Jerusalem*, which killest the *prophets*', &c.

Condemnation. Mark xi 14 Μηκέτι εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ἐκ σοῦ μηδεὶς καρπὸν φέροι, 'No man eat fruit from thee *henceforward for ever*'.

Frenzy. Acts xix 15 τὸν Ἰησοῦν γινώσκω καὶ τὸν Παῦλον ἐπίσταμαι, ὑμεῖς δὲ οὐκ ἐστὲ; 'Jesus I recognize, and *Paul* I know; but who are ye?'

The following are a few typical examples of special interest or difficulty:—

(i) Gen. i 7 (LXX) καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως, 'And it was so'. It cannot assume the emphasis some have adopted: 'and it was so.'

(ii) In the same chapter we cannot read, 'after their kind', but 'after their kind', κατὰ γένη αὐτῶν; and so, still more markedly in the succeeding verses, κατὰ γένος,—no pronoun expressed at all—'after his kind'.

(iii) St Luke ii 7 οὐκ ἦν αὐτοῖς τόπος ἐν τῷ καταλύματι. Some have read, 'there was no room for them in the inn'; implying that the khan proprietor made a difference between rich and poor. The Greek gives no justification for accusing him of any such meanness.

(iv) Rom. ii 21 ὁ κηρύσσων μὴ κλέπτει, κλέπτεις; 'Thou that preachest a man should not steal, dost thou steal?' The usual emphasis on the second 'thou' is impossible.

(v) St John iv 18 νῦν ὃν ἔχεις, οὐκ ἔστι σου ἀνὴρ. 'He whom thou now hast is not thy husband.' 'Not thy husband' has been suggested; but (a) for this the order required would be σοῦ οὐκ ἔστιν, or οὐ σοῦ ἔστιν or αὐτὸς ἐστίν or οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνὴρ ὁ σός. (b) We have no ground for supposing that her present husband was a divorcee.

(vi) St Luke xv 29 ἐμοὶ οὐδέποτε ἔδωκας ἑριφὸν, ἵνα μετὰ τῶν φίλων μου εὐφρανθῶ. The writer once heard Dean Burgon, whilst still Fellow of Oriel and Vicar of St Mary's, claim that the force of this passage was usually lost for want of emphasis. 'And yet, thou never gavest me a kid, that I might make merry with my friends.' But the Greek emphasis is not so simple, 'And yet, thou never gavest me a kid, that I might make merry with my friends'. A contrast is reasonably marked between φίλων and πορνῶν. The other contrast, which one would have expected between the 'kid' and the 'fatted calf', can hardly be found in the Greek, except so far as emphasis may be marked by parallelism between words in corresponding positions in two clauses.

(vii) 1 Cor. xiv 36 ἢ ἀφ' ὑμῶν ὁ λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐξηλθεν, ἢ εἰς ὑμᾶς μόνους κατήντησεν; 'What? came the Word of God out from you? or came it unto you only?' Logically it is very tempting here to make a direct antithesis—'came it unto you only?' But the Greek, with μόνους rather than μόνον, seems certainly to require the emphasis given above, and makes one realize that St Paul, as his manner was, has here packed the sense with two antitheses instead of only one.

(a) 'It came unto you, not out from you.'

(b) 'It came to others as well as you.'

(viii) The climax of self-humiliation of the Incarnate, Phil. ii 6-8, so often missed in reading and slurred in our version, is elaborated carefully in the Greek, if not very clearly, each downward step being successively emphasized. 'Who, being in the form of God, thought it

not a prize to be equal with God, but *emptied* Himself and took upon Him the form of a *bondservant*, being made in the *likeness of men*; and being found in *fashion as a man*, He *abased* Himself, by becoming *obedient even unto death, yea, death upon the cross.*'

AMBROSE J. WILSON.

THE HOMILIES OF ST MACARIUS OF EGYPT.

A FRIEND, who is also a Friend, recently advised me to read, on account of their spiritual excellence, the fifty homilies ascribed to St Macarius of Egypt (*Patrol. Graeca* tom. xxxiv). Certainly, from the spiritual point of view, they are, as one of their editors has described them, *plena succi spiritualis*. But as their ascription to the famous 'disciple of Antony' (who died A.D. 389) has been matter of doubt, it seemed to me worth while to note down, as I read, such indications of date and authorship as appeared to me: and as I should be glad, on many grounds, to draw the attention of scholars to these admirable homilies, I am venturing to offer these notes to readers of the JOURNAL.

1. The homilies are written in simple Greek, which presents few difficulties. Such obscurities as there are sometimes suggest corruption in the text. They are plainly by one author, and without apparent interpolations. Sometimes to a very short homily are appended a number of questions, with answers, as if the 'preacher' were anticipating the habit of some modern missionaries. Each homily ends with a doxology. I suppose they were not delivered, but written to be read.

2. The author has known those who were 'confessors' in persecution (*Hom. xxvii*, 14, *P. G.* xxxiv 704 B C D ἐγὼ δὲ σοὶ¹ λέγω ὡς εἶδον ἀνθρώπους κ.τ.λ.; then he gives instances). And he himself lives among those who have abandoned home and possessions for Christ's sake²: who in some cases possess gifts of healing (685 A, 704 D, 706 C) 'through the laying on of hands'. A normal experience with which he deals is that of a spiritual 'athlete' who has made the great renunciation, as far as externals go, and come into the desert, only to find that his struggle is beginning and not ended: and that the inward victory has still to be

¹ The passage (note the singular σοί) occurs not in the homily, but in one of the answers to questions which follow.

² Harnack complains of the lack of 'authentic illustrations' from early days of the freeing of slaves being looked upon as praiseworthy (*Expansion of Christianity* vol. i p. 210, Eng. trans.). In the passage cited above, however, it is mentioned as a normal and meritorious part of the renunciation of the world. 'A nobleman renounced and sold his property, freed his slaves', &c.

won (see *Hom.* xxi for example). Undoubtedly, then, these homilies are by one of the fourth-century 'fathers of the desert'. With this date agrees the repeated mention of the wars of Rome and Persia, which are spoken of as rival and equal powers (608 B, 709 A). The mention of Easter as belonging to 'the month Xanthicus, which is called April' (513 C) agrees with the statement of Eusebius *Mart. Pal.* praef. 'the month Xanthicus, which would be called April according to the Romans'. Socrates (*H. E.* v 2, *P. G.* lxvii 629 A) uses the same expression. This adjustment of the Macedonian and Roman systems of months had its origin in Syria, but obtained wider diffusion.¹ The statement that Satan had had '6000 years' to gain experience of men (680 C) would, according to the LXX chronology as reckoned by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* I xxi 140), bring us to about A. D. 420. But our author is using a round number. Sulpicius Severus, writing about A. D. 403 (*P. L.* xx 95), speaks of the world as 'nearly 6000 years old'.

There are, as far as I have noticed, no other indications of date, apart from the theology, to which we will come directly. But one with more knowledge of the education of this period might draw some conclusion from an interesting, but to me partly obscure, allusion to the stages of education (604 C D). The youth first goes to learn his letters (*σημεῖα*): then he goes to *ἡ σχολή τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν*: then to *ἡ σχολή τῶν γραμμάτων*: then having become *σχολαστικός* he makes a beginning as a *δικολόγος* ('pleader'): then he passes on to become an *ἡγεμών*, and when he has reached the top here also *λαμβάνει ἐαυτῷ βοηθὸν τὸν συγκάθεδρον*. This is given as an illustration of the stages and steps of spiritual advance.

3. The theology agrees perfectly with the position of Macarius. It is orthodox with the Trinitarian orthodoxy of the later Athanasian period. Once, in the doxology at the end of a homily, the phrase *ἡ ὁμοούσιος τριάς* is used (633 C). It is found also in 'Athanasius' *adv. Apollinar.*

¹ The adjustment (1) of the old Egyptian calendar to the Macedonian, and (2) of both these to the Roman, affords a difficult subject for enquiry. As to (1) see the exhaustive treatment in *Hibeh Papyri* (Grenfell and Hunt) Pt. 1 App. 1 pp. 332 ff and cf. *Tebtunis Papyri*, reff. in index p. 607. The final adjustment was made about B. C. 140. The Macedonian month Xanthicus was then equated with the Egyptian Mechir, which nearly coincided with the Roman February (see Athanasius *P. G.* xxv 793 B, 796 B). In the Imperial period the Macedonian names were disused in Egypt. Working with imperfect apparatus, I can find no instance of their use in the Christian literature of Egypt except this instance in Macarius. Athanasius and Cyril use the Egyptian names. But meanwhile (2) an adjustment of the Macedonian to the Roman calendar had taken place in Syria at the beginning of our era, according to which Xanthicus = April = (Egyptian) Pharmuthi: and this equation came to prevail wherever the Macedonian names were used.

9 (*P. G.* xxvi 1109 A). There is nothing to suggest later controversies about the Person of Christ. Christ is God in manhood—the inaccessible God, consubstantial with the Father, who, to become accessible to us and redeem us, abandoned His divine prerogative and ‘reduced’ Himself (*ἑσμίκερνεν* 480 A B, 684 C) to be made man, taking a pure human body of the Virgin Mary (521 B, 549 D *καὶ τὸν ἔργον ἐκ τῆς Μαρίας ἐποίησε*), and assuming our whole nature, body and soul (480 B), none the less remaining God (*ἔσθωθεν γὰρ θεὸς ἦν* 684 D). In our nature He was tempted, and suffered and died, to redeem us by His death, and glorify our nature, entering as our High Priest before the heavenly altar (736 D). In the direction of Apollinarianism the language is simple and unguarded: there is no trace of either Apollinarian or later controversy. It should be noticed, however, that in our writer’s statement of the Incarnation, his thought is mainly directed towards its extension, by grace, to all the men of faith. Thus (480 A) the self-humiliation of the Eternal is ‘in order to be able to unite Himself to . . . the souls of saints and angels, that they might thus share the life of godhead’.

There is a deep devotion throughout these homilies to the Person of Christ, the healer and redeemer. And the author uses the relation of the bride to the bridegroom and of the wife to the husband to express the relation of the soul to Christ (565 D, 792 B). Whatever, he contends, is said about the Church as the bride of God, may be said about the individual, for each individual is, as it were, a church in little.

4. Constant stress is laid in these homilies on man’s inability to save or cleanse himself. All the intellect or skill which mankind has exhibited is powerless. Something from outside must redeem him. He can only know his need and cry out (469 C, 652 D, 672 C, and the whole of Homily xlv). There is a constant stress on the state of man, as fallen and corrupted and enslaved by sin. Sinfulness is not natural to man. It is due to Adam’s transgression and has become our second nature (477 C). For just as we derive our nature physically from Adam, so we derive our sinfulness (496 D). What the sin of Adam did was to deprive our nature of self-control and make it the prey of all kinds of lawless motives, the captive of Satan and his evil spirits (496 D, 664 A). Adam is sometimes spoken of as one man; sometimes as simply equivalent to humanity, e.g. to pray ‘for the whole Adam’, ‘the souls of Adam’ (640 B, 552 D). The fall is regarded as progressive (*κατὰ προκοπὴν καὶ αὐξήσιν*, 664 B), as each man identifies himself in will with the sinful tendency. And though it has ruined our nature it has not ruined it completely. The mind of man is still alive and has discernment and free will (676 B). What is still within the power of man is constantly insisted on—to want, to will, to cry out, to pray. The writer saves himself from what would later have been called semipelagianism

by insisting that we cannot anticipate God's action. Of Him is our good will, as well as our performance (756 D). But there is constant stress on free will. It is to avoid forcing us that God did not make His disclosure of His power so clear as to be practically compulsory (677 D). But when the good will and desire is there, the grace of Christ is free to restore and renew and recreate the Christian, and carry him up to a higher state than that of original man—even to be divinized (676 C) and made, through Christ, another Christ, as being anointed by the same unction (772 C). The whole of our writer's theology is centred upon the doctrine of the first and the second Adam, the fall and the recovery. Christ's atonement is conceived of as the victory of the Sinless over Satan, by paying the debt which He did not owe. Christ in Hades is represented as saying, 'I buy back the body that was sold to thee (Satan) by the first man. I annul thy bond. For I have paid the debt of Adam by being crucified and descending into Hades: and I bid thee let loose the imprisoned souls of Adam' (552 C). And the glorified Christ, having entered the heavenly sanctuary in our nature, becomes by His Spirit, the 'Spirit of the Godhead', the head of the new race of men, regenerated and redeemed (569 A, 721 C D), the source of life to all who will only seek Him and believe. Acceptance is by faith and not by works (756 A C).

The change is first inward. Great stress is laid on the necessity, realized by few, for inward and fundamental change of the heart and thoughts. The victory must be within and thorough. Then at last the 'power of Christ within', the inward light or glory, will become external also, as Christ's body was transfigured by the inward glory becoming outward also, and the inward glory of grace will, on the resurrection day, make the glory of our risen bodies (513 B C, 601 C, 745 A). There is no idea of purgatory after death. What a man is in will or desire when he dies, for good or evil, he becomes perfectly at once (*ἐν ῥοπῇ ὡρας*) immediately on his death—the denizen of heaven or hell, even before he receives his resurrection body (660 B, 685 D, 620 B).

5. Great stress is laid in these homilies on the communion of saints, that is upon the fellowship of the redeemed soul with 'the heavenly Church'; for we are united in Christ to the spirits of saints and angels, and they are conscious of our concerns (620 A B). And the communion of saints is realized on earth also. He who prays, and he who works, and he who serves, and he who reads, are, each of them, contributing to the common good and what each gains is the property of all (468 D, 469 A). This is very really Church doctrine, ethically considered. And on matters more commonly called ecclesiastical, these homilies are doubtless not unorthodox. There is one allusion to the 'genuine priesthood' of the Church as entrusted to Peter (689 C) and one

reference to the Holy Communion, among the things which 'eye had not seen nor ear heard' ('In the Church is offered bread and wine, figures (*ἀντίτυπον*) of His flesh and His blood: and those who partake of the visible bread spiritually eat the flesh of the Lord.' 705 B). But this is all. The spiritual life, regeneration, the ministry of the Spirit, the heavenly food, the intercourse with heaven,—all this is habitually described without any reference to the sacraments or ordinances of the Church. Baptism of the Spirit and fire is habitually spoken of without reference, apparently, to the outward ordinance. 'Christianity'—'to become a Christian'—is not the starting point, but the goal of spiritual effort (708 c), and the gift, or coming in, of the Spirit is the response to personal prayer. All this mode of thought or speech was probably no uncommon feature of the mysticism of the desert.

It is, perhaps, worth noticing that human souls and angels and devils are declared to have forms, like bodies, only more subtle: and God only is really immaterial (480 A, 528 A).

6. A meagre account has been given of the theology of these homilies: but it is impossible to leave them without indicating once again that their fascination lies in their ethical and spiritual insight. They constitute one of the best guides to the spiritual life that the Church possesses. The writer is full of the sense that the soul of man is meant for fellowship with God, meant to be His throne: that sin and the distractions of lust and of the world are an unnatural bondage. Every created thing is an image of something divine, directing and pointing toward God. God Himself waits upon the soul, till it awake and admit something of the love of God. The beginning is desire, the desire to be changed, with the prayer and compunction and tears which accompany such desire. Thus the soul is opened out toward God. Then comes the sacrifice of outward things, which is so necessary to test the sincerity of the soul. This is the beginning. But only the beginning. When the sacrifice of the world has been made, it is commonly found that grace withdraws, or seems to withdraw, to let the soul be tempted, as Job was, in measure and degree. There are disappointments manifold in spiritual life. But always the real man is what he desires and wills to be. And the sign of progress is always that the man hardly feels as if he had yet made even a beginning. To be satisfied—to repose—is death. Our prayer must be always to be changed.

Prayer in all its phases is described: the prayer of anguish and perturbation: the prayer of quiet: the joy of contemplation and praise: the vision: the ecstasy: the rapture. The attraction of God, of Christ, to the waiting, praying soul, is beautifully and most reverently described. But there is no spiritual selfishness in the prayers or the life described in these sermons. To help others is better than merely to improve

oneself. Prayer must be prayer for the whole of humanity, entering even to the point of passionate self-identification into the whole sorrows of our race (640 B).

There is a wonderful sense that divine love enables the soul to see all men as God made them to be: and so to love and venerate even the vilest, and to sympathize with all, and to have it a fixed principle to despise no one (581 A, 532 C).

There is great moral insight—as into the interconnexion of all virtues: into the necessity for constant effort and violence in controlling the thoughts: into the paramount necessity for humility and thinking oneself nothing: into the peril, when a man has left the world by the main gate of renunciation, that he should come back again by the side gate of subtle self-love (773 B). There is a beautiful perception that judgement is according to knowledge and opportunity: and that the spiritual truth of Holy Scripture must be assimilated and made one's own treasure, if it is to be communicated to others, and not merely passed on as a matter of borrowed words.¹ In fact, no virtue or truth is really one's own till it is so assimilated as to become a second nature—'something fixed and as it were natural'.

7. The internal evidence of these homilies points to the authorship of one who stood exactly where Macarius stood in time and place. There seems to be no argument against his authorship except that, while his reputation was great not in Egypt only but in the West, there is no mention in later writers of these homilies. Gennadius, for instance, mentioning Macarius among Church writers, speaks of him as having written only a single letter (*P. L.* lviii 1065). But this argument cannot stand against the attribution of the MSS, so strongly supported by the internal evidence. One hopes one need not believe that Macarius turned a woman who had been bewitched into assuming the shape of a mare back again into the human form (*Historia Lausiana, Texts and Studies* vi 2 pp. 45-46). But the narrative suggests an obvious explanation. The tradition about Macarius on the whole thoroughly in accordance with the evidence of the homilies.

C. BIRMINGHAM:

¹ The author is familiar with Holy Scripture and frequently quotes it. But sometimes refers to Holy Scripture for what is apparently not to be found there. e. g. 576 C the disgraced wife is cast out, 'having put her two hands upon her head, as it is also hinted in the law of Moses concerning the rebellious woman who of no use to her husband', and 752 C D, 'For thus the law says: "In the midst of judgement is judgement and in the midst of forgiveness forgiveness."'

THE CONFESSION OF ST PATRICK.

THERE are some points in the *Confession* of St Patrick that will, perhaps, never be cleared up. An attempt will be made in this paper to throw some additional light on four of the most important passages in the *Confession* which are intimately connected with the life and mission of the saint. These will be taken in the order of time rather than in the order of the narrative.

I

§ 26. Deum oro ut non illis in peccatum reputetur *occasio*.

§ 27. *Nam* post annos triginta invenerunt *et me* adversus verbum quod confessus fueram antequam essem diaconus.

Dr Newport White, in his edition of the text of the Latin writings of St Patrick, published by the Royal Irish Academy (1905), notes that the group of MSS C F₃ F₄ R (the Cotton, Fell or Bodleian (2) and Rouen) have *occasionum*, while B, the Bollandist MS now in the Public Library of Arras, reads *occasio. Nam*. He himself suggests 'Non illis in peccatum reputetur. Occasionem post annos triginta invenerunt et adversus verbum quod confessus fueram', &c. But the fact that *me* is read by the available MSS (A the *Book of Armagh* omitting the whole passage) after *invenerunt* is a serious objection to its acceptance. The point of St Patrick's complaint is also obscured by this emendation. That point was the *occasio*, the unfair attack of his friends. This *occasio* he prays may not be imputed to them for sin (cf. Rom. iv 3 Vulg. 'reputatum est illi ad iustitiam'). Describing it he says, 'For after thirty years they raked up against me a word which I confessed before I was made deacon'. It was the unearthing of this word, confessed at a most sacred time to his dearest friend, his *anmchara* or soul-friend of whom he says 'cui ego credidi animam' (§ 32), that constituted the *occasio* which had stirred the soul of the saint. He wonders what came over that friend ('unde venit illi?') that he should publicly bring discredit upon him with regard to the office of bishop which he had previously voted to him ('indulserat') with gladness. This gives us to understand that his enemies had been on Patrick's trail for some time, seeking some handle against him. Their action would thus explain the inconsistency of that friend upon whom pressure was brought to bear. Such a reply (*tale responsum*) he never expected from that friend. Reply to what, and when? we ask, unless during *defensio illa* to which St Patrick refers (§ 32), when searching questions were put by the *seniores* to that friend as to St Patrick's previous life; and that friend made so poor a defence. That response, that finding of the word

against him, was, therefore, the *occasio*, the advantage unfairly obtained—*occasio* having here a distinctly sinister meaning—against Patrick.

The emendation offered here makes but little alteration in the text. It is to retain *me* which is in all the available MSS, and to omit *et* which is not found in B, the best of the available MSS. The misplacement of *adversus*, which should precede *me* instead of following it, might be due to a confusion with *versus*, which follows the word it governs, and would thus be in keeping with Patrick's unfinished Latinity.

It is true that St Patrick used *adversus* correctly in § 50, 'dicite adversus me et reddam vobis', but he is there quoting 1 Sam. xii 3, after the Latin of Irenaeus.

The passage would then run:—

Deum oro ut non illis in peccatum reputetur occasio.

Nam post annos triginta invenerunt me adversus verbum quod confessus fueram antequam essem diaconus.

II

§ 26. Et quando temptatus sum ab aliquantibus senioribus meis qui venerunt et contra laboriosum episcopatum meum.

Dr Bury (*Life of St Patrick* p. 318) writes: 'It is clear that this attack was made in Ireland. It seems probable that the persons described as *seniores mei* were ecclesiastics in Ireland.' Patrick refers in another passage to these *seniores*. He writes (§ 37): 'Et offendi illos, necnon contra votum, aliquantos de senioribus meis.' But he speaks of them as offended by his *contemplated* journey to Ireland; and they went so far as to form a combination to prevent it—'quia multi hanc legationem prohibebant' (§ 46). Behind his back they said, 'Why doth this fellow thrust himself into danger among enemies (*hostes*) who know not God?' (§ 46). Unsuccessful in dissuading the bishop, whoever he was, from sending Patrick, they had as a last resource questioned his friend about his early life, and at the meeting urged against his election to a charge full of dangers and troubles, as it promised to be—*laboriosum episcopatum*, with future significance—the sins of his youth. *Laboriosum* in this sense quite expresses the hypocritical concern these *seniores* affected to have for Patrick. He is ignorant; why should he imperil his life among the *hostes*?—a name which clung to our ill-starred race for many centuries (§ 46). He is a weak brother; why should he be placed in a position of so much peril and hardship? Patrick was much harassed; 'prope deficiebam', he writes (§ 28), but his mission to Ireland was not frustrated. The purpose of such opposition after he had commenced his missionary work in Ireland would be inexplicable, unless indeed Patrick had shewn himself in any objectionable way 'the

bearer of the Roman idea', but in that case the opposition would have come from the *hostes* rather than from the *seniores*.

We may not lay too much stress on the exact order in which events are narrated in this *Confessio*. Patrick wished to relate the leading facts of his life, his captivity, escape, appointment to Ireland and work there; but like a speaker or writer who has learnt more from nature than from art, he tells his story piece by piece and describes the end before he unfolds the circumstances that led up to it; e. g. §§ 37, 38 discuss the preliminary situation of which the climax is found in §§ 26, 27, 29, and the result in § 28.

III

The shame of that unhappy day when the *seniores*, who through jealousy had been working against his appointment, succeeded in making public property the secret of his life, in order to prevent his appointment to an episcopate fraught with so much labour, was branded upon the man's soul. The fact that he was *episcopus designatus* made the situation all the more bitter. Dr Newport White, in *Latin Writings of St Patrick* p. 292, makes the statement that 'designate' 'cannot mean "bishop-designate" since he was already a bishop'. In support of his theory he refers to the words *laboriosum episcopatum meum*. But these, we have seen, have a future and not a past reference. That night, however, the bishop-designate was comforted by a vision, which is described in § 29. Here again the reading is doubtful. Dr Newport White's text gives: 'Ad noctem illam vidi in visu noctis. Scriptum erat contra faciem meam sine honore (in visu noct. [vidi], *Boll*; om. erat *Boll*). Noctis after noctem is doubtful, and seems due to the influence of 'vidi in visu [in sinu, A] noctis', § 25. *Erat*, too, is doubtful. The divine response 'Male vidimus faciem designati nudato nomine', a little lower down, may contain the solution of the problem. Reading 'Ad noctem illam vidi in visu nomen scriptum contra faciem meam sine honore', 'In that night I saw in a vision a name without a title written over my face,' we should find some significance for *nudato nomine*. The substitution of *noctis* for *nomen* before *scriptum* and after *noctem* would be an error easy to explain.

Strengthened by that vision, Patrick undertook his mission to Ireland, from which he never again departed, for he was, as he says, *alligatus Spiritu* (§ 43), bound by the Spirit to its shores, even though he longed to go to Britain to visit his fatherland and parents, and as far as Gaul ('usque ad Gallias') to see his brethren. In the *Letter to Coroticus* (§ 10), he asks, 'Did I come to Ireland without God or according to the flesh? Who compelled me? I was bound by the Spirit (*alligatus Spiritu*: Acts xx 22) not to see any of my kindred'. These statements of Patrick's—of which the former was made at the end of his mission ('before I die'), and the latter after he had laboured many years in Ireland

—militate strongly against Dr Bury's theory of a visit to Rome. He writes (*Life of St Patrick* p. 153), 'It was in the year after his elevation that Patrick, according to the conclusion to which our evidence points, betook himself to Rome.' The evidence consists of a passage in the *Ulster Annals*—*probatus est in fide catolica Patricius episcopus*—which does not of necessity imply a visit at all, and the statement in Tírechán's memoir that 'he (Sachellus) went away with Patrick to study thirty years, and he ordained him in the city of Rome and gave him the name of Sachellus and wrote for him the book of the Psalms which I saw, and he (Sachellus) carried from him part of the relics of Peter and Paul, Laurence and Stephen, which are in Armagh'. It is admitted that there is some mistake in the 'thirty years'. And that mistake, joined with the fact that Patrick never spoke of relics in his writings and his ordination of Sacchellus in the Roman diocese, is sufficiently serious to render the whole passage unworthy of credence. It is also a remarkable fact that Muirchu, the other biographer of Patrick, says nothing of this visit, of which he could have made much use.

IV

§ 14. *Sine timore fiducialiter Dei nomen ubique expandere ut etiam post obitum meum exgallias relinquere fratribus et filiis meis quos in Domino ego baptizavi.*

The difficulty of this passage in the word *exgallias* (A). Dr Newport White's critical note on the word is 'A has in marg., incertus liber and z with ̄ over g; exgallias BCF₃; ex gallicis F₄ corr.; gallias R.' Dr Whitley Stokes understood the reading *exgallias* as *exagallias* (legacies) (*Tripartite Life* pp. 361, 673); Sir S. Ferguson renders it 'bequests' and Dr Newport White says: 'This is most certainly the same as *exagella*, which is explained by Ducange as *trutina* (balances).' But it is quite possible that *exagallias*, which has only the authority of the *Book of Armagh*, may itself be corrupt. As all the other MSS appear to hover between *Gallias* and *Galliis*, I once thought that *ex Galliis* might have been the original reading, Patrick meaning to institute a contrast between his *fratres* who were in Gaul (cf. § 43), *sed etiam usque ad Gallias visitare fratres*, and who might be described as 'from Gaul', and his *filiis* who were in Ireland (cf. *Epistola* § 2 'quos ego innumeros Deo genui'). Patrick's careless use of *ex* and *in* would give some colour to this suggestion, while the object of the sentence might be understood out of the words *Dei Nomen expandere*, which mean, *pate* Dr Bury, rather to expound than to spread abroad the name of God; cf. Lucretius i 127 'rerum naturam expandere dictis', and Irenaeus II xxviii 7 'nunc in tantam audaciam venire uti pandamus Deum et quae nondum inventa sunt'—a passage which concerns the exposition of God and not the

propagation of His Name. The sense of the passage would then be: 'So that after my death I may bequeath it (i. e. this Exposition) both to my brethren from the Gauls and to my sons whom I have baptized in the Lord.'¹ But we have a phrase that practically corresponds with *fratribus et filiis meis quos in Domino ego baptizavi* in *Epistola* § 16 *amantissimi fratres et filii quos in Christo genui*, where there is no reference to the Gauls. It is possible that the cause of the corruption of the word represented by *exagallias* and *exgallias* was either the desire to introduce a reference to the Gauls in this passage or the influence of § 43 *usque ad Gallias visitare fratres*. It has been suggested to me by the Editor that the Greek word *ἐξαγγελία* (*exaggelia*) is behind *exagallias*; and Sophronius († 638) uses the word in the sense of 'confession of sins'. The sinister significance of the word as used in classical times had certainly disappeared in the Christian era, e. g. in Peter ii 9 *ἐξαγγεiliate* means 'proclaim'. It would not be impossible for this word to have been current coin in Patrick's day (as *exhomologesis* as from an early time), and it might well have been used in a wider sense than that of confession of sins. The sense of confession or proclamation of faith is just what is wanted in this passage. For Dr Bury's remark printed on p. 321 of Dr Newport White's edition of the *Confession* concerning the passage under consideration—'Doctrine is quite irrelevant to the context'—is not convincing in view of the opening words of the Paragraph, 'In mensura itaque fidei Trinitatis oportet distinguere'. He suggests that *distinguere* means 'to decide', and construing the following infinitives as governed by it, renders 'Depending then on the measure of my religious faith, it behoves me to decide to spread', &c. But *oportet* seems to govern *distinguere*, *notum facere*, and *expandere*, which, as we have already suggested, refers to exposition. *Distinguere* may be used here in this sense of teaching, a possible secondary theological significance; for the theologian draws distinctions, arranges (for *distinguere* in this sense see Seneca *Troades* 884) his subject and teaches. The whole passage might then be rendered: 'And therefore it behoves me to teach in the full-proportioned faith of the Trinity, to make known the gift of God and His eternal consolation without the restraining dread of danger; and without fear, nay with all confidence, to expound everywhere the Name of God, so that after my departure I may leave my confession to my brethren and to my sons whom I have baptized in the Lord.'

F. R. MONTGOMERY HITCHCOCK.

¹ § 14. In mensura itaque fidei Trinitatis oportet distinguere, sine reprehensione periculi notum facere donum Dei et consolationem aeternam, sine timore fideliter Dei Nomen expandere ut etiam post obitum meum exagallias relinquere fratribus et filiis meis quos in Domino ego baptizavi, tot milia hominum.

MORE PAGES FROM THE FLEURY PALIMPSEST.

THE pages of the Palimpsest that contain fragments of the Apocalypse are more legible than those containing a portion of the Catholic Epistles. A part of fol. 121 *uerso* is exceptionally difficult, because a large astronomical ornament has been executed on this page by the copyist of the *De Mundo*. By the kindness of Mr A. V. Valentine Richards I have had the late M. Berger's excellent photographs of this page, and also of fols. 115, 130, and 121 (first fifteen lines), before my eyes for a whole month. I have thus been able to decipher the few words of the text of the Apocalypse that Berger left in italics to mark uncertainty. Noticeable readings now for the first time edited are—ix 4 *mandatum*, xi 16 *supra sedes suas*, xi 18 *et pro*[*fetis*], xii 4 *deicit eam*, xii 6 *pasceret*, xii 7 *bellum*, xii 10 *dei nostri dei*, xv 4 *omnes generationes*, xv 6 *induti*, xv 8 *intrare tem*[*plum*].

At the same time I was able by the aid of two other photographs of Berger's to examine again, in the Acts, fol. 127 *uerso* and fol. 117 (last thirteen lines). In Acts xiv 19 the reading is *hominib*·, xxvii 5 *diebus*] *xu*- and *myra*, xxvii 6 *italiā*, xxvii 7 *aliquos* (the *s* is large and high), xxvii 8 *legē*[*tes cret*] *en deuenimus*, xxvii 9 *plures* [this reading and that of xxvii 5 (*diebus xu*) were first detected by Mr Valentine Richards].

Berger's work is so accurate that I have differed from him in these few places only after reiterated and reiterated examination both of the MS itself and of his excellent photographs.

E. S. BUCHANAN.

Fol. 115

APOCALYPSIS IOHANNIS APOSTOLI

De fumo put]ei ³et de fumo exierunt lucustae in terram
et data es]t potestas similis eam quae habent scorpii
terrae ⁴et] mandatum est eis ne laederent faenum ter
rae nequa]e quidquam uiride nequae ullam arborē
5 nisi hom]ines qui non habebant signum dī in front
ib· ⁵datum e]st eis ne occiderent eos sed ut cruciarent
ur mensi]bus quinquae et cruciatus illorum sicut
cruciatu]s cum excorpio percutit hominem.
⁶Et in diebu]s illis quaerent homines mortem et non in
10 uenient il]lam et cupient mori et fugiet mox ab eis ⁷et si
militudin]es lucustarum similes erant equis paratis
in pugnam] et in capitibus eorum quasi coronae similes
auro et fa]cies earum ut facies hominum ⁸habentes ca

ix 2-12: l. 2 *es*] *t*: corr. add. *ill*] *is*; l. 3 *mandatum*: corr. *praecceptum*.

pillos ut] mulieres et dentes earum ut dentes leonū
 15 'et habebant] loricās quasi loricās ferreas sonus autē
 alarum e]arum erat ut multarum quadrigarum equo
 rum in pu]gnam procurrentium. ¹⁰ caudae uero sicut
 scorpior]um erat et aculei et potestas in caudis earū
 ut habere]nt potestatem nocendi homines mensib.
 20 quinque] ¹¹ et habebant super se angulum abyssi cui
 nomen e]rat ebreice abaddon graeca lingua nomē
 habens ap]ollyon et latina lingua nomen habens ex
 termina]ns ¹² uae unum auit et ecce secundum uae

l. 18 *erat*: corr. *erant*; l. 23 *auit*: corr. *abiit*.

Fol. 121 verso APOCALYPSIS IOHANNIS APOSTOLI

Pectū dñi sedent supra sedes suas ceciderunt in [faciem
 suam et adorauerunt dñm ¹⁷ dicentes gratiam agi]mus dñe
 ds omnipotens qui es et qui eras quoniam acce]pisti po
 testatem tuam magnam et regnasti ¹⁸ et gentes [iratae sunt
 et aduenit ira tua et tempus iudicandoru]m mortuo 5
 rum et reddendae mercedis seruis tuis et profetis et
 sanctis et timentibus nomen tuum et pusill]is et mag
 nis et conrumpantur illi qui terram conrue]runt
¹⁹ Et apertum est templum dñi quod est in caelo et [uisa est
 arca testamenti dñi in templo eius et facta sun]t fulgu 10
 ra et tonitrua et uoces et terremotus et grand[is magna
 12] ¹ et signum magnum uisum est in caelo mulier [amicta
 sole et luna sub pedibus eius et in capite eius co]rona
 stellarum duodecim ² et in utero habebat et clam]abat
 parturiens et cruciabatur ut pareret ³ et uisum [est ali 15
 ud signum in caelo et ecce draco rufus magn[us habens
 capita septem et cornuam decem et super capit]a eius
 septem diademata ⁴ et cauda eius traebat terti]am par
 tem stellarum caeli deicit eam in terram et ipse [draco
 stetit in conspectu mulieris quae paritura era]t ut cum 20
 peperisset natum eius comederet ⁵ et peperit [filium
 masculum qui recturus est omnes gentes in uir]ga fer
 rea et captus est filius eius ad dñm et ad thronum [eius

xi 16—xii 5: l. 1 corr. *super*: l. 2 corr. *gratias tibi*; l. 18 corr. *trahebat*; l. 19
 corr. *es*; l. 23 corr. *raptus*.

Fol. 121 APOCALYPSIS IOHANNIS APOSTOLI

⁶ Et muli]er fugit in solitudinem ubi habebat locum
 praepar]atum a dō ut eam pasceret diebus mille ducē

tis sex]aginta ⁷ et factum est bellum in caelo mi
 el et an]geli eius ut pugnarent cum dracone et ille d
 5 cho pu]gnauit et angeli eius ⁸ sed non ualuerunt n
 locus e]orum inuentus est amplius in caelo ⁹ et miss
 est ille] dracho magnus ille serpens anticus qui u
 atur di]abolus et satanas qui seducet totum orbem t
 rae pr]aecipitatus est in terram et angeli eius cum
 10 missi s]unt ¹⁰ et audiui uocem magnam in caelo dicen
 nunc f]acta est salus et uirtus dñi nostri et potestas
 eius q]uoniam praecipitatus est accusator fratu
 nostr]orum qui accusat eos in conspectu dñi nostri
 die e]t nocte ¹¹ et ipsi uicerunt eum et propt
 15 sanguinem agni et propter uerbum testimoni sui n

xii 6-11.

Fol. 130

APOCALYPSIS IOHANNIS APOSTOLI

Timebit et] dabit gloriam nomini tuo quia solus sñs d
 et pius es e]t omnes generationes uenient et adorabu
 in conspect]u tuo quoniam iusta iudicia manifestata su
 5 ⁶ et post hae]c uidi et ecce apertum est templum taber
 culi mart]yri in caelo ⁶ et ecce exierunt septem ang
 habentes] septem plagas de templo induti linteami
 candida] et cinti circa pectore zonas aureas ⁷ et un
 ex quatu]or animalibus dedit septem angelis septe
 phialas a]ureas plenas ira dñi uiuentis in secula sect
 10 rum ⁸ et r]epletum est templum fumo de claritate
 et de uir]tute eius nec quisquam poterat intrare te
 plum do]nec fieretur septae illae plagae septem an
 lorum] ¹⁶ ¹ et audiui uocem magnam de templo di
 tem sept]em angelis ite et effudite phialas irae dñi
 15 ⁴ Et abiit pr]imus et effudit phialam suam in terram
 Et factum e]st ulcus saeum et malum in hominibus insc
 tionem] bestiae habentibus in simulacrum eius a
 rantib]us ³ et secundus effudit phialam suam
 mare et f]actum est mare uelut mortuis sanguis et
 20 nes anim]ae quae erant uiuentes mortui sunt in
 ri ⁴ et ter]tius effudit phialam suam in flumina et
 tes aqua]rum et facta sunt sanguis ⁵ et audiui
 gelum a]quarum dicentem iustus es qui es et qui e

xv 4—xvi 5: l. 7 corr. *pectora*; l. 12 corr. *septem*; l. 16 corr. *saeuum*; l.
 for: corr. *fon*.

Fol. 117

ACTUS APOSTOLORUM SANTORUM

Ut conuertamini ad eum qui fecit caelum et terrā
 mare et] omnia quae in eis sunt ¹⁶ qui praeteritis tempo
 ribus di]misi omni gentis hominum ire in uiam suam
¹⁷ et non int]estabilem dimisit se sed magis benefecit dans
 5 uobis plu]biam dae caelo et tempora fructuosa adimplens
 cibo et iu]cunditate corda uestra. ¹⁸ et haec dicentes
 uix persu]aserunt ne inmolaret sibi illi homines ¹⁹ et di
 miserun]t eos ab se et cum ibi commorarentur et doce
 rent supe]ruenerunt quidam iudaei ab iconia et antio
 10 chia qui] palam disputabant uerbum dī. persuadebant
 illis ho]minib. ne crederent eis docentibus dicentes
 quia nihil] ueri dicunt sed in omnibus mentiuntur
 et concita]uerunt turbam ut lapidarent paulum quē
 trahente]s foras extra ciuitatem putauerunt eum esse
 15 mortuum] ²⁰ tunc circumdederunt eum dicentes et
 cum disce]ssisset populus uespere leuauit se et intro
 iuit ciuit]atem lystrum et altera die exiuit cum barna
 ban in] derben ²¹ ec bene nuntiauit eis qui erant in
 ciuita]te et docuerunt multos tunc reuersi sunt
 20 lystra] et iconium et antiochiam ²² confortantes anī
 as disce]ntium et rogantes eos permanere in fide
 dicentes] quia per multas tribulationes oportebit uos
 introire] regnum dī ²³ et constituerunt eis maiores na

xiv 15-23: l. 22 uos: corr. nos.

ACTUS APOSTOLORUM SANTORUM

Fol. 127 uerso

¹ Et in] crastinum uocauit centurionem quendā
 nomi]ne iulium et tradidit ei paulum cum ceteris cus
 todiis] ² cum coepissemus nauigare ascendimus in nauē
 adru]metinam ascendit autem nouiscum et aristar
 5 chus ma]cedo ³ uenimus autem sidonae et humanae ⁴ trac
 tans pa]ulum ille centurio permisit amicis qui ueniebant
 ad eum] uti curam eius agerent ⁴ inde autem nauigantes
 legimu]s cyprum eo quod contrari erant uenti ⁵ et post
 haec na]uigantes sinum cilium et pamphilium pelagū
 10 diebus] xu. deuenimus myra lyciae ⁶ et inuenit nauē
 alexan]drinam centurio ille nauigantem in italiā
 Et inposu]it nos ⁷ et cum tarde nauigaremus per aliquos
 dies u]enimus gnidum ⁸ et inde cum tulissemus legē

tes cret]en deuenimus in portum bonum ubi anchis
 15 uitas er]at ⁹et cum plures dies illic fecissemus et iam
 set peri]culosa nauigatio eo quod et ieiunium tr
 isset] accedit paulus ¹⁰dicens uiri uideo nos cum ini
 magna e]t iactura non tantum nauis sed et anim
 nostrar]um nauigare incipere ¹¹gubernator aul
 20 et magis]ter nauis cogitabant nauigare ¹²si forte poss
 uenire p]hoenicem in portum qui est cretae co
 tiebat i]llis magis centurio quam paulis uerbis
 cum flaret] auster tulimus celerius et suble^{ce}bar

xxvii 1-13.

In the Apocalypse, on a further examination of the MS, by careful following Berger throughout, I have been able, with regard to the other pages, to complete the little that he left undone, and to correct one or two misprints:—*Fol. 118 uerso*. The whole of the first line was written in red; *ll. 2, 3* seruanda; *l. 17* ego .d. et .ω. *Fol. 118 l. 8* la]nax; *l. 9*. uos (=uox). *Fol. 115 l. 7* tuba (om, in); *l. 18* uos [tubae tri. *Fol. 121 l. 21* perse]cutus. *Fol. 130 uerso l. 1* supra (ad super); *l. 9* uotroos; *l. 14* utquae (corr. usque); *ibid.* istadio .m. d.

In the Acts there are also a few corrections to be made: *Fol. uerso ll. 4, 5* adspic[e dixit] et contemplare; *l. 21* et dixit (+ et). *l. 113 l. 13* et tenuerunt (+ et); *l. 15* tamen ex eis qui. *Fol. 113 uerso ll. 14, 15* agnosce[bant e]is. (sic); *l. 16* conlo]cuti; *l. 21* diuulgent (e spatio); *l. 22* [mur eis ultr]a non loqui. *Fol. 119 uerso l. 2* et (in conspectu); *l. 5* annuntiantes; *l. 7* contentio; *l. 8* cottidiano; *l. 11* (Berger lapsu nos); *l. 15* adse]ruientes. *Fol. 125 uerso ll. 3, 4* o[n]s]eruastis; *l. 20* hirosollimis; *l. 23* portauer]unt (ut uidetur e spatio). *Fol. 126 l. 1* pa]uore (Berger Uere); *l. 13* tridum (sic) nihil uid[e]t. *ll. 16, 17* respon[dens ait i]ta dñe; *l. 17* uicum [qui uoca]tur (ut uidetur e spatio, om. rectus); *l. 21* sti[s]. *Fol. 126 uerso l. 8* .sps. sto.; *l. 11* ciuum; *l. 11* damus[co (sic)]. *Fol. 116 uerso l. 4* con]ticum (ad pon[ticum]; *l. 11* arteificio (sic). *Fol. 124 l. 7* numerus [militum]; *l. 1* rogamus uos ho[c]; *l. 21* erimus ad ne[candum. *Fol. 124 uerso l. 1* Nit ad cas]tra; *l. 8* manu.; *ll. 10, 11* conuer[si]t roga]ret te (ad conuen[it]); *l. 20* nocte] usq. (ut uidetur e spatio); *l. 21* ad hora. *l. 127 l. 7* passiuilis, *l. 9* orauit exclamauit; *l. 10* littere; *l. 11* s[ed magis]; *l. 12* aute[m omnib.]; *l. 23* eum ad[caesarem iudicauit (e spatio).

E. S. B.

A NOTE ON COSMAS AND THE *CHRONICON PASCHALE*.

IN the April number of the JOURNAL (p. 404) Dr Mercati in a paper on the *Chronicon Paschale* has discussed the paragraphs which it shares with the *Christian Topography* of Cosmas Indicopleustes. For the text of Cosmas he naturally used the only available edition, that of Montfaucon, reprinted in Migne's *Patrology*. Unfortunately, however, Montfaucon's text was based on an inferior MS, and some of its most important errors occur in these very passages. So, though my theological ignorance prevents me from attempting to enter into the controversy as to who was the author of the paragraphs, I venture to clear the way for future investigators by shewing that the differences noticed by Mercati do not exist according to the best tradition of the text of Cosmas.

By way of preface I must state that, excluding some unimportant excerpts, the MSS of Cosmas are but three: and they fall naturally into two groups. The best tradition is represented solely by the oldest MS, number 699 of the Vatican Greek MSS (s. VIII-IX): the other two, Laurentian Plut. IX 28—the MS from which Montfaucon's edition was taken—and the Sinaitic MS numbered 1186 in Gardthausen's catalogue, both of the eleventh century, are closely related and represent a different recension, inferior to that of V. This statement fortunately need not be taken entirely on trust, as the discussion of the first of the differences mentioned by Dr Mercati affords in itself sufficient proof of V's superiority.

1. In the *Chronicon Paschale* the paragraphs on the Prophets are arranged in the Septuagint order, and so they are in V, not as in L, S, and the edition, in the order Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Isaiah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Jeremiah, Zephaniah, Ezekiel, Daniel, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi. Here there is no doubt that V preserves the original text, while L and S shew the handiwork of a blundering reviser; because beyond the probability that Cosmas would keep the Septuagint order, there is positive proof in the text that he did. Keeping that order as it stands in V, we find paragraphs on the twelve Minor Prophets followed by a preface to the Major Prophets and paragraphs on them; in the revised order of L and S the whole sixteen Prophets are first discussed, and then comes the preface to the Major Prophets. That Cosmas could have been guilty of placing the preface to the Major Prophets after the text on them is quite impossible, and is not accounted for by Montfaucon's supposition that L and S represent a second edition by Cosmas himself. It is obviously the work of a later

editor. What that editor's object was is not clear. The Minor Prophets are arranged as in the Vulgate,—the same arrangement is found in the Egyptian version, if Tattam's edition of the Minor Prophets is reliable,—and the Major are inserted among them in a more or less chronological position.¹ Possibly the whole is an attempt to arrange them chronologically. However that may be, there is no doubt that V's order is correct, and that in this particular there is no difference between Cosmas and the *Chronicon*.

2. The paragraphs on Zacharias, Elizabeth, Mary, Simeon, and Christ, which are omitted by the *Chronicon Paschale*, are also absent from V, and as the quire is complete without them, a lacuna can hardly be assumed. They are probably interpolations by the same editor who transposed the Prophets.

3. Dr Mercati following the edition states that 'to Haggai (and also to St Matthew) the παραγραφή is wanting, while Isaiah has not one only but two, the second being identical with the παραγραφή to Malachi. All of these mistakes are adopted from the inferior MSS and are corrected by V. Haggai indeed, so far from being defrauded of his παραγραφή, is most liberally treated. After the text on him follows a picture of the temple, and under it the words οὗτος ὁ ναὸς ἐστὶν ὁ ὑπὸ Ζοροβάβελ κτισθεὶς μετὰ τὴν ἐπάνοδον περὶ οὗ ὁ Ζαχαρίας λέγει 'αἱ χεῖρες Ζοροβάβελ ἐθεμελίωσαν τὸν οἶκον τοῦτον' καὶ αἱ χεῖρες αὐτοῦ ἐπιτελέσουσιν αὐτόν περὶ οὗ καὶ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τῷ Κυρίῳ ἔλεγον (-ων V) ἐν τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἑξ ἑτεσφκοδομήθη (οἶκ- V) ὁ ναὸς οὗτος καὶ σὺ ἐν τρίσιν (sic!) ἡμέραις ἐγερεῖς αὐτόν.

ΠΑΡΑΓΡΑΦΗ. καὶ οὗτος εἰς πρόσωπον Ζοροβάβελ τὰ κατὰ τὸν Δεσπότην Χριστὸν προμηνύει δι' οὗ γίνεται πάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν ἡ σωτηρία.

Of these the latter seems to be the actual παραγραφή to Haggai, the former a supplementary note occasioned by the mention of Zerubbabel in the text on Haggai. It is quite in Cosmas's manner to add such notes where there is particular reason for them. Probably the greater part of the shorter notes were, as Dr Mercati suggests, and as an examination of the MSS abundantly proves, added not in the text but in the margin though in most cases, I think, by Cosmas himself.

Matthew has the ΠΑΡΑΓΡΑΦΗ. Καὶ οὗτος οὗ τῆς παλαιᾶς ἀλλὰ τῆς νέας διαθήκης κῆρυξ, ὃς συνέγραψεν ἡμῖν πῶς τε καὶ πότε ἐτέχθη καὶ ἐκ τίνος ὁ τῆς δευτέρας καταστάσεως ἀρχηγός, τούτεστιν ὁ Δεσπότης Χριστός, καὶ ὅπως ἐπολιτεύθη καὶ ἀπεκτάνθη καὶ ἀνέστη καὶ εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀπελήλυθεν, ἐνθα ἐστὶ τῆς δευτέρας καταστάσεως ἡ πολιτεία· δόξα τῷ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐτοιμάσαντι καὶ προκαταγγέλαντι περὶ τούτων Θεῷ καὶ νῦν πληρώσαντι καὶ πληροῦντι. ἀμήν.

The second παραγραφή on Isaiah is not found in V.

¹ Almost the same order is found in Junilius Africanus *de Inst. reg. div. leg.* I 31 where only Isaiah and Zephaniah are differently placed. Cf. Kihn *Theodor von Mopsuest und Junilius Afr.* p. 356; Swete *Introd. to O. T. in Greek p.* 207.

4. Dr Mercati's suggestion that the quotation from Deut. xviii 15, 18 should be corrected in accordance with the *Chronicon* is fully supported by all three MSS, the text being an arbitrary alteration by the editor.

5. On the other hand, the lacuna at 232 B which Dr Mercati suggests is to be partly filled from *Chron.* 32. 13 sq., does not appear to be a real lacuna at all. All three MSS have after the word ὑποπίπτει a picture of the Ark, and in V and S this is followed by the words τοῦτο τὸ μῆκος τῆς κιβωτοῦ. ἔστι δέ, continuing as in the edition. There is no reason for supposing any longer omission; this and the next sixteen lines are merely a marginal note suggested by the following passage on Noah.

It will, I think, be clear from this that the more or less considerable differences between Cosmas and the *Chronicon* mentioned by Dr Mercati do not exist in the better tradition of Cosmas MSS, and if, as without doubt we should, we accept V as the chief authority for the text of Cosmas, hardly any even of the small verbal differences remain, and those the least important. Practically the text is the same in both authors.

THE ORIGINAL TEXT OF ONE OF ST ANTONY'S LETTERS.

When writing the article on the original text of one of St Antony's Letters published in the *J. T. S.* vii 540 (July 1906), I was unfortunately out of reach of a copy of Migne's edition, and consequently have not mentioned that *Patr. Gr.* 40 contains an Arabic version of the letters, which seems to be nearer to the Coptic than the Latin version which I printed for comparison. The Arabic has the three letters which are partially preserved in the Coptic in the same order as the original, not in the order of the Latin version. Again the Arabic (p. 1009) preserves the end of the 4th (Latin 7th) letter, which the Latin omits.

I would call attention to the unfortunate misdivision of the following words in the Coptic text of my article; p. 540, l. 1 ἐνεκαίρος, l. 2 ἀνυγασε, p. 544, l. 5 ὑανσοῖτ.

The hyphen at the end of l. 8, p. 543, should be omitted.

E. O. WINSTEDT.

THE *LIBER ECCLESIASTICORUM DOGMATUM*: SUPPLENDA TO *J. T. S.* vii 78-99.

SINCE I wrote on the above subject in the number of the *JOURNAL* for October 1905, additional material has come into my hands which

seems to me to be worth putting on record. In the first place, Father Puller has sent me from South Africa a long letter which appears to be conclusive in favour of regarding our document as a Latin original and not a translation from the Greek. Mr Puller, who is working now in Griqualand East, explains that he is writing far away from libraries; but I imagine that very few of us could manage to amass so much evidence with all the treasures of the Bodleian at our disposal, and I have ventured to take the liberty of transcribing for the *J. T. S.* most of what he has written. It did not seem fair to deprive the world of scholars of one of its too rare opportunities of profiting by the wealth of Father Puller's learning. Secondly, I owe it to the kindness of Sac. Prof. Pietro Guidi of Lucca that I am able to give a specimen of the text of the *Liber* according to one of the earliest MSS, Lucca 490, saec. viii-ix, no. 2 in the 'Gennadius' group enumerated by me on p. 83. And, thirdly, I have been lucky enough myself to light upon what is, I think, an unnoticed but indubitable case of borrowing from the *Liber* in a document which, though its exact date is unfortunately not known, is certainly Gallic and certainly not later than about 500 A. D.—the *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua*. Lastly, I have a few corrections and additions to make in my list of MSS of the *Liber*, as well as in the text of it which I provisionally printed.

I

(*Extracts from Letter written by Rev. F. W. Puller, S.S.J.E.*)

'It seems clear that the author, whether he be a Greek or a Latin, was fairly well informed both about Greek and about Latin ecclesiastical literature. No doubt he may have got a good deal of his information about ante-Nicene writers from Eusebius's History, and I have no means at present of detecting whether he read his Eusebius in the original Greek or in Rufinus's translation. But he knows the opinions of post-Nicene Greek-speaking authors like Marcellus [of Ancyra?] (c. iii), Eunomius Aetius and Macedonius (c. iv), Didymus (c. xix), Diodorus [of Tarsus?] (c. viii), Nestorius (c. v), Eutyches (c. ii), Apollinaris (c. ii), and other Apollinarians ("quidam Syrorum," c. xv). On the other hand, he also knows the opinions of Latin writers of the fourth and fifth centuries, such as Lactantius (c. xxiv), Jovinian (c. xxxiv), Helvidius (c. xxxv), Vigilantius (c. xxxix), "Cirillus et aliqui Latinorum" (c. xiv), and the Luciferians, a Latin sect (c. xiv). The name "Arabs" in c. xvi seems to me to contain a reference to St Augustine *Liber de Haeresibus* c. 83 (*opera* ed. Bened. tom. viii col. 24, Venet. 1733).

'All this multifarious learning would seem to me to fit in with the idea that the author of the *Liber* was Gennadius of Marseilles, the author of the continuation of St Jerome's *de Viris Illustribus*. Anyhow, the

author was certainly either a Latin who was unusually well informed about Greek heretics and heresies, or, what would be still rarer, a Greek well informed about Latin heresies.

'We have now to try and discover which of these two views is the most probable.

'To me, as at present advised, it seems most probable that the author was a Latin.

'In c. liii he says:—"Pascha, id est Dominicae resurrectionis sollemnitas ante transgressum vernalis aequinoctii et *sextaedecimae lunae initium* non potest celebrari." Now, if I am not mistaken, the Eastern Churches of the fifth century followed the Alexandrian rules for the calculation of Easter, whereas Latins for the most part followed the Roman rules. And Duchesne tells us (*Origines du culte chrétien*, ed. 3, p. 238) that "les Romains n'admettaient pas que le dimanche de Pâques pût tomber, dans le mois lunaire, *avant le 16 de ce mois*, tandis qu'à Alexandrie on pouvait avoir Pâques dès le 15". It follows that the author of the *Liber* followed the Roman rule for the calculation of Easter, and was therefore presumably a Latin.

'In c. vii the author quotes from the creed the words "carnis resurrectionem", a formula which occurs in the Western creeds, but not in the Nicene creed or in the so-called Constantinopolitan creed—the two creeds which after the Council of Chalcedon would constitute for Eastern Catholics the "ecclesiae lex" in regard to articles of faith. The fact that the author used a Western creed confirms the view that he was probably a Latin.

'That view is strongly corroborated by his treatment of confirmation and of the closely connected rite for the reconciliation of heretics. In c. xl, speaking of a person who is being confirmed, he says:—"Ille manus inpositione [pontificis] accipit Spiritum Sanctum." Here there is no mention of the chrism, and the receiving of the Holy Ghost is attributed solely to the laying on of hands. Now I know no post-Nicene authorities in the East for the use of the laying on of hands in Confirmation, and still less for attributing the gift imparted in Confirmation solely to the imposition of hands. In the post-Nicene East Confirmation is administered by unction with the consecrated *μύρον*. In the modern Eastern baptismal service, which includes the administration of Confirmation, there is no trace of the laying on of hands. References to the laying on of hands may indeed be found in the Greek commentaries on Acts viii and xix: but of course in those passages the text of Scripture compels such a reference, and it would be quite unsafe to infer that the laying on of hands was used in the Eastern Church of the fifth century. Possibly references to the post-baptismal imposition of hands might be found in post-Nicene Alexandrine writers, though

I know of none such: anyhow, a post-baptismal imposition of hands retained in the Coptic baptismal offices. But the author of the *Liber eccl. dogmatum* was certainly not an Alexandrine. No Catholic Alexandria would have called St Denys the Great 'fons Arrii', as our author does in chapter iv.

'On the other hand, the laying on of hands is given great prominence in Western references to Confirmation during the whole of the patristic period.

'I notice also that in chapter xl the word "pontificis" occurs, though it is enclosed in brackets. If the word is authentic, it supplies a fresh confirmation of the Western *provenance* of the *Liber*. At Rome and in most parts of the West the bishop has always been the ordinary minister of Confirmation. In the East the *μύρον* is and has been usually administered by a priest.

'Passing now from Confirmation proper to the rite of reconciling persons baptized in the Name of the Trinity by heretics, I notice that in chapter xxi our author, speaking of adults, requires them to confess first the orthodox faith, and then adds:—"purgati iam fidei integritate confirmentur manus inpositione." Those words exactly describe the Roman usage, whereas the usage of the Eastern Church generally, and of the Constantinopolitan Church in the time of Gennadius of C. in particular, was to reconcile heretics, whose baptism was allowed, by chrismation. The usage of the Constantinopolitan Church in the time of Gennadius is set forth in a letter still extant addressed by a cleric of Constantinople to Martyrius of Antioch about A. D. 460: see Dr Bright's *Notes on the Canons of the first four General Councils*, edition of 1882, pp. 104, 105. On the various modes of reconciling heretics see Morinus *de Poenitentia* ix 7-11; and for fuller details Morinus *de Confirmatione* may be fruitfully consulted.

'But our author, in the same twenty-first chapter, when speaking of the reconciliation of children baptized validly by heretics, says:—"Respondeant pro illis qui eos offerunt iuxta morem baptizandi, et sic manus inpositione et chrismate communiti eucharistiae mysteriis admittantur." Here we have both the laying on of hands and the chrism, and such was in fact the mode of reconciliation used in parts of Gaul and of Spain in the fifth and following centuries: Morinus has shewn this (see references given above).

'I doubt if chrism was ever used at Rome in the rite of reconciliation.

'I think, therefore, that the author of our *Liber* probably lived in Gaul or Spain. This again suggests the possibility of the author being Gennadius of Marseilles. He cannot be Gennadius of Constantinople: that suggestion is disproved by chapter xxi.

'It was in southern Gaul and in northern Spain that Vigilantius

propagated opposition to the veneration of relics. I doubt if Vigilantism ever took root elsewhere. Chapter xxxix supplies in consequence a new confirmation of the view which now commends itself to me.

Chapters xx and xxv, with their vindication of free-will, seem to me to agree well with the opposition to the more extreme views of St Augustine which was characteristic of southern Gaul in the latter half of the fifth century. At Marseilles especially Cassian's influence during the first half of that century must have tended to draw men's minds away from the more extreme forms of predestinarianism.

Chapters vi and xxiv shew that the author of the *Liber* was much interested in the Millenarian controversy and was a strong opponent of Millenarianism: and chapter vi in particular shews that he regarded the author of the Apocalypse as a "dreamer", and his teaching as fabulous. Now Gennadius of Marseilles in his *de Viris Illustribus* informs us that among the books which he had written was one entitled "*De mille annis et de Apocalypsi beati Ioannis*". This fact seems to supply a strong corroboration of the theory that the author of the *Liber* was Gennadius of Marseilles.

The author of the *Liber* mentions in chapter ii certain heretics whom he styles "Timothiani", presumably (as pointed out in *J. T. S.* vii 88) the partisans of Timothy Aelurus. Unless I am mistaken, the name "Timothiani" is a name of rare occurrence. It is therefore very noticeable that "Timothianum dogma" occurs in the 81st, and "Timothiani" in the 93rd, chapter of the *de Viris Illustribus* of Gennadius of Marseilles.

II

Text of the opening chapters of the *Liber Ecclesiasticorum Dogmatum* according to the Lucca MS (cod. 490 fol. 233).

INCĒ . DE DOCMATI . ECCLESIASTICI . SEDIS GENNADI . EPĪ . MAXILIENSIS.

Credimus unum esse deum patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum: patrem eo quod filium habeat, filium eo quod habeat patrem, spiritum sanctum eo quod sit ex patre et filio. pater est ergo principium deitatis, qui sicut numquam non fuit nisi deus, ita numquam non fuit non pater; nec factum spiritus sanctus, quia non est ex nihilo sed ex deo 5 patre et deo filio deus procedens. pater aeternus, eo quod aeternum habeat filium, cuius aeternus sit pater: filius aeternus, eo quod sit patri et spiritui sancto coaeternus: spiritus sanctus aeternus, eo quod sit patri et filio coaeternus: non confusam in unam personam trinitas, ut Sabellius dicit, neque separata aut diuersa in natura diuinitas, ut Arrius blasphematur, 10 sed alter in persona pater, alter in persona filius, alter in persona spiritus

I ll. 4, 5 Between 'non pater' and 'nec factum' an omission by *homoeoteleuton* must be assumed.

sanctus, unus natura in sanctam trinitatem deus pater et filius et spiritus sanctus.

II. Non pater carnem adsumsit, neque spiritus sanctus, sed filius tantum; ut qui erat in diuinitate patris filius, ipse fieret in homine hominis matris filius, ne filii nomen alterum transiret qui non esset natiuitate filius. dei ergo filius hominis factus est filius, natus secundum ueritatem naturae ex deo dei filius, et secundum ueritatem naturae homine hominis filius, ut ueritas geniti non adoptionem non appellationem, sed in utraque natiuitate filii nomen nascendo haberet et esset uerus deus et uerus homo unus filius. non est ergo deus christos neque duos filios, sed deum et hominem unum filium, quod propterea et unum genitum dicimus, manentem in duabus substantiis sicut ei naturae ueritas contulit, non confusis naturis neque immixtis sicut Timothiani uolunt, sed societate uniti. deus ergo hominem assumpsit, homo in deum transiuit, non naturae uersibilitate sicut Tertullianus et Apollinaristae dicunt, sed dei dignatione; ut nec deus mutaretur humanam substantiam assumendo hominem, nec homo in diuinum glorificatus in deo; quia mutatio uel uersibilitas naturae et demotionem et abolitionem substantiae facit. natus ergo dei filius homine; non per hominem, id est ex uiri coitu, sicut Ebion dicit, sed carne ex uirginis corpore trahens, et non de caelo secum afferens sicut Marcion Origenes et Eutyches; neque in phantasia, id est absque carne, sicut Valentinus, neque docesi, id est putatiue imaginatum, corpus uerum; non tamen carnem ex carne, sicut Marcianus, sed uerus deus ex diuinitate et uerus homo ex carne. unus filius, in diuinitate uerbum patris et deus, in hominem anima et caro: anima non absque sensu et ratione, ut Apollinaris, neque caro absque anima, ut Anomeus, sed anima cum ratione sua et carne cum sensibus suis, per quos sensus ueros in passione et ante passionem suae carnis dolores sustenuit.

III. Neque sic est natus ex uirgine, ut deitatis initium homo nascens acceperit, quasi antequam nasceretur ex uirgine deus non fuerit, sicut Enathemon et Berillus docuerunt, sed aeternus deus homo ex uirgine natus est.

IIII. Nihil creatum aut seruiens in trinitatem credamus, ut uterque Dionysius fons Aeterni; nihil inaequale, ut Eunomius; nihil grauius aequale, ut uult Aetius; nihil anterius posteriusue aut minus, ut Arrianus; nihil extraneum aut officiale alteri, ut Machedonius; nihil persuasum aut subreptione insertum, ut Manicheus; nihil corporeum, ut Melitius Tertullianus; nihil corporaliter effigiatum, ut Antropomorphus et Valentinus; nihil sibi inuisibile, ut Origenes; nihil creaturis uisibile, ut Fortunatus; nihil moribus uel uoluntate diuersum, ut Marcion; neque

II l. 13. non: added by second hand.

Tertuliani: all or part of this word added by second hand.

ex trinitatis essentia a creaturarum natura deductum, ut Plato et Tertulianus; nihil officio singulare nec alteri communicabile, ut ¹⁰ Origines; nihil confusum, ut Sabellius: sed totum perfectum, quia totum ex uno et unum; non tamen solitarium, ut presumunt Praxeas et Siluanus, Pentapolitana doctrina damnabilis.

V. Homousion ergo in diuinitate patri filius, homousion patri et filio spiritus sanctus, homousion deo et homini unus filius, manens deus in homine suo, in gloria patris desiderabilis uideri ab angelis; sicut pater et spiritus sanctus adoratur ab angelis et ab omni creatura non homo propter deum uel Christus cum deo, sicut Nestorius blasphematur, sed homo in deum et in homine deus.

VI. Erit resurrectio mortuorum hominum, sed una et in semel; non prima iustorum et secunda peccatorum, ut fabula somniator, sed una omnium. et si id resurgere dicitur quod cadit, caro ergo nostra in ueritate resurgit, sicut in ueritate cadit; et non secundum Origenem immutatio corporum erit, id est non aliud nouum corpus pro carne sed eadem caro etc.

The Lucca MS numbers fifty-six chapters in all, but the last is the same as in my printed text. The colophon runs 'Explicit definitio ecclesiasticorum dogmatum. deo gratias' (fol. 234 b). I have not thought it necessary to preserve the punctuation (such as it is) of the MS.

The extracts above printed shew that the Lucca MS, as we should expect from the appearance of the name of Gennadius in its title, belongs definitely to the group of MSS which present a secondary or revised text: its treatment of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit in chapter i, and its addition of various proper names in chapters ii and iv, are quite enough to prove this. But its age gives it a certain value in all those portions which the reviser left untouched of the original treatise: and it is almost the only MS which I have yet found to preserve the true form of the name Anomaeus (Anomeus) in chapter ii, where all MSS of the best family write Anomocus or the like.¹

III

Extract from the STATUTA ECCLESIAE ANTIQUA.

(*Canones apostolorum et conciliorum saeculorum iv v vi vii*,
ed. H. T. Bruns, p. 140.)

I. Qui episcopus ordinandus est antea examinetur . . . si in dogmatibus ecclesiasticis exercitatus, et ante omnia si fidei documenta uerbis simplicibus adserat, id est Patrem et Filium et Spiritum sanctum unum deum

¹ The Verona MS, also belonging to the Gennadius group, has 'Anomius': the Reichenau MS Aug. cix of the same group gives 'Eonomius', corrected to 'Eunomius'.

esse confirmans, totamque trinitatis¹ deitatem coessentialem et consu-
 5 stantialem et coaeternalem et omnipotentem² praedicans, si singulare
 quamque in trinitate personam plenam deum³, si incarnationem divina
 non in Patre neque in Spiritu sancto factam sed in Filio tantum credi-
 ut qui erat in divinitate Dei Patris Filius ipse fieret in homine homini-
 matris filius, deus verus ex Patre, homo⁴ verus ex matre, carnem
 10 matris visceribus habens et animam humanam rationalem; simul in
 ambae naturae⁵, id est Deus et homo, una persona, unus filius, unus
 Christus, unus creator⁷ omnium quae sunt et auctor et dominus
 rector⁸ cum Patre et Spiritu sancto omnium creaturarum, qui passus
 vera carnis passione, mortuus vera corporis sui morte, resurrexit ve-
 15 carnis suae resurrectione et vera animae resumptione, in qua veni-
 iudicare vivos et mortuos.

quaerendum etiam ab eo, si novi et veteris testamenti, id est legi-
 et prophetarum et apostolorum, unum eundemque credat auctorem
 deum; si diabolus non per conditionem sed per arbitrium factus
 20 malus.

quaerendum etiam ab eo, si credat huius quam gestamus et no-
 alterius carnis resurrectionem, si credat iudicium futurum et receptum
 singulos pro his quae in carne gesserunt vel poenas vel gloriam⁹,
 nuptias non improbet, si secunda matrimonia non damnet, si carni-
 25 perceptionem non culpet, si paenitentibus reconciliatis communicet,
 in baptismo omnia peccata, id est tam illud originale contractum qua-
 illa quae voluntarie admissa sunt, dimittantur, si extra ecclesiam
 catholicam nullus salvetur . . .

Here the phrase 'in dogmatibus ecclesiasticis' in line 1 recalls the
 title of the *Liber*. Points of contact more or less definite may be
 found in line 3 (= *Lib. eccl. dogm.* i 1), line 6 (= ii 1), line 9 (=
 18, 25), line 14 (= ii 26), lines 21-23 (= vi 3-8), line 24 (= xxx
 1, 2): but whatever doubt may exist in other cases, the words in
 lines 8, 9 'ut qui erat in diuinitate dei patris filius ipse fieret in homi-
 nis matris filius' are an indubitable echo of chapter ii line 2 of
 the *Liber*; and what is specially interesting, they represent the text
 already in the form of the 'Gennadian' revision, for the words 'patri-
 matris' occur in my three Gennadius MSS—Lucca 490, Verona
 (58), Carlsruhe Augiensis cix—but in none (so far as I know) of the
 anonymous or of the Nicene group. It is clear, therefore, that Caesarius
 of Arles, or whoever it was who drew up the code of the *Statuta ecclesiae*

¹ *aliter* in trinitate.

² *al. add.* et totas tres personas unum deum.

³ *al.* et homo.

⁷ *al.* creaturarum.

² *al.* coomnipotentem.

⁴ *al.* in hominis naturae.

⁵ *al.* simul in eo ut utriusque naturae.

⁸ *al.* creator.

⁹ *al.* praemia.

antiqua, knew and used the *Liber* not in its original but in its 'Gennadian' form. But Caesarius of Arles is very near, both in time and place, to Gennadius of Marseilles: and I am therefore completely satisfied that the 'Gennadius' group of MSS may be trusted when they claim Gennadius of Marseilles for the author of the *Liber* in the (revised) form in which they give it. It follows that the original form of the *Liber*, as restored in the text printed last year in the JOURNAL, is earlier than Gennadius—unless indeed it was a juvenile and anonymous production of Gennadius's own pen. But it cannot be earlier than 450: and, as Father Puller shews, it was no doubt Gallic.

IV

The only correction which I have to make in my list of MSS (J. T. S. vii 81-87) refers to two MSS of the Gennadius group which I cited doubtfully within square brackets—no. [10] Munich lat. 14468, and no. [11] Munich lat. 14461. It occurred to me afterwards that it was from these two MSS that Caspari had published (*Kirchenhistorische Anekdoten*, Christiania, 1883, pp. xix-xxiii, 301-304) what he entitled *Ein Gennadius von Massilia beigelegtes Glaubensbekenntniss*. Although this tract depends on the *Liber ecclesiasticorum dogmatum*, and begins with the same words, it is not identical with it; and the two MSS which contain it should, therefore, be withdrawn from my list.¹

Of additions, on the other hand, I have one to make to the Nicene group, and one to the anonymous group, of MSS. To Mr Ommanney's *Dissertation on the Athanasian Creed* pp. 145-148 I owe the reference to Paris lat. 2341, saec. ix, a bulky volume of creeds and doctrinal treatises,² among which the *Liber* is included under the title 'Dogma

¹ Caspari was of opinion that the tract was not a genuine work of Gennadius, but the composition of some Frankish theologian during the Adoptionist controversy in the later decades of the eighth century. His view is contested in the just published work of Father Brewer of Feldkirch *Kommodian von Gaza, ein Arelatensischer Laiendichter aus der Mitte des fünften Jahrhunderts* (Forschungen zur christlichen Literatur- und Dogmengeschichte vi 1, 2: Paderborn, 1906) pp. 217-226. Brewer has, I am given to understand, completely demonstrated his main thesis about the late date of Commodian, nor am I prepared to say that he is wrong in defending the Gennadian authorship of Caspari's tract: but he is over-hasty in his assertions about the *Liber eccl. dogm.*—he has not seen my paper in the JOURNAL—and in particular in impugning Caspari's statement that the *Liber* in its original form taught the doctrine of the Single Procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father. When Caspari appealed to the 'uralte Cod. Bob. Ambros.' he meant by that, not, as Brewer supposes, Ambros. G 58 sup. saec. ix-x, but Ambros. O 212 sup. saec. vii-viii.

² Mr Souter informs me that, in the opinion of Dr Holder of Carlsruhe—to the appearance of whose magnificent catalogue of the Reichenau MSS at Carlsruhe I should like to call attention—the MS came from Reichenau.

sanctorum patrum trecentorum decem et octo congregatis apud Niceam Bithiniae': the form of the title of our treatise resembles that in *Patrologia* lat. 2076, no. 1 in my 'Nicene' list. A still earlier text of the *Liber* but unfortunately only a fragment, I came across in the library at Metz, in cod. 134, of the eighth (perhaps the end of the eighth) century. After the gathering signed E three gatherings are unfortunately lost; the next (signed I) commences in chap. 46 of the *Liber* with the words 'saluari quod perierat', and ends, as my text does, with chap. 54, the colophon being simply EXPL. DOGMA. I should conclude from the colophon that the MS belonged to the anonymous group; cf. no. 1 of that group, St Gall 230, EXPLIC. DOGOMA.

Of MSS contained in my list I have since had an opportunity of examining Laon 113 fol. 43 b (no. 15 of the anonymous group), which should be dated, I think, rather saec. x or ix-x than with the catalogue saec. ix. The MS is one of unusual interest, and contains an apparently unpublished treatise on the doctrine of the Trinity; but its text of the *Liber* is bad, or at any rate is far removed from that of the best MSS. It contains fifty-five chapters in all, the last two of my text being run into one.

Two of the manuscripts which I have collated of the anonymous group contain additional matter at the end of the treatise, which for completeness' sake I add at this point.

(a) Cod. Berolinensis Phillipps lat. 84 gives the last chapter of the *Liber* in the following enlarged form (I correct its orthography and its obvious blunders):—

'Propter nouellos legislatores, qui ideo animam tantum ad imaginem Dei creatam dicunt et, quia Deus incorporeus recte creditur, etiam anima incorporea esse credatur, libere confitemur iuxta diuinae scripturae relationem integrum hominem qui ex anima constat et carne ad imaginem Dei factum—illam imaginem qua postea homo factus est Deus, dicente apostolo ET REGNAUIT MORS AB ADAM VSQVE AD MOYSEN ETIAM IN EOS QVI NON PECCAVERVNT IN SIMILITVDINEM PRAEVARICATIONIS ADAE QVI EST FORMA FVTVRI, id est Christi nouissimi Adam, qui in forma qua erat quandoque hominem adsumpturus praeformauit primum
10 Adam; confirmante hoc ipsum apostolo ubi dicit VIR QVIDEM NON DEBET VELARE CAPVD SVVM, QVIA GLORIA ET IMAGO DEI EST, MVLTIER AVTEM GLORIA VIRI EST. in animis sexuum diuersitas non est, si una in masculo et femina anima est, † sicut et uir est †. quomodo uir dicetur IMAGO ESSE DEI, femina IMAGO VIRI, nisi quod Christus Deus creator
15 hominis, qui hominis¹ formam adsumpturus postea erat, uirum ad imaginem suam praefigurauit, femina uero ex uiro sumpta uir

¹ I have conjecturally added the words 'qui hominis' which seem necessary to complete the sense: they might have been omitted by *homocoteleuton*.

imaginem expressit? ambo tamen IMAGO DEI, quia unus ex altero, dicente scriptura CREAVIT DEVS HOMINEM, AD IMAGINEM DEI CREAVIT ILLVM (id est Deus ad Dei) MASCVLVM ET FEMINAM CREAVIT EOS.'

(δ) Cod. Bernensis 89 has lost a leaf after fol. 16*b*, that is, after the end of chap. 51 of my text. The list of *capitula* prefixed to the treatise shews that there were no additional chapters, and the words that conclude the treatise at the beginning of the present fol. 17*a* must therefore be the end of another variant form of the last chapter:—

'nostrum spirare uiuere est, ita et Dei spirare uiuificare est. substantia itaque animae quadri moderatione subsistit, sensu, uoluntate, cogitatione, sapientia. sensus pertinet ad uitam: consilium ad cogitationem: sapientia ad intellectum: uoluntas ad difinitionem. haec substantia ueluti pelle creatoris sui dispositione uestitur.'

Finally, I subjoin a list of the more important changes which I should now wish to make in the tentative text printed last year. My present results are based on the collation of the following MSS of the 'anonymous' group: Milan Ambros. O 212 sup., saec. vii–viii; Cologne ccxii, saec. vii (perhaps vii ineunt.); Berlin Philipps Cat. 84, saec. viii; St Gall 238 saec. viii, 911 saec. viii, 230 saec. ix; Vatic. Reg. 1127, saec. ix; Berne 89, saec. ix. I do not think that any of the three ninth-century MSS used are later than the middle of the century.

- c. i l. 4 for 'principium deitatis' read 'principale nomen deitatis'.
- c. ii l. 25 for 'corpus cum sensibus suis' read 'caro cum sensibus suis'.
- c. iii l. 2 for 'gratiae inaequale' read 'gratia aequale'.
- l. 4 for 'persuasione' read 'peruasione'.
- c. vi l. 7 for 'poenam' read 'poenas'.
- c. vii l. 5 for 'suscepimus' read 'suscipimus'.
- c. viii l. 2 for 'quam' read 'qua'.
- l. 6 for 'iudici omnium et retributori iusto' read 'iudici omnium, illi retributori iusto'.
- c. x l. 4 after 'bonitatem' add 'suam'.
- c. xiii l. 3 place 'necessaria' within square brackets.
- c. xv l. 1 omit '[uno]'.
- c. xvii b omit the lines printed in small type altogether.
- c. xx l. 10 after 'elegit' add 'uel quod sequitur'.
- l. 11 for 'Deo largiente' read 'Deo miserante'.
- l. 14 for 'ab adepto' read 'indepto'.
- c. xxvi ll 1, 2 for 'creatam . . . inuentam' read 'creata . . . inuenta'.
- l. 5 omit 'est' (and remove the full stop after 'mali').
- c. xxviii l. 2 omit 'bonum' (and remove the brackets, so as to make 'ut non mutarentur cum ceteris' the object of the verb 'possident').

- c. xxx l. 2 *for* 'retinetur' *read* 'retentetur'.
 l. 3 *omit the clause printed within square brackets* 'alioquin .
 castitas'.
 c. xliii l. 3 *for* 'uitae conditione' *read* 'uita conditionis'.
 c. xlvi l. 3 *for* 'qui decreuit' *read* 'quo decreuit'.
 c. lii l. 6 *after* 'mobilitate' *add* 'et mutabilitate'.

C. H. TURNER.

A SUPPOSED HOMILY OF EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA.

THE Coptic papyrus of the British Museum, *Or.* 5001, contains fol. ριζ. "Eusebius of Caesarea, *On the Canaanitish Woman* . . . Beg. 'Great is the storm (χειμών) but it has not been able to prevent (κωλύει) the joy of those who have come. The Church overcomes all trials. As the furnace the gold, so affliction benefits the soul that fitted for it. Yesterday Paul prepared his table for us, to-day Matthew &c. See the analysis in *Crum Catalogue of the Coptic Manuscripts the British Museum* (1905) pp. 63, 64.

The commencement and the contents agree exactly with the homily of St John Chrysostom, in *dimissionem Chananæae* (Migne *P. G.* lii 44 460), Πολὺς ὁ χειμών, ἀλλὰ τὴν προθυμίαν τῶν παραγενομένων οὐ διεκώλυε . . . χθὲς τοίνυν ὁ Παῦλος τὴν τράπεζαν ἡμῖν παρέθηκε, σήμερον ὁ Ματθαῖος κ.τ.λ.

Thus this supposed sermon of Eusebius of Caesarea 'in Cappadocia' according to the Coptic title is simply a Sahidic version of Chrysostom's homily, just as the *liber de muliere chananæa* of Bishop Lawrence the mellifluous of Novara (Migne *P. L.* lxvi 116-124) is really the ancient Latin version of the same homily; cf. Haidacher in *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* xxx (1906) p. 183. Other writings of Chrysostom exist in a Coptic translation; cf. Fr. Rossi in *Memorie della R. Accademia di Torino* Series II xxxix, part 2, pp. 100 sqq. and xl, pp. 116 sq. and *Crum op. cit.* nos. 171, 1; 177; 981; 982.

G. MERCATI.

TRACES OF A SAYING OF THE DIDACHE.

ON the precept 'Ἰδρωτάτω ἡ ἐλεημοσύνη σου κτέ there are notes by two writers in the last number of this JOURNAL (vol. vii pp. 557, 593 f). The latter note brings together ten Latin citations of it, but a word remains to be said about the discovery of some of them. One of the three given as new was published in 1890. Resch, in a 'Nachtrag' to Log. 35 in his *Agrapha* (p. 288, 1889), quoted Professor Loofs as having found *Desudet* &c. in Cassiodorus. In a later 'Nachtrag' (p. 464 f) he gave *Sit elemosina* &c., as quoted in the new edition of Schaff's *Didache* from *Piers the Plowman* (ed. Skeat), with my 'Vermuthung' that *Sit* was for *Sudet*, and Petrus Comestor's confirmatory *Desudet* &c.

On Thursday, March 1, 1888, I read a paper on 'Ἰδρωτάτω κτέ to the Cambridge Philological Society (*C. U. Reporter*, March 6), and at the meeting Dr Skeat quoted *Sit elemosina* &c. from *Piers the Plowman*. After this Dr Westcott gave me the reference for Bernard's *Desudet* &c.; and on the appearance of the *Agrapha*, in a letter dated Nov. 21, 1889, he wrote, 'You will have noticed that Resch, in his treatise on the *Ἀγραφα*, refers to Cassiodorus for a Latin quotation of the "Desudes . . .", like to but not identical with the one in Bernard.'

In some notes on the *Didache* published in the *Classical Review* (vol. ii 262 f, Oct. 1888) I wrote thus on 'Ἰδρωτάτω κτέ.

'Professor Skeat has called my attention to the following passage of *Piers Plowman* (B vii 73) in connexion with the two sayings of the *Διδάχη*, *Give to every one that asketh* and *Let thine alms sweat into thine hands* :—

Catoun kenneth men thus, and the clerke of the stories,
Cui des videto, is Catounes techynge;
 And in the stories he techeth, to bistowe thyn almes;
Sit elemosina tua in manu tua, donec studes cui des.
 Ac Gregori was a gode man, and bade vs gyuen alle
 That asketh, for his love that vs alle leneth.

The saying *Sit elemosina tua* &c., looks like a corruption and perversion of *Sudet elemosina tua in manus tuas, donec scias cui des*?

'Weitere Nachforschungen' led to the discovery of Comestor's *Desudet* &c. On 'Gregori' see below. In *Sit* &c., possibly 'studes'

is a corrupt survival from the missing *Sudet*. Some MSS read *elemosyna in*, omitting the first *tua*.

In the *Journal of Philology* vol. xix 148-172 (July 1890—March 1891), I gave 'Traces of the Saying in Latin' from *Piers the Plowman* Augustine (2), Cassiodorus, Bernard, and Petrus Comestor. 'S. Augustine', I wrote (p. 158), 'has it in the form *Sudet* &c., in a passage communicated by an English correspondent to Prof. F. Brown, of New York, and published in the *New York Independent* of December 12, 1889; and also in a previous passage.'

Abaelard (Pierre Abailard), in Dom Ramsay's citation (*J. T. S.* vi 594), teaches that *elemosyna* is '. . . non temere cuilibet porrigenda sed *sudet*, sicut scriptum est, *elemosyna in manu tua, donec invenias quem dignus sit*,' &c. (Migne *P. L.* clxxviii 569); thus giving a negative turn to the saying. Others, as Augustine, make it supplement Παρὶ τὸ αἰτοῦντί σε δίδου and inculcate giving also τῷ μὴ αἰτοῦντι.

Another Latin quotation of 'Ἰδρωτάτω κτέ has been found by Dr Skeat. In his sixth edition of *Piers the Plowman* (1891) he wrote on Pass vii 76, B-text, that there were similar remarks on almsgiving 'in the Compendium by Peter Cantor, who was Bishop of Tournay, A. D. 1199. Accordingly we read in Migne *P. L.* ccv 150:—

'Cui etiam des, considerandum, iuxta illud poetæ:

Videto cui des.

Et iterum: *Desudet elemosyna in manu tua* &c. (*Eccli.* xxix).'

Turning to 'Piers Plowman', ed. Skeat for the Early English Text Society, Part IV (1885), I find the same note on Peter Cantor, who *Desudet* &c. was thus referred to apparently before any student of the *Didache* (ed. Bryennius, 1883) had found that the saying was extant in Latin. We now know of eleven Latin quotations of it.

Comestor, 'the clerke of the stories', writes to the following effect, 'the authority of a *'traditio Hebraeorum'*, in his *Historia Scholastica* Lib. Deut. cap. 5, *de decima secunda* (Migne *P. L.* cxcviii 1251 f):—

The first annual tithe 'separabant Levitis: de hac dictum est, *Desudet elemosyna in manu tua, donec invenias iustum cui des*, id est illum cui debes'. A tithe of the remaining nine parts 'sibi reservabant'. 'Quod autem ampliora his illis tribus festis expendere volebat, aliqua de bonis adhuc separabat,' etc. Also triennially 'duabus decimis sublatis diximus', they set aside a tithe of the residue 'in usus pauperum'. 'De hac dictum est, *Omni petenti tribue.*'

Thus explained *Desudet* &c. takes precedence of *Omni petenti tribue* and imposes a first charge on the produce of a man's labours.

Dr Skeat takes 'Gregori' to be a mistake for Jerome, Gregory saying in the *Plowman* agreeing with Jerome on Eccles. xi 6 (Migne

P.L. xliii 1103), 'Ne eligas cui bene facias . . . Incertum est enim quod opus magis placeat Deo'. Gregory the Great writes in *Reg. Past.* iii 20 (*J. T. S.* vii 594), 'Ne sub obtentu largitatis ea quae possident inutiliter spargant, audiant quod scriptum est, *Sudet eleemosyna in manu tua*'.

C. TAYLOR.

REVIEWS

HISTORY OF DOCTRINE.

Le Dogme de la Rédemption. Essai d'étude historique. Par L'Abbé J. RIVIÈRE. (Paris, Lecoffre, 1905.)

THIS book is a valuable contribution to the history of the doctrine of the Atonement. Issued with the *imprimatur* of the Archbishop of Albi, and dedicated to the author's teachers in the Catholic Institute of Toulouse, it exhibits many of the best characteristics of the modern school of historical theology in the French Church. In some 500 pages the author reviews the gradual development of Christian thought upon the Atonement, treating successively the evidence of the New Testament, the Fathers, and the Schoolmen. The book contains a very full and complete examination of the chief authorities; and for future students the materials which are here collected will be most valuable. The exegesis of the New Testament is carefully done, and there is an absence of overstatement. The principle of the development of Christian doctrine is fully recognized (see especially the author's remarks on p. 498), and the immaturity and imperfection of earlier and individual points of view are clearly indicated. The author's summaries of the evidence are on the whole singularly fair and show great acumen. Throughout his book M. Rivière has in view the subjective theories of the Atonement propounded by Ritschl, Harnack, and Sabatier, and if occasionally his antagonism to them is somewhat too marked, his criticisms in detail are often valuable. His own standpoint is clearly indicated in the *résumé* of Catholic teaching with which he prefaces his book, as well as in many other chapters. It is in the idea of satisfaction as propounded by Anselm and retouched by Bonaventura and Thomas Aquinas that M. Rivière finds the final expression of the doctrine of the Atonement and the true synthesis in which the various elements of earlier patristic thought are combined. Anselm gave to the doctrine its 'scientific formula' (p. 498). The treatment of Anselm is one of the most interesting parts of the book, and though the reader is conscious that M. Rivière holds a brief for his author, much that he says in his defence deserves attention. He contends that the forensic language employed by Anselm must not be taken too literally. It is only a 'clothing', 'a somewhat too rigid expression of high moral realities' (p. 313). The language of *Cur Deus Homo*, moreover, needs to be supplemented by the language

Anselm in other works (i. e. the *Meditations*), in which he does justice to aspects of the subject neglected in the former treatise, e. g. the solidarity of Christ and believers, and the love inspired in men by the Passion. Again, M. Rivi re defends the idea of satisfaction against the charge of being derived from German feudal theories of private rights.

For the subjective theory of the Atonement as propounded by Ab lard M. Rivi re has little sympathy. It is in his view radically contrary to all Catholic tradition (p. 330). It may, however, be doubted whether M. Rivi re has altogether done justice to the history of this aspect of the Atonement. It would have added to the completeness and value of his book if he had collected, or noticed in passing, any points of contact with Ab lard's view which occur in the Fathers. There are passages in the Fathers which dwell upon the subjective aspect of the Atonement, though that aspect by no means represents the whole of their thought, or their leading conception of the subject.

M. Rivi re fully admits the vagueness and inconclusive character of much of the teaching which was current in the patristic period. The speculative tendency of the Greek Fathers led them to view sin rather in the light of its consequences than of its essence, and to connect the work of redemption with the Incarnation as a whole rather than specially with the death of Christ. But side by side with this speculative treatment M. Rivi re produces plenty of evidence to show that the ideas of penal substitution and the germs of the idea of satisfaction are to be found in Greek as well as in Latin theology, and that the sharp distinction which has often been drawn in this respect between the Greek and Latin Fathers is exaggerated.

The last section of the book deals with the subject of the rights of the devil, about which M. Rivi re has collected much curious information. He has omitted, however, to notice a remarkable treatment of the subject in a passage of Amphilochius of Iconium, printed by Dr Holl in his recent monograph on that author.

J. H. SRAWLEY.

Nestoriana: die Fragmente des Nestorius gesammelt, untersucht, und herausgegeben von DR FRIEDRICH LOOFS. (Halle a. S., Max Niemeyer, 1905.)

BARELY six months after Herr Leitzmann's *Apollinaris* we have from Dr Loofs a critical edition of the extant writings of Nestorius, and we can now study some of the *ipsissima verba* of two of the great

heretics of the fourth and the fifth centuries in a more consecutive form than has been possible hitherto. This is a great gain—even if we are still unable to unravel the intricacies of the controversies of which Apollinarius and Nestorius were the centres; and Dr Loofs has put students of the history of doctrine under a fresh debt of gratitude by this new work. Of its value there can be no question: the facts of the case, as he states them, shew the need of such an edition. The only previous collection of *Nestoriana* is the one which was made by Garnier in his edition of Marius Mercator (Paris, 1673), reprinted by Migne *P. L.* 48. Marius Mercator gives a Latin translation of four 'antipelagian' sermons, and of five *sermones aduersus dei genetricem Mariam*. To these five Garnier added eight others, which he himself pieced together out of fragments of Nestorius in Greek in Cyril and the Acts of the Council of Ephesus, giving at the same time a Latin version made up partly out of the Latin of Marius Mercator's *excerpta ex codicibus Nestorii*, partly out of the Latin translation of the Ephesine citations which he referred to Marius Mercator, and partly—no less than a third of the whole—from a sixteenth-century Latin translation of Cyril. And Migne, leaving out the Greek text, reprinted the Latin of the thirteen sermons as a whole as the work of Marius Mercator. Moreover, many fragments which were accessible to him were overlooked by Garnier, and other materials have come to hand since his time, including Syriac versions. This is Dr Loofs's ample vindication of the need for a new edition. But even as he was concluding his work, fresh materials were being brought to light by Dr H. Goussen's discovery among the Nestorians of Persia of a MS containing a work of Nestorius entitled *Liber Heraclidis*, a copy of which he secured for the University Library of Strassburg, and of a new *Vita Nestorii*, both of which are to be published. These new sources of information, which may be of high importance, Dr Loofs has not been able to utilize, and therefore he only claims for his book that it prepares the way for the complete edition of the extant writings of Nestorius which the future must supply. He notes as necessary preliminaries to such finality, a critical edition of Cyril and the Acts of Ephesus, to say nothing of 'Arnobius junior' and the Acts of later Councils, an exhaustive examination of all Syriac MSS and the publication of all important works which are contained only in them. This list of *desiderata* deserves attention. Dr Loofs has had to content himself for the most part with the older printed Greek and Latin texts, except so far as Syriac fragments can be used. He only claims to give us careful reprints with variants noted. Within these limits, however, we really have a new recension of the text. Wherever the original Greek is extant, it alone is printed, if only a fragment in the middle of a sermon extant as a whole in Latin. Of fragment

extant only in Syriac a German translation by Dr Kampffmeyer, as literal as possible, is given in the body of the text. The Syriac fragments, based on a transcript by Mr S. A. Cooke from nine or ten Syriac (monophysite) MSS in the British Museum, are printed in an Appendix. Several of them are of considerable value.

The zeal with which the writings of Nestorius were destroyed, in obedience to the decree of Theodosius, has left us in uncertainty as to what he wrote, apart from letters and the sermons; but some light is thrown upon the question by the discovery of the *Liber Heraclidæ* and the information about it which, pending its publication, Dr Loofs is able to give. Written under this pseudonym in order to safeguard it from destruction, it contains a refutation first of earlier heresies and then of Cyril, with many important documents. To the MS containing it, a later Nestorian has prefixed a note in which he names as the two other chief works of Nestorius, the *Theopaschites* and the *Tragoedia*, and adds to these a fourth with the title *Historica*. Eberhard Jesu, the learned Nestorian of the middle ages († 1318), mentions as still extant (i. e. in Syriac) the *Tragedy*, the *Book of Heraclides*, a letter to Cosmas which was translated in the time of Paullus († 535) and a prolix liturgy translated by Thomas and Maraba, one book of letters and one of homilies and sermons.

Of the *Theopaschites* only four short fragments are extant; of the *Historica* nothing is known (Dr Goussen supposes it to have contained the letters and sermons); the *liber tragoediae* Dr Loofs identifies with the *liber de historia* of which the *Synodicon* has preserved a fragment and from which Evagrius obtained his information about the fortune of Nestorius subsequently to the year 431. The *Liturgy*, though cannot be attributed to Nestorius, and the *Book of Heraclides* remains the letter to Cosmas, possibly not a genuine work of Nestorius (see Loofs, p. 86), is lost; of the letters and sermons there are remains. In piecing together the fragments and finding places for some of the short ones, Dr Loofs has been, so far as I can judge, very successful: certainty is of course unattainable. He does not accept Mgr Batiffol's recent proposal (*Revue biblique* vol. ix, 1900, pp. 329 ff) to assign to Nestorius a number of sermons which have been attributed to Basil of Seleucia and others. But it is probable enough that writings of Nestorius may be found under the names of orthodox Fathers, and Dr Loofs prints, as the only complete work of Nestorius which has come down to us in the original Greek, one of the 'five homilies of Chrysostom' which were first published by Becher in 1839.¹

For a single complete work of Nestorius preserved as such for us

¹ Dr Haidacher has independently claimed this sermon as the work of Nestorius (*Zeitschrift für kathol. Theol.* (1905) pp. 196 ff).

own sake, we must await the publication of the Syriac translation of the *Liber Heraclidis*. The rest has come down to us through the media of the pens of those who were concerned to shew the impiety of Nestorius and to justify his condemnation: viz. the Acts of the Council of Ephesus, the *Synodicon aduersus tragoediam Irenaei*, the writings of Cyril of Alexandria, of Marius Mercator, and of 'Arnobius junior', the *Contestatio* of Eusebius of Dorylaeum, the *de incarnatione Christi* of John Cassian, the history of Evagrius, and a few short sayings in other orthodox writers.

They were all concerned to represent the teaching of Nestorius in the worst light possible, and no one familiar with the methods by which his condemnation was secured will be surprised to find that again and again he repudiates the ideas on which the condemnation was based.

For example, he seems to accept θεοτόκος in the only sense in which the word is tolerable. 'Quod solum nominetur de virgine hoc verbum propter inseparabile templum dei verbi ex ipsa, non quia ipsa mater dei verbi, nemo enim antiquiorem se parit' (Loofs, p. 168). 'Ego autem ad hanc quidem vocem, quae est θεοτόκος, nisi secundum Apollinarianum et Arianum ad confusionem naturarum proferatur, volentibus dicere non resisto' (p. 181); that is, not 'tanquam divinitas unigeniti ex sancta virgine sumpsisset initium' (p. 185). Εἰ μετὰ πίστεως ἀπλῆς τὸ θεοτόκος προσέφερες, οὐκ ἂν σοι τῆς λέξεως ἐφθόνησα, τὸν νοῦν ἐξετάζων τοῦ ῥήματος (p. 272). To τὸ θεοτόκος you must add τὸ ἀνθρωποτόκος (p. 301), dispensationem auferas quae est caput nostrae salutis (p. 309, cf. p. 312). He only objects to θεοτόκος when it is used in a sense which, as he thinks, is incompatible with the due recognition of the humanity of the Lord, or confuses the two natures which are distinct.

And in the fragments extant only in Syriac, and now published for the first time, Nestorius distinctly asserts the unity of the Person; while he insists against the Theopaschites that each nature retains its own οὐσία and properties, it is of one Person that he speaks throughout. 'He who is acknowledged as one Christ in two natures, the divine and the human, the visible and the invisible, will hold the judgement that is to be. As therefore there is one Judge in both natures, so also there is one Son in each of the two natures, because according to the Apostle's decree (Acts xvii 31) that invisible [nature] God the Logos, will hold future judgement in (by) a visible man whom also He has raised from the dead. And there is one Judge in each of the two natures, as also there is one Son in both natures' (p. 330). 'The unity of the Son is not impaired by the difference of the natures. But in like manner as the perishable body is one and the immortal soul again another, but out of both is constituted one man; so also

out of the mortal and the immortal, out of the perishable and the imperishable, out of that which is subject to beginning and out of the nature which has no beginning [there is constituted one Person]. This means that I acknowledge God the Logos one Person (πρόσωπον) of the Son' (pp. 330 f). 'I call Christ perfect God and perfect man—natures which are not mixed but united' (p. 332). 'I say "the Son" and acknowledge (? in these two short words) the created nature and the uncreated' (p. 335). 'The Son must not be called "God the Logos" separately, and on the other hand "Manhood" separately. For that is the same thing as to declare two sons. But the name of sonship is a name common to both natures. I say "the Son" and I teach two natures: I say "the Christ" and I divide neither of the natures in the sonship' (p. 336): cf. also τὸ 'Χριστός' ὡς τῆς ἀπαθoῦς καὶ παθητῆς εὐρίας ἐν μοναδικῷ προσώπῳ προσηγορίαν σημαντικὴν and τὴν μὲν τῶν φύσεων ἐπὶ πᾶσι διαίρεσιν κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος καὶ θεότητος λόγον καὶ τὴν τούτων εἰς ἐνὸς προσώπου συνάφειαν (p. 176 ll. 6, 15).

That there was nothing in the teaching of Nestorius which was incompatible with the Catholic doctrine of the Incarnation would be perhaps too much to assert. But it is clear enough that his objections to some conceptions which passed as Catholic were well founded, and that personal jealousies and ecclesiastical considerations of a political character played their usual disastrous part in the controversy. Whatever theory is held as to the authority of General Councils, the decisions of the Council of Ephesus of 431 must be judged on their merits. That Nestorius did not hold the opinions which were attributed to him, in all particulars at least, is certain. We must distinguish between 'Nestorianism', in the ecclesiastical sense of the word, and the teaching of Nestorius.

The question is not merely one of theological and speculative interest. The Nestorian Church is still in existence.¹ Isolated by excommunication from all connexion with Constantinople and the West, it was for many centuries the great Church of the far East. Its magnificent history and splendid missionary activity, its endurance under unparalleled persecution, its undaunted loyalty to the faith received from its Fathers, its thoroughly Eastern character, all combine to give it a unique position. The precise meaning of the Syriac terms in which its faith is expressed is uncertain (Ithutha, Qnuma, Kiana, Parsopa); they probably do not correspond exactly (except perhaps 'parsopa') to any words in any other language. But there seems to be no essential 'unorthodoxy' either in the writings of the Fathers to

¹ See 'Archbishop's Mission to the Assyrian Christians', *Annual Report*, published by the S.P.C.K.

which this Church appeals, or in the conceptions of the Person of our Lord which are current among its members.

The book for which we are indebted to Dr Loofs challenges us to a reconsideration of the teaching of Nestorius. I hope I may be pardoned for urging in a Journal devoted to cold scientific research this further plea for reconsideration. The whole question cannot be settled without the help of Syriac scholars who will give some attention to writings of a somewhat later date and perhaps less interesting than those which most attract them.

Persona und πρόσωπον im Recht und im christlichen Dogma, von Dr SIEGMUND SCHLOSSMANN. (Kiel und Leipzig: Lipsius & Tischer, 1906.)

No complete history of the terms in which the Christian doctrine of the Godhead was expressed in the past has hitherto been attempted. Dr Schlossmann, Professor of Roman Law in the University of Kiel, has now devoted an elaborate monograph to the history of the terms *persona* and *πρόσωπον* in Roman law and in early Christian theology, and has brought together a mass of evidence, including in his survey popular usage as shewn in the Egyptian papyri as well as the codes and the jurists and ecclesiastical writers. In undertaking this task he has been influenced primarily, I suppose, by the interests of his own particular study; but he has also had in view Dr Harnack's theory of the juristic origin of Tertullian's usage of the word *persona*, a theory which he says has been generally accepted by later writers on the subject, in spite of some opposition, so that it may be described as '*communis opinio* der Theologen' (p. 120).¹ It is this that gives his work its special interest for readers of the JOURNAL. He has himself come to results

¹ He refers to me among others as following Harnack in this opinion (citing *Texts and Studies* vol. vii no. 1 pp. 21 ff). Yet three times in the three pages to which he refers I stated clearly my dissent from Dr Harnack's view (e.g. p. 23 'it is abundantly clear that, familiar as Tertullian was with the legal usage of the terms in question, his conception of *substantia* will not be brought under any such limited use'), and in my note on *persona* I left altogether on one side the specific juristic sense of the term. It matters little what my opinion of Dr Harnack's opinion is, but Dr Schlossmann's inaccuracy on the point (though some other references to my own small contribution to the history of the terms are personally gratifying) tends to confirm the suspicion, which I indicate above, that his interpretation of the statements of other writers is not altogether trustworthy, and for this reason I draw attention to it. As far as I can see Dr Harnack is only followed in the assumption that legal conceptions influenced some of Tertullian's illustrations, and I do not think that Dr Schlossmann succeeds in disproving this.

strongly adverse to Dr Harnack's theory, and if his zeal for the truth of the conclusion to which his laborious researches have brought him leads him to think it more novel in this particular connexion than it really is, there can be no question of the value and novelty of the collection of materials which he has made and of his study as a whole. His 128 pages are packed with extracts from the original sources and references to the most recent works which bear upon the questions involved in the study. I can only indicate his argument and offer a few reflexions which it suggests.

Persona means originally 'mask' (worn by an actor): then a 'masked man'. Plautus *Persa* V ii 6 is cited as the first occurrence of the word in literature (*Qui illum Persam atque omnes Persas atque etiam omnes personas Male di omnes perdant*) where the meaning certainly must be something like 'mummers'. Then in Terence, *Eunuchus* Prologue, it is the 'type' of men as depicted in plays. The phrases *personam alicuius agere, gerere, &c.*, shew the meaning 'a certain rôle' or 'part', though in the translation another image is employed which has its proper Latin equivalent *partes alicuius agere*—viz. the 'piece' or 'part' which the actor has to learn and recite. So *personam gerere* comes to be used more widely in the sense 'to perform any function in life', and so to 'represent' another: and this latter sense is often found in the juristic books.

At first it always has joined with it an appositive genitive, which individualizes the 'person', or an explanatory adjectival attribute; but before the time of Cicero it came to be used absolutely in the current sense of 'man' or 'person'.

Yet even so it is never used as a predicate: it is never merely said of any existence that it is a *persona*, it does not mean 'a man'. Only when men and things are contrasted does emphasis of this kind fall on the word, as in the common distinction of different parts of the law as relating *vel ad personas vel ad res vel ad actiones*.

Dr Schlossmann allows, of course, that the fresh meanings which the word acquired in the course of the developement of the language did not prevent its being used throughout in its earlier senses also. What he is concerned to prove is that never in the history of the word, even in the later times of the Empire, still less under the Republic or in the first centuries of the Empire, did it acquire a technical juristic sense. He argues that the assumption of such a sense (i. e. a 'juristic person', a fact of which the law takes cognizance, an existence in the eye of the law, a being with specially defined legal rights, capable of being a 'party' in an action at law—a *Rechtssubjekt* possessing *Rechtsfähigkeit*) not only cannot be justified by the evidence of the law-books but is actually refuted by the way in which the word is regularly used in them.

So far as a layman can judge evidence of this kind (one really needs the opinion of a lawyer with a philological bent), while I find the collection of evidence very valuable and the argumentation extremely interesting, I think the results are only reached by special pleading. Most of the passages are more easily explained on the assumption that *persona* had a special legal sense than on the contrary assumption: mere usage in such connexions seems to give it a special shade of meaning. The crucial instance is the phrase *personam habere* or *non habere*. *Servi personam non habent*, 'slaves have no legal status'. Dr Schlossmann insists that the phrase must be explained by the original sense of the word *persona*, viz. mask, or the sense immediately derived from it, viz. the rôle which any one plays in life. So he renders the phrase: 'Die Sklaven haben keine Rolle'. But he says you must supply in thought 'im Rechtsleben'.¹ The final interpretation of the phrase thus does not differ from its accepted meaning: and so far the discussion is of philological rather than actual importance. But though we may assume the psychological origin of the usage to be what he argues it is: surely, when a word can be used absolutely without its being necessary to express the mental qualification, the word itself has come to bear a new specific meaning. So in this case *persona* is used alone, without the qualification of 'in the things of the law' or 'in the eye of the law', to mean 'legal status'. And if *persona* could also be used in the popular sense of our word 'person', then when a lawyer used the word it might also naturally mean 'a person in the eye of the law', and such a legal usage might be in the mind of one who was not himself a lawyer.

There is much else in Dr Schlossmann's treatise to which I would gladly draw attention, for instance, in regard to the term *substantia* and the Greek terms *πρόσωπον* and *ὑπόστασις*, and *ἀπρόσωπος* and *ἀνυπόστατος*, in general, legal, and ecclesiastical writings. He shews throughout what I cannot but regard as ingenious perversity and distortion of evidence. He bases much of his argument on the well-known fact that *ὑπόστασις* and *πρόσωπον* are joined together as alternatives by the Cappadocian Fathers and in fifth-century formularies; and from this use he argues that the sense of *πρόσωπον* must be determined by the (earlier) use of *ὑπόστασις*, and so is led to the astounding inference that *πρόσωπον* means 'existence', 'being' (*Wesen*), and that the Latin word *persona* in its primary theological sense was intended to mean what the Greeks meant by *ὑπόστασις*, whereas the doctrinal history of the fourth century shews clearly that, however suitable the word may have been for the

¹ This sense of the word is fully expressed by the phrase *legitima persona* which is found in a number of passages in the Codes, though Dr Schlossmann claims the phrase in support of his own thesis.

purpose, it was only by a theological convention that ὑπόστασις was narrowed down from its original sense (viz. *Wesen*) to serve as the Greek equivalent for the Latin *persona*; while πρόσωπον, which had been so long banished from use in this connexion because of its Sabelian associations, could now be reinstated side by side with ὑπόστασις, which, in its new usage, really usurped the natural sense of πρόσωπον. His interpretation of ἀπρόσωπος and ἀνυπόστατος, as meaning 'non-existent', hangs on this mistake, and he thinks the later jurists derived this sense of the words from ecclesiastical usage thus (mis)interpreted by him. If theologians have gone wrong in their ideas about the meaning of legal terms, at least they did so through following their natural guides, the jurists. Dr Schlossmann, a jurist, has failed to avail himself of information given in histories of Doctrine to which he frequently refers.

Accordingly, with regard to the main thesis, I should sum up by saying that he has gone too far in his eagerness to refute Dr Harnack. He will not hear of any juristic influence in the formulation of the Catholic doctrine. *Persona* and *substantia* neither denote any exclusively juristic conceptions nor are they technical juristic terms. He even presses the point that 'property' is a commercial rather than a juristic conception, that it is prior to any laws about it, and that the regular word for it in popular usage and in the writings of the classical jurists, especially in the time of Tertullian, was *bona*, not *substantia*. Yet he shews that *substantia* was used in this sense of 'property', and Tertullian may well have had this usage in his mind.

Again, he disputes the statement that in Roman law one property could belong to several persons. It is always viewed as the property of single individuals. Yet the qualifications which he makes of this principle with regard to the property of the State, the community, or a Corporation seem to me to cover the conception that 'Godhead' was a property in which Father, Son, and Holy Spirit had equal rights. And similarly his partial acceptance of the view that Roman law recognized various properties as belonging to one person concedes enough for the purpose of the illustration of the Doctrine of the Incarnation, according to which Godhead and manhood are represented as distinct possessions of the one Person.

That *persona* and *substantia* were already current terms in various other senses is admitted on all hands, and that Tertullian used them in some of these other senses is also obvious and has been shewn before.

And it remains true, as Bishop Bull long before Harnack pointed out, that it is to him that we owe a series of the most important formulæ in which the Doctrine of the Church was expressed.

Dr Schlossmann's argument seems to me, therefore, to be almost as

onesided as the thesis against which it is directed. He complains that Tertullian is regarded as a very feeble-minded person if it is supposed that he could not keep clear of legal conceptions in thinking about the Doctrine of the Trinity. To regard Tertullian as allowing his thought on the subject to be dominated by a single analogy from human institutions would shew, of course, singular incapacity to appreciate the most wide-awake and fertile of early Christian minds. But to no one, I suppose, do telling illustrations come more readily from all kinds of sources, and there is no reason why, even if he were no *iuris consultus*, nor even a *causidicus*, he should not have availed himself of illustrations from Roman law in his exposition of the Doctrine of the Trinity.

The value of Dr Schlossmann's work, which must be fully recognized, consists accordingly more in the evidence he has collected together than in the use which he makes of it in regard to the particular explanation of the doctrinal terms in question. He has abundantly, with much most interesting illustration, proved the non-juristic origin, and continuous usage of the terms; he has not, I think, disproved their currency even in Tertullian's time in a juristic sense.

J. F. BETHUNE-BAKER.

ENGLISH CHURCH HISTORY.

The English Church in the reigns of Elizabeth and James I. By W. H. FRERE. (London: Macmillan. 1905. 7s. 6d.)

MR FRERE has written a very interesting book and one full of information often novel and always accurate, but his work suffers from a want of sympathy with the generations whose religious fortunes he traces. Perhaps if he entered more into their difficulties and the feelings which were then inevitable he would be able to give a clearer account of the general tendency of national thought in that critical period. As it is, we must thank him for a profusion of facts, but he leaves us without any satisfactory generalization or even antithesis, and without a picture of the English Church at the moment when it was taking the form which it still holds. Mr Frere is so much interested in what the Church has come to be and in the evidences, often scanty enough, for the continuity of usage that he lays little stress for its own sake on the most significant feature of Church life in the Elizabethan age, the vigorous and profound reaction against all that was characteristic of the Marian time and in general of the older mode in religion. But he is not content with

passing over without systematic consideration the temper of mind of Spenser and his contemporaries ; by a series of attacks spread through the book he endeavours to depreciate it. Instead of measuring its fervour by its symptoms he emphasizes the ugliness of some of these, and there are times when his sarcasm reminds us of Professor Maitland. He would have done better to point out that it was inevitable, the times and the men being what they were, that progress should take the form of repugnance to the past ; and since he heartily approves the result he should have shewn himself at least tolerant of the necessary means. A dilettante interest in the revival or survival of seemly customs would have been fatal to the end in view. Our people obeyed a true instinct when whole counties rejected the surplice ; we may even see in the squalor of their churches an evidence that they were determined to have a future unlike the past. Their leaders were careful in more important matters to preserve their heritage, but a rough work had to be done if the new step was to be made irrevocable and the centre of English religion was to lie within its circumference ; nor is it quite consistent with the spirit of gratitude or of history if we who have entered into their labours judge our fathers of the sixteenth century by the standard of 1500 or of 1900. We need to contemplate the religious tendencies of the Elizabethan age as one exemplification among others of that great outburst of intellect and action. Perhaps the spirit of adventure in religion is not less creditable than the kindred daring of Drake. Enthusiasm always expresses itself emphatically, and seems to derive strength from the consciousness that it is shocking its adversary. No source of strength could be despised in that memorable conflict ; and all who look back with gratitude to a robust Laudianism should be grateful also for the robust anti-papalism which was its necessary forerunner.

It seems lamentable that Mr Frere should have chosen to disparage rather than to interpret. No doubt 'dull morning prayer or a dreary homily', though they satisfied Hooker and have had an unaccountable attraction for successive generations of Englishmen, were less bright than the worship of an earlier or a later time ; no doubt, had we been present, we should have vented our disgust in such language as Mr Frere employs on p. 208. We may, in fact, read it in abundance in our contemporary ecclesiastical journalism. But Mr Frere has allowed his feelings to master his memory for facts in the comparisons he draws between Elizabethan custom and discipline and those of the preceding century. Abbots and monasteries, we are told, made a better use of their advowsons than their lay successors in the patronage. It may be so ; and a natural reaction against the calumnies which accompanied the suppression disposes us to think as kindly of them as possible. But ecclesiastics of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were fully acquainted

with the method by which favours were dispensed at Rome and walked loyally (though no doubt with discretion and at a modest interval) in the same steps. Mr Frere can certainly recall instances where the clerk presented to a valuable benefice bore the same surname as the abbot who presented him, and he knows the use of papal chaplaincies and of licences in plurality. Perhaps he could estimate how often a living formed a cheap and convenient retaining-fee for the clerical lawyer whose services were constantly required by a religious house. Now that so much material has appeared in print we may hope to know as much about the ways of Lancastrian abbots and monasteries as we do about Hanoverian bishops and chapters; our judgement will probably incline towards the more recent body.

This unconscious bias leads Mr Frere into a serious expenditure of space upon alien affairs. Not only have we the history of the really heroic Roman mission, but also the internal disputes of its adherents, and even the names (and that in a narrative which is chary of the names of English bishops) of the obscurest of seminary priests who suffered or recanted. And if this work is meant to be a history of the sixteenth century rather than an antiquarian study of matters which came to be interesting in the nineteenth, we have a right to complain that an excessive attention is paid to very faint survivals; how faint they are appears from the unsparing labour which it has cost Mr Frere to trace them. These excursions—though they are so numerous that it seems incongruous to give them the name—are among the most attractive parts of the volume; but their very attractiveness tends to mislead the student into thinking that in the age of Elizabeth they loomed as large as they do to-day. A want of proportion tends to involuntary anachronism.

This excess of interest on one side betrays Mr Frere into a defect of sympathy on the other. Mr S. R. Gardiner has shown how, on the very eve of the Civil War, many leading Puritans were wholly averse from an open breach with the ruling party in the Church. If the process of differentiation even then was not complete, there must have been, a generation or two earlier, a mass of almost homogeneous Protestant feeling which was the characteristic type of English religion in its day. To describe this as a whole, stating its relation to contemporary foreign Reformers and tracing its gradual cleavage into definite and antagonistic parties, is the task of the historian, and Mr Frere is too much of a partisan to perform this part of a historian's functions. He is so impartially busy in belabouring both that he forgets to discriminate between them, nor does he seem to be interested in Hooker's attempt to fix Anglican thought upon an Anglican basis. The notice of Hooker is curiously meagre, and the really serious question how far Hooker practically influenced his age, or whether like Bacon he was a man of genius

beyond his time, is not clearly answered. The broader issues, in fact, fail to interest Mr Frere, and he has allowed his own tastes and feelings, which are refined as well as vehement, to dominate his understanding. He has even neglected to give an outline of the working system as it was clumsily started under Elizabeth. Universities and schools, the poor and the parish vestry, the origin of the family living; these are some matters of living importance for which space should have been found in a book which tells us all that is known about plainsong and the fortunes of Martin Marprelate's printers. And at the head of an episcopal Church stand bishops. Many of these were, in Mr Frere's words, men of 'indifferent or squalid reputation'. Here is a grave assertion, and one easy of proof. It is allowed to remain an assertion. The dealings of even one bishop with the revenues of his see would have been a valuable, and even necessary, addition to the work; as would an examination of the constitutional position of the bishops as affecting their powers and the use made of them. Nor should the deliberate retention of many of the abuses of the Canon Law in regard to benefices have been passed without remark. This action, or failure to act, on the part of the State was, like the continuance of the cumbrous testamentary system, part of the price paid for the maintenance of the bishops in their constitutional position, and is itself a point of extreme historical importance.

But Mr Frere has preferred the part of the chronicler to that of the historian, and he has fulfilled it so well, and put such life into the details of forgotten controversies and the passing events of a former time, that we cannot quarrel with him. Everything he tells us is interesting, even though we might often wish that his selection had been different and that he had chosen to draw our attention to some point which we are in danger of missing. He is frankly interested, for instance, in monastic institutions; but he does not tell us how largely the course of the Reformation was shaped by men who had learned in the cloister to rebel against its training. Yet nothing in the record is more significant; not even the silent approval of change on the part of the obscure multitude of the secular clergy. And surely a sympathy, however discriminating, with the ideal of a national Church, expressing its mind in destruction as well as in conservation, would have been a better guide through the dimness of the period than an abstract standard of what the Church should be, which has never, attractive as it is, been realized in experience.

E. W. WATSON.

IN two volumes of *English Church History Lectures, 1509-1575 and 1575-1649* (T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1904, 1905), Dr Alfred Plummer, late Master of University College, Durham, shews how skilfully a learned man who is also a teacher of experience can gather, and invest with something of a new freshness, the conclusions of original authorities and modern investigators. Dr Plummer has read very widely and he has the art of seizing the salient points and making them emphatic by a sharpness of phrase, or an aptness of quotation, which helps to fix them in the memory. There is no wonder that these Lectures have been widely popular. They are eminently candid, judicious, and unprejudiced: at least so they seem to an English churchman who believes that the work of the Reformation in England was in the main necessary and right, but can see the faults in the chief actors and in the different parties, and who holds a brief for none. It is a great advantage to have the truth on the dissolution of the monasteries, or the meaning of the claim of the English Church to have had a continuous life, set forth by one who comes, as it were, newly to the subject, with a mind well stored and a judgement well trained by other work. The two volumes have good tables and indices, and are eminently lucid in both style and arrangement.

W. H. HUTTON.

John Henry Kardinal Newman: ein Beitrag zur religiösen Entwicklungsgeschichte der Gegenwart, by CHARLOTTE LADY BLENNERHASSETT. (Paetel, Berlin, 1904.)

IT is strange that this should be the first book to appear in German on the subject of a man whom the writings of the Abbé Loisy alone prove to be a great originator in the field of religious thought. Lady Blennerhassett, who has already made a European reputation by her studies of Madame de Staël and Talleyrand, is singularly fitted alike by sympathy and by culture to introduce Newman to German readers. She has used all the best sources of information and produced a concise and clear account of the cardinal's life. She gives the fairest and most complete description extant of his struggles within the Roman Church with the obscurantist party of Manning and Ward, and expounds the doctrine of development with a due feeling of its extreme importance. For English readers, the book contains little that is new, but it is perhaps the best work on the subject within the limits of so small a space.

J. N. FIGGIS-

ORIENTALIA.

de d'Ahoudemmeh et de Marouta, suivies du traité d'Ahoudemmeh sur l'homme, par F. NAU (*Patrologia Orientalis* tome iii c. 1). (Paris, Firmin-Didot, 1906.)

Among the important texts published and to be published in the *Patrologia Orientalis* a high place will be taken by these two Lives, that of the first Jacobite metropolitan of the East and that of the first of his successors whose see was definitely established at Thagrit, which, with the metaphysical treatise on man's personality, M. Nau now publishes for the first time from MSS in the British Museum. The two Lives are, however, of somewhat unequal value. The Life of Marutha is the work of his pupil and successor Denha (d. 649), and contains many interesting notices relating to the state of the church in Mesopotamia at that time, though it is a curious sign of the aloofness of the Christians from political affairs that, while Marutha was contemporary with the campaigns of Heraclius and with the Arabic conquest in Persia, there is only one reference to the Roman invasion and the coming of the Arabs. The Life of Ahudemme (d. 575) on the other hand is anonymous, and, though M. Nau does not discuss the date of its date, several circumstances, such as the use of the Arabic word for Mesopotamia, the absence of dates except that of the saint's death, of personal names, and indeed, we may almost say, of all definite chronological information, the improbable story of the baptism of the king's son, the extraordinary details of the bishop's imprisonment, shew it is far from being a contemporary document. In spite of this it is important, in that it throws light on the difficult question of the identity of Ahudemme. There is a record of a Nestorian bishop of that name and of a Jacobite metropolitan of the East who lived about the same time, but no writer identifies the two, though, as M. Nau remarks, the strangeness of the name ('brother of his mother') is an aid to identification, and this is supported by the life now published in which it is stated that Ahudemme was a convert from Nestorianism. It is, however, still odd that the author does not say that he was a Nestorian bishop, and I cannot think M. Nau's explanation of this is satisfactory, though perhaps the lateness of the life may be taken to account for the omission. If the two are distinct, the author of the treatise on Man, which is contained in a Nestorian MS mentioned by 'Abdisho', must have been the Nestorian; while if they are the same, we must for the same reasons infer that it was written before the conversion, a conclusion which holds good with regard

to Ahudemme's other writings also, since 'Abdisho' gives a list of these, and John Bar Zu'bi, as M. Nau points out, cites him among Nestorian grammarians, whereas no Jacobite writer ascribes any literary work to him.

M. Nau's text and translation have been prepared, so far as I have tested them, with great care and accuracy: I would only note that at 94. 3 the emendation *ܡܚܡܐ* must be an oversight, or perhaps a misprint, for which we should read *ܡܚܡܐ*.

E. W. BROOKS.

Grammaire Hébraïque abrégée, précédée de premiers éléments accompagnés d'exercices à l'usage des commençants, par J. TOUZARD. (Paris, Victor Lecoffre, 1905.)

IN spite of the numerous Hebrew Grammars that exist at the present day, room still exists for a work suitable to the needs of those who wish to gain an intelligent knowledge of the language without, in any sense, becoming specialists. Owing to the many exceptions and abnormal forms that occur so continually it is impossible to compress a work like this into a very small compass; and yet larger volumes such as the last edition of Gesenius-Kautzsch are more suitable as reference-books than as works for the class-room. What is wanted is something exhaustive enough without being too technical and minute for general use, and this want M. Touzard has attempted to supply. In dedicating this volume to his pupils at the Seminary of Saint Sulpice he is careful to disclaim any title to absolute completeness for it: he modestly claims as his desire: *permettre aux débutants de surmonter les difficultés très spéciales de leurs commencements, les conduire jusqu'à l'analyse grammaticale des textes qui ne présentent pas de complications trop particulières, les initier à l'usage de la grammaire comparée et des méthodes actuelles.*

M. Touzard's plan is as follows. After a very short but serviceable introduction he proceeds to give as concisely as possible the main rules of grammar which every student must make it his first aim to master. Each lesson is followed by an exercise in grammar and composition: short texts are taken and parsed exhaustively to serve as models, and an appendix contains certain passages with a grammatical commentary. It would probably have been better if this section had been amplified. For example, the declensions might have been treated with more clearness, and it would have been better to give at once the various forms in which the article occurs. In his treatment of the regular verb it is noticeable that M. Touzard recognizes two complete forms of the

imperfect Hiph'il instead of explaining the shorter form as a jussive confined to the second and third persons.

The Grammar proper is divided into three parts, entitled respectively Writing and Phonetics, Morphology, and Fundamental Rules of Syntax. The first two parts are the most valuable portion of the book. M. Touzard gives clearly and exhaustively the complicated rules which govern the syllable and tone and the peculiarities of the various consonants, and any student who will take the trouble to work carefully through this section will gain an intelligent idea of the science of the language. The long section on Morphology is also very good. The various forms of the irregular verbs are explained in an interesting way, and a very large number of abnormal forms are mentioned in their proper place. The treatment of the nouns is perhaps unnecessarily complicated.

The last part, which deals with syntax, is less successful. It would seem that M. Touzard had become alarmed at the length of his book and had determined to compress this section within the smallest possible limits. The result is a lack of clearness which contrasts unfavourably with the fullness of the middle sections of the book. One might single out as requiring further treatment such subjects as Relative and Final Sentences, Waw Consecutive and the Status Constructus; but the whole section to be of real use requires to be considerably amplified.

This is all the more to be regretted because the book is one of genuine value. In dealing with the science of the language and the probable course of its development M. Touzard works with a minuteness of scholarship which can only come from years of study and teaching, and the subject is treated with freshness and interest. The printing leaves little to be desired: the main rules are given in bold type, and the misprints are rare. At the same time the value of the work would be greatly enhanced by the addition of a good word-index.

H. C. O. LANCHESTER.

A Compendious Syriac Grammar. By THEODOR NÖLDEKE, translated by J. A. Crichton, D.D. (Williams & Norgate, London, 1904.)

ALL English students of Syriac must welcome Dr Crichton's careful English version of the second edition of Professor Nöldeke's *Kurzgefasste syrische Grammatik*. The merits of the original are too well known to need discussion here. Clearness, terseness, excellence of arrangement and completeness, definiteness in drawing the line between the sure and the uncertain—all these are characteristics well known to readers of Dr Nöldeke's works. Some may regret that in this grammar there are so few references to the results of comparative philology, but this is an

intentional simplification for the convenience of learners. A special feature is the full treatment and copious illustration of the syntax. Dr Crichton, who justly remarks that 'there is an obvious advantage in an English version for an English eye', has provided a most faithful rendering—so faithful, indeed, that his English wears at times a somewhat German guise. The same Syriac types (Drugulin's) are used as in the German editions. The book is improved by the addition of three indices, which are a new feature in the English issue.

N. McLEAN.

שֵׁעֵר הַשִּׁיר — The New-Hebrew School of Poets of the Spanish-Arabian Epoch. Selected Texts with Introduction, Notes, and Dictionary, edited by H. BRODY, Ph.D., and K. ALBRECHT, Ph.D. (Williams & Norgate, London, 1906.)

POEMS composed in a language long after it has ceased to be spoken seldom have any intrinsic value, and among the worst specimens of this class are the Hebrew poems written by mediaeval Jews. The authors were not only devoid of original genius but did not even possess that skill in imitating ancient models which is often displayed by modern writers of Greek and Latin verse. Appreciation of literary excellence was not to be found among the Jews of that period. Moreover the amount of historical information which can be extracted from these compositions is virtually *nil*, and it is therefore difficult to imagine from what point of view the publication of the present collection can be justified.

A. A. BEVAN.

MISCELLANEA.

Comparative Religion: Its Genesis and Growth. By L. H. JORDAN, B.D. (Edinburgh). (T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh.)

MR JORDAN offers his volume of 600 pages as a portable guide-book to travellers who purpose to journey over a new and not much frequented highway. As it is but the first of three volumes on the same subject, the second of which is to deal with 'its principles and problems', and the third with 'its opportunity and outlook', the reader has, perhaps, but little right to complain, when he finds very few pages devoted to an explanation of the nature of Comparative Religion (by which is meant, we are

incidentally told, the Comparison of Religions); but finds in its place a very great deal of well-arranged information about authors, past and present, who have, directly or indirectly, treated of the subject.

After a few pages of introduction from the pen of Dr Fairbairn, whose great contributions to Comparative Religion are loyally recognized in the chapter on its Founders and Masters, and after a general introduction from the author, the volume is divided into three parts, entitled respectively Prolegomena, the Historical Preparation, and the Historical Development; and the whole is supplemented with 200 pages of notes, charts, and two indexes, the first of which is of the greatest value as furnishing a very complete bibliography of Comparative Religion and its kindred subjects.

The most obvious criticism to be made on the present volume is that Mr Jordan is too modest. Though fully equipped by long years of patient study and extensive travels he seems to prefer every man's authority to his own. He cites the *Standard Dictionary* for a definition of his science rather than venture a new definition of his own. Instead of giving from his own experience an account of the logical processes involved in the use of the comparative method, he appeals *per enumerationem simplicem* to all the separate sciences, physical, mental, moral, and historical, to which the epithet comparative has ever been applied, and tries to summarize—not very clearly, it must be confessed—the services which the comparative method has rendered to each. One of the most interesting chapters is chapter iii, on the aim and scope of Comparative Religion. It is interesting for two reasons. First, because Mr Jordan here drops the endless citation of authorities, great and small, and tells us in his own language that Comparative Religion is 'that Science which, by means of comparison, strives to determine with exactness (1) the relation of the various Religions of mankind to one another, and (2) the mutual relation of conceptions current within a single Religion, but at different periods in its history'—illustrating his meaning by the results obtained from its application to Judaism and to Christianity. Secondly, it is interesting because, deserting the impartial point of view of the man of pure science, who is concerned with facts and their relations, and not with their ethical values, he maintains that it is the business of Comparative Religion to determine not only the measure of relation in which the various Religions of the world stand to one another, but also their relative superiority when regarded as types. So again on a later page (p. 353) he returns to the same point and affirms that 'Comparative Religion has made it clear that Christianity contains constituent elements and is governed by supreme and potent principles, which set it wholly apart from and render it incomparably superior to every other faith that is known among men'.

The main subject of the present volume—the genesis and growth of Comparative Religion—is ably treated in the four chapters on its Tard Growth, its Prophets and Pioneers, its Founders and Masters, and its several Schools. The two chapters on the Auxiliary Sciences—Anthropology, Archaeology, Psychology, Mythology, Ethnology, and Sociology—are less satisfactory: they are too brief and allusive to be of much service to the beginner; they are too full for the more advanced student. To the latter the part of the book of most value will be the last chapter, containing a carefully compiled bibliography of the best books relating to Comparative Religion by British, Dutch, French, German, and American scholars, with brief annotations on their contents and merits.

But enough has been said to shew that Mr Jordan in this volume—to quote Dr Fairbairn's introduction—'lays at our feet the fruit of many years of labour, that we may eat while we rest, and reap the profit of his toil'. And we may safely join with him in commending this book as 'an introduction to a great study'.

G. E. UNDERHILL.

IN the *Essence of Christianity* (T. & T. Clark), Professor Adam Brown desires to learn, by studying the definitions of it historically whether Christianity is the absolute religion. By an 'absolute religion' he means 'one which meets every essential religious need and satisfies every permanent religious instinct'. Perhaps it would have been better if the book had begun at the fourth or the fifth chapter; for the author's historical sense scarcely seems to be stimulated by anything earlier than Schleiermacher, or possibly Kant. When we read that 'faith, to the Catholic, means an act of the will in which, at the bidding of an external authority, a man accepts truth and conforms to practices the reason for which he cannot understand', or are told that, in the age of Augustine, 'to be a Christian means no longer to be a disciple of Christ . . . but a son of mother Church, dependent upon her for forgiveness and salvation', we begin to forget the existence of history. We trust, too, that the Professor's knowledge of mediaeval theology is not adequately expressed in his manner of referring to Aquinas. What is meant by *Quaestio* 107 or *Quaestio* 188? It is as though one should take the fifth chapter of St Matthew and call it chapter five of the Bible. These things are trifles, but they suggest the opening of books at random or the hasty perusal of an index. The account of modern theology (chiefly German) is more interesting: but if it was to be carried as far as Harnack, it was a pity to stop short of Loisy. Whatever may be thought of Loisy's theology, yet merely as a criticism of

Harnack's historical method, one is tempted to think that *L'Évangile et l'Église* is final.

W. H. V. READE.

IN *A History of Preaching from the Apostolic Fathers to the Great Reformers*, A.D. 70-1572, by E. C. DARGAN, D.D., Professor of Homiletics in the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Kentucky (London, Hodder & Stoughton, 1905), a difficult task is accomplished with considerable skill. The author purposes to complete his work by subsequent volumes on modern European preaching and the history of preaching in the United States. In this first volume the history is traced from its first beginnings, through its various vicissitudes, to the end of the sixteenth century. For the earlier periods the materials are scanty, and the author has to content himself with some account of the conditions of the times and of the preachers themselves rather than with their preaching; but from the fourteenth century materials become abundant, and more than half of the volume deals with the 'transitional or reformation age' from Wiclif to the death of John Knox. Dr Dargan has had some predecessors in his task, and acknowledges his debt to them; but nowhere else will so much information on the subject be found in so convenient a form, and it is given in a way that carries the reader along with sustained interest.

UNDER the title *A Day-Book* (Masters & Co., London, 1906) the author of *Praeparatio* publishes a series of short devotional readings for each day of the year from Advent to Trinity. A preface by the Rev. George Congreve, S.S.J.E., commends the book as suitable for use by busy people who shrink from the practice of meditation on formal lines.

The Faith of the Bible, by J. A. CROSS, M.A. (Methuen & Co., London, 1906), is a collection of extracts from the Old and New Testaments intended to call attention to the fact that a great part of the religious teaching of the Bible is independent of miracles. A few prayers selected from the Prayer Book are added at the end. Such a selection may be of use to those to whom *A Day-Book* or any selection of readings based on Catholic doctrine would be repellent, but it contains only a part of the faith of the Bible, and the words printed on the cover and title-page are a misnomer. To the sub-title, 'a little book of religion', no one could object, for, honestly interpreted, the extracts imply a great deal more than the author seems to suggest when he says 'it would be easy . . . to add extracts from the sacred books of the other great religions of the world in support of most, if not all, of what is taught here'.

IN *The Position of the Eucharist in Sunday Worship*, by W. ABRAHAM, D.D. (Masters & Co., London, 1905), an interesting sketch is given of the history of the subject, with the object of shewing that there are good historical reasons for the establishment of the Eucharist in its old place 'as the chief Act of the Lord's Day'. 'We have gradually, without any formal or official sanction, but solely by the growth of a bad habit, put the services in the wrong places . . . the proper order is that which prevailed in the days of Queen Anne, viz. the "first service" of Matins, early in the morning, and the "second service" of Litany and Communion at nine or ten o'clock.' All that can be said in support of this view is, I think, well said, and the evidence and the arguments presented in the book deserve the careful attention of those who oppose the practice which is vindicated.

Aspects of Anglicanism, or some comments on certain events in the 'nineties, by Mgr MOYES, D.D., Canon of Westminster Cathedral (Longmans, Green & Co., London, 1906), belongs to the class of books that neither enlighten nor edify. It consists of a series of articles dashed off for *The Tablet* at various dates between 1890 and 1895, intended to ridicule the Church of England and its ways. It surprises alike by its flippancy and its ignorance of the real position of the Church which it makes its butt; yet it is published with full official sanction.

WITH *Aspects of Anglicanism* may be mentioned *The Church and the Adversary: a present-day caveat*, by a LAYMAN (Elliot Stock & Co., London, 1905), who takes, however, a wider view of the matter and deals with the Church of Rome and all Catholic institutions as well as with the Church of England, its constitution, formularies, and clergy. What is said of the Church of Rome may be commended to the notice of controversialists of the type of Mgr Moyes: the rest of us may leave both books alone.

The Revival of Aristocracy, by OSCAR LEVY, translated by L. A. Magnus (Probsthain & Co., London, 1906), is devoted to the glorification of 'the new Renaissance' and is written in the spirit and with something of the impassioned style of its 'third and greatest hero' Friedrich Nietzsche.

J. F. B-B.

CHRONICLE

OLD TESTAMENT HISTORY AND CRITICISM.

Das nordhebräische Sagenbuch, die ELOHIMQUELLE, übersetzt und untersucht von Lic. Dr O. PROCKSCH. (Leipzig, J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1906.)

THE scope of the work thus described is in reality far wider than the name implies. In addition to an exhaustive enquiry into the origin of the *Elohimquelle*, i.e. that document of the Hexateuch commonly denoted by the letter E, and into the source of the legends therein contained, Dr Procksch has included in his book a fairly full discussion of the kindred documents J, D, and P, and has attempted moreover not only to discover what historical facts underlie the legends, but also to sketch the primitive history of the tribes which made up the people of Israel, as well as their unification and growth as a nation.

It will thus be seen that the book deals, not with one portion of the Hexateuch only, but with the whole of that most complex work, and may therefore claim the attention of students of the Old Testament, who will indeed find in it much that is both suggestive and stimulating.

At the same time it must be admitted that there are probably many who, though they are in general sympathy with the author's methods and aims, will hesitate to accept the results at which he arrives. In a work of this magnitude it is obviously impossible to criticize in detail, and it must suffice to point out those characteristics of the book which most invite criticism.

In spite of a somewhat lengthy analysis of the documents themselves, Dr Procksch seems disposed to attach too much weight to isolated statements, and to allow too little scope for the several redactors who have combined the legends, whether in their oral or literary stage, into the form in which we now have them.

Again, Dr Procksch claims for the several documents an antiquity which is scarcely borne out by the passages which he adduces as proofs. It would indeed be unreasonable to doubt that legends to which Hosea refers are contained in the Hexateuch; but, on the one hand, the evidence available is insufficient to prove that Hosea knew those legends in the form in which we now read them, and, on the other, the utter absence of any reference in Hosea or any other pre-exilic prophet to the legends of Abraham demands much fuller consideration than Dr Procksch has apparently given to it. Although it would be rash to affirm that Hosea had never heard of Abraham, the natural conclusion from the lack of

mention of him is that in the latter half of the eighth century B. C. he was not regarded by all the tribes of Israel and Judah as their common ancestor. It is reasonable to suppose that the stories of the patriarchs were told for the most part at those sanctuaries which the patriarchs were said to have founded, or in the neighbourhood of the places where it was believed that they had been buried. In this way the legends would presumably be current originally only in the particular districts which recognized as its sanctuary some holy place such as, for example, Beersheba, Hebron, Bethel, or Shechem. With the gradual unification of the tribes the eponymous ancestor of one tribe would come to be regarded as the ancestor of all other tribes associated with it, and would at the same time take over all the legends related of the supposed ancestor.

On this supposition we have a perfectly natural explanation of the peregrinations of the patriarchs. The natural source of the stories of Abraham, for example, is to be looked for at Hebron, at all events in Judah. The statements therefore that Abraham built altars at Shechem and at Bethel are probably merely the outcome of the desire, which arose after the unification of the people, to trace back the sanctifications of each altar to the earliest common ancestor. But if this be so, the story of Abraham in E must belong to the later *strata* of that document. They might conceivably have found their way into N. Israel before the disruption of the kingdom; in that case however, if stories of Abraham were told both at Shechem and at Bethel, Hosea's silence as to Abraham is scarcely explicable. On the other hand, in the seventh century B. C., when the destruction of N. Israel had removed the ground cause of jealousy between the two kingdoms, and when, at all events among the reforming party, there was a general *rapprochement* and a growing sense of the unity of Israel, it is easy enough to understand how Judaeon stories would become current in N. Israel, and how N. Israel stories in Judah. It is no argument for the exclusively northern origin of the story of Abraham that it is apparently not contained in J (the Jahvistic elements being probably due to the redactor). If we assume that the story rests upon a Judaeon legend, its absence from J can nevertheless be easily accounted for; since its earliest form was probably such that the Judaeon prophets, having to contend against Moloch worship, would have deliberately rejected it. But if the story of Abraham's sacrifice only took shape in N. Israel in the seventh century B. C., can a very high antiquity be claimed for the *Elohim* story as a whole?

Dr Procksch finds the explanation of the prophetic character of the influence of Elijah. But without calling in question the importance of Elijah's work it may be pointed out that the conception of a prop-

which we have in E accords far better with the age following Hosea's labours than with the previous century.

Although Dr Procksch does not claim for the Book of the Covenant so great an antiquity as for the *Grundschrift* of E, assigning it approximately to the year 700 B. C., he maintains that in substance it is for the most part much older, and to a great extent Mosaic. It is, however, extremely improbable that any prohibition of images existed, at the earliest, before the time of Hosea; for it is difficult to believe that, if Hosea had known of a law against image worship purporting to be Mosaic, he would not have appealed to it. Moreover, the law allowing a plurality of altars (Exodus xx 24 f) may well have been formulated at any time before the adoption of the law of the One Sanctuary, which took place in N. Israel certainly not before 621, and probably some time during the sixth century B. C.

It must be remembered that the inferiority of the teaching of J and E to that of Hosea or Isaiah is not an argument for the priority of their writing. As a matter of fact, the law of the One Sanctuary (inferior as it is in some respects to the teaching of the prophets) was only arrived at as the result of successive compromises. In every reformation there are some who either do not agree with the extreme teaching of the leading reformers, or who are unable to see for themselves the full bearing of that teaching on their earlier beliefs and customs. It was not till some two centuries after the time of Hosea that a school of thought arose which judged all the past in a cold pragmatism.

In his reconstruction of the history Dr Procksch rightly attaches great weight to the division of the nation into the Leah and Rachel tribes, though his sketch of the early history of the Leah tribes is scarcely convincing. Surely, considering the way in which the narratives of the Hexateuch are strung together, Genesis xxxv 22 is insufficient to prove that Reuben formerly occupied a district west of the Jordan.

It is the duty of a critic to criticize, but it is only fair to acknowledge that the above criticism deals with matters on which it would be vain to expect unanimity.

Dr Procksch's work is accurate and scholarly, and whatever the ultimate verdict on his theories may be, it must be admitted that his work is a valuable contribution to the evidence on which the decision must finally be given. It is much to be hoped that the present work may stimulate more scholars to labour in the same field.

The Three Additions to Daniel, by WILLIAM HEAFORD DAUBNEY, B.D.
(Cambridge, Deighton Bell & Co., 1906.)

THOSE representatives of traditional orthodoxy who welcome any defence of views assailed by the 'higher criticism' will find this book a

veritable oasis in the desert. Although the writer does not dogmatically assert that the three additions to Daniel are historical, it would appear that he himself is inclined to this opinion. His discussion of the historical character of the additions is particularly striking. Thus he writes (p. 214): 'As described in the Greek, Daniel's method of destroying the Dragon appears quite inadequate to effect his purpose. The ingredients named as composing the ball do not seem capable of achieving the result which followed. But in Gaster's Aramaic a different light is thrown upon the matter; for the ball is merely used as a vehicle to conceal sharp teeth embedded in it, so that the Dragon might swallow them unawares, and sustain internally a fatal laceration': and again (p. 230), in a discussion of the difficulty of making Habakkuk 'a contemporary of the grown-up Daniel'—'The fact incidentally brought out in the story that Habakkuk was not engaged in reaping, but was occupied in taking out food for the reapers, fits in well with the idea of his advanced age. Such a task might well be undertaken by one who was no longer strong enough for field labour.' In the light of this explanation it is much to be wished that Mr Daubney had discussed the difficulty presented by the transportation of so aged a person from Judaea to Babylon in the singularly unceremonious way described in *v.* 36.

The Chronology of the Old Testament, by the Reverend DAVID ROSS FOTHERINGHAM, M.A. (Cambridge, Deighton Bell & Co., 1906.)

THIS book is an ingenious and laborious, but, it must be admitted, a not very successful attempt to rehabilitate Old Testament chronology. Not only is Mr Fotheringham disposed to assume that with few exceptions the chronological statements in the Old Testament are excerpted from genuine historical records, ignoring the temptation which would beset a compiler to fill up gaps by his own inferences, but he also argues too frequently from the text as it stands. Thus, for example, in 2 Kings viii 16 he accepts both the translation and explanation of the Authorized Version. But can it be seriously maintained by any Hebrew scholar that a Hebrew writer, if he had meant to state that Jehoram was made regent in his father's lifetime, or reigned conjointly with his father, would have stated it in the words of the Masoretic text?

Old Testament History for Sixth-form Boys, by Rev. T. NICKLIN, M.A.
Part I. From the Call of Abraham to the Death of Joshua.
Part III. From the Death of Jehoshaphat. (London, Adam & Charles Black, 1906, 1905.)

IN the first of these little books it is to be feared that the author has attempted the impossible, viz. to produce a work which may be used by both those who accept and those who reject the conclusions of the

'higher criticism'. The result is, notwithstanding an honest effort to set forth the views of both schools, a halting between two opinions. Considering the 'advanced views' which Mr Nicklin holds on many points, it is curious to find him apparently accepting as facts statements which, if the critical division of the documents be allowed, can scarcely claim to be considered historical. The book contains, it is true, much that is valuable as an introduction to Old Testament study, and its reverent tone is greatly to be commended; but it is to be feared that, while it will certainly shake the readers' faith in the traditional views, it gives them only a somewhat vague idea of critical opinions. There are two ways of using Genesis open to the Christian student. One is to take the stories as they stand, and draw from them spiritual lessons as from our Lord's parables; the other is to analyse them critically and to learn from the analysis the evolution of religious ideas in Israel. The defect of Mr Nicklin's book is that it appears to confound the two uses.

The general plan of the second of these volumes (Part III) as well as its tone, is altogether praiseworthy. Mr Nicklin has made it his object to point out the vital connexion between the Old Testament and the history of the nation in which it was produced. The extracts which he gives from the teaching of the Prophets are calculated not only to make the dry bones of history live, but also to shew English readers the true centre of gravity of the Old Testament.

The chief defect in the book is a tendency to state dogmatically controverted theories. Such a defect is perhaps in some measure inseparable from a book intended for the use of schoolboys. Every teacher of elementary lessons knows how the average pupil clamours for dogmatic certainty, and resents the presentation to him of alternative theories. Nevertheless, what is at best only probable should not be stated as fact, no matter how great the authority of the scholar whose opinion it is. Thus, to give but one illustration, Robertson Smith's theory that Jachin and Boaz were pillar altars remains but a theory; yet Mr Nicklin says (p. 66) that 'the King reserved to himself the office of putting blood on the old Jachin pillar which Solomon set at the front of the Temple'.

It would be well also if it were pointed out that the dates are in many cases only approximate, and in some altogether doubtful.

R. H. KENNETT.

NEW TESTAMENT CRITICISM AND APOLOGETIC.

The Genuineness and Authorship of the Pastoral Epistles, by the Rev. J. D. JAMES, B.D. (Longmans, 1906), is, the author tells us, VOL. VIII.

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'a humble attempt to maintain the integrity of' these much-debated writings, and he has spent much time and pains in essaying to meet objections, to marshal and enlarge on arguments for their Pauline origin. The external evidence is, practically, decisive for him; in dating the Epistles in the years which lie between the conjectured release and the martyrdom of the Apostle, he finds no trace of 'anything more than a Rabbinic speculative Judaism', and urges that the ecclesiastical conditions illustrated might well have existed 'within St Paul's lifetime'. 'The personality of St Paul is easily discerned beneath differences of situation, tone, and topic; if 'the peculiarities of style and vocabulary' undeniably present 'a serious difficulty' it is not insuperable, and a solution of many problems is possibly to be found 'in the close intimacy which existed at this time between St Paul and St Luke'. Mr James is, in short, conservative throughout. I need only point out that now and again he appears quite unconscious that his assumed facts are gravely questioned:—'the book of the Acts was written a little more than two years after St Paul's arrival in Rome'; 'we have also historical evidence that St John during his later years exercised very great influence in the development of the episcopate'. His book is by no means destitute of value; but its usefulness is largely due to the abundance of excerpt and quotation and the expansion of notices and allusions gleaned from those who have led the way while the author is content to follow. To judge from some lines in the preface—reminding us, by the way, of what Dr R. F. Horton said half a dozen years ago in his Introduction (*Century Bible*) to these Epistles—I should say that the very 'latest expression of opinion on the part of Continental scholars' has scarcely reached him.

Is Religion Undermined? by Rev. C. L. DRAWBRIDGE, M.A. (London, 1906), is a book penned for the special benefit of those who, though possessed of a certain amount of knowledge, suppose that 'the foundations of religion have been undermined by modern investigation'. Mr Drawbridge will shew them their mistake, and accordingly he proceeds to discuss great subjects in a way which should arrest and retain attention. He has done some independent thinking; his reading has been extensive; his pages bristle with quotations which, often taken from eminent men of science and divines, will have weight with some who might look askance at his own unsupported arguments and assertions. Where so much is packed within a narrow compass there can, of course, be no question of exhaustive treatment; there is ground, however, for doubt whether Mr Drawbridge be exactly a master in every region of the wide field which he will traverse with his 'critical readers'. It is perfectly true (a truth rightly emphasized) that 'the Anglican Church

claims inerrability neither for herself nor for her literature'; is it equally true that, as the footnote implies, she has revised Bible and Prayer-book in precisely the same fashion? The remark that 'upon subjects which Jesus Christ ventured to speak of only in parables some men are exceedingly dogmatic' is capable of a construction which Mr Drawbridge would be quick to deprecate. He is clearly unaware of the essential difference between 'the custom of the Jews' and that of the Egyptians in regard to burial; hence his astounding assertion that the 'process of embalming' would 'inevitably have killed Christ had he not been already dead'! His allusion to the late Dr Dale as 'a Nonconformist and therefore a politician' is surely a breach of good taste. To fasten on inaccuracies and defects is not, however, to pronounce an entirely adverse verdict on a book which, after all, has many good points. It should be found useful in the case of those who are aloof from the Church's life, perhaps aggressively hostile to a religion too often identified with 'forms of theology' which, because obsolete, no longer satisfy but repel.

The Spirit in the Letter of the Word, as revealed by Oriental Imagery, by WILLIAM RICHARDS (Elliot Stock, 1905), is a curious little book, the eccentric author of which is eager to bring enlightenment to Bible readers. He knows, or is satisfied that he knows, the mystic significance of texts and passages of Holy Writ which 'have been stumbling-blocks for many years', and it must be frankly admitted that his allegorical interpretations have the merit of originality and the charm of novelty. Two illustrations shall suffice:—Commenting on St Paul's words on the Resurrection body, Mr Richards gravely writes: "Another of fishes", such as the shark. Some people to-day are called "sharks", "land-sharks"; and so on. And again, discussing the story of Noah overcome with wine, he remarks as follows: 'We see here the Church naked and not ashamed. Ham is the Lord, Who saw the nakedness of the Church, but his supposed brethren saw it not and covered it, as they do to-day'!

In *Spiritual Difficulties in the Bible and the Prayer-Book*, by H. MORTIMER LUCKOCK, D.D. (Longmans, 1905), the Dean of Lichfield addresses his large circle of appreciative readers, who will doubtless feel their debt of gratitude increased by a perusal of the present volume. In its opening and closing pages he discourses of 'The Ministrations of the Angels'—'intensely real and personal beings'—and 'The Life of the Faithful after Death'; we are told that in the unseen world there will surely be continued growth and conscious fellowship, 'spiritual activity and restful labours' for transplanted human worth. Chapter after chapter is devoted to 'subjects which have been often brought within

the arena of theological controversy', but the controversial spirit studiously avoided. Dr Luckock's standpoint is certainly not that of the modern critic; and some of his suggestions (e. g. that Deborah merely foretells how 'women in the tent' would bless the name of her who wreaked vengeance on the author of their shame and wrong, and that some of the imprecatory psalms may be robbed of their jarring note by transferring their maledictions from the psalmist to his vindictive foes) will not too readily command acceptance. The case is different where he seizes on the moral of the Parable of the Unjust Steward, and emphasizes the value of the lost piece of money by a telling allusion to the necklace of coins bestowed on Jewish bride by Jewish bridegroom. The story of the adulterous woman is invested with beautiful significance; the message to the Church of Laodicea receives what is at any rate a novel interpretation, as the terms 'hot' and 'cold' are alike explained of something good, 'burning enthusiasm,' 'cold, calm, deliberate resolve'. Numerous other matters are treated of, but space forbids longer notice of a work which is certainly characterized by erudition, felicity of style, and great plainness of speech. Throughout interesting and not seldom really helpful it may not always convince, but it will stimulate reflexion.

Our Lord's Resurrection, by the Rev. W. J. SPARROW SIMPSON (Oxford Library of Practical Theology: Longmans, 1905), is a work which is appealing in the first instance to the 'devout laymen' for whom the series is intended, might be perused to advantage by religious outsiders by those who are but on the fringe of the Church's life. Mr Sparrow Simpson is eager to break a lance with 'rationalistic' commentators; he has first-hand knowledge of many of their writings, and it must be owned that his observations on the contradictions and 'questionable assumptions' of a negative criticism reveal genuine insight and are often well founded and thoroughly to the point. But if prompt to dispose of certain 'modern theories' as 'legends invented in the nineteenth century', he is quite willing to admit and welcome that criticism which bespeaks the balanced mind; while it is patent that he takes his stand with 'servants of the Catholic Creed and Church' it is equally obvious that he has never hesitated to face difficulties and that the conclusions arrived at are the outcome of prolonged reflexion. And he will have his readers think out thoughts with him; not for a moment will he have them hold their judgement blind; he makes it his aim to strengthen faith or to bring conviction by a process of patient investigation and sustained argument. It goes without saying that some will be inclined to join issue with him in regard to some of his premisses; even then they will do ample justice to his scholarly handling of a difficult and

momentous subject. His arrangement of matter is excellent ; the tone devotional yet sober and restrained ; the style, direct and lucid, exactly suited to the purpose. The book will rank as a very able contribution to the series to which it belongs.

H. L. JACKSON.

The Tradition of Scripture: its origin, authority, and interpretation, by the Rev. W. BARRY, D.D. (Longmans, Green & Co., London, 1906)—the first volume of 'The Westminster Library', which is intended to deal with the 'large outlying field of professional knowledge which is always in danger of being crowded out in the years before ordination' of Roman Catholic clergy (inasmuch as their preliminary studies deal mainly with dogmatic and moral theology)—seems to me to fulfil its purpose admirably. If the learned author contrives to leave the impression that the traditional view of the Bible is less fundamentally shaken by recent research than it really is, at least he recognizes the literary and historical method of study ; and if he retains the authority of the Church as the ultimate arbiter, he allows a very wide scope for the work of scholars in influencing the decision. The sentences in which he sums up his statement of the problems connected with the *Book of Isaiah* and the *Gospel according to St John* may be taken as expressing the spirit of the whole. As to *Isaiah* he writes : 'Until the Church utters her sentence, individual writers would manifestly be exceeding their commission, if they did more than set out the reasons on each side, within the bounds of orthodoxy, for the opinions advanced. That our *Book of Isaiah* is sacred and canonical we have been taught by conciliar decisions. That it contains the prophecies of the son of Amoz tradition tells us, and critics of every shade maintain. But whether it holds any besides them, and, if so, which are the additions to the original stock, authority has not thus far pronounced.' And as to the Fourth Gospel : 'To define our work as "the Gospel of John the Elder according to John the Apostle"—a phrase of Harnack's which made no small impression not many years ago—is to mingle the certain and the uncertain. That John the Apostle originated Gospel, Epistles, Apocalypse, we have learnt from a sure tradition. . . . But if each of the other Gospels exhibits a double influence, . . . there is no reason *a priori* to forbid our distinguishing in the Johannine between matter and form.'

Clergymen of the Church of England are, of course, allowed much greater freedom of utterance than this, but they may learn from Dr Barry's book much that is of intrinsic value, and—not of least importance—what is the official attitude of the authorities of the Church of Rome in England to the 'higher criticism'.

That the Faith of the Church will remain, strengthened and secure, whatever be the issue of criticism, is declared to be also the opinion of the 1725 clergy of the Anglican Communion whose *Declaration on Biblical Criticism*, issued last year, has been published in book form (A. & C. Black, London, 1906), edited, with an introduction and a list of names and various comments, by Mr HUBERT HANDLEY, honorary secretary of the committee.

The same subject is dealt with on a larger scale by M. ALBERT HOUTIN in *La Question Biblique au XX^e Siècle* (E. Nourry, Paris, 1906). Here we have an account of the general state of the question of the inspiration of the Bible among Christians and Rationalists, the attitude of liberal Protestants to biblical criticism, and a collection of the documents relating to the controversy roused by M. Loisy's publication. The author's aim has been to let the facts and the documents tell their own tale, and only to add himself such explanations as seemed necessary to put them in their true historical perspective. In so doing he has produced a book which is of no little interest and value, though his own sympathies are so strongly on the side opposed to tradition that he cannot properly appreciate the position of those who follow the modern method of criticism but do not come to the most 'advanced' conclusions.

In *The Prophet of Nazareth*, by NATHANIEL SCHMIDT, Professor of Semitic Languages and Literatures in Cornell University and Director of the American School of Archaeology in Jerusalem (The Macmillan Co., New York, 1905), we have a work typical of the point of view of the origin of Christianity and its later developements which is already widely current in Germany. The spirit and the style of the book is shewn in the following sentences from the preface:—'Just and thoughtful men will always remember with gratitude the master-builders who reared the imposing structure of Christian dogma and the faithful believers of every name and denomination who have translated its most valuable thought into lives of spiritual beauty. But as the blessings of a truer knowledge and a larger faith become apparent, they will also accord due honour to the master-miners who have shattered the foundations of untenable dogmas, and most of all to the souls who, free from the bondage of external authority or the ambition for earthly rewards, have passionately striven for the truth . . . and laboured for the emancipation and improvement of the human race, in truest imitation of Him who lived and died for the sake of the kingdom of heaven.'

In this spirit Prof. Schmidt has aimed at tracing the history and sifting the whole evidence, and the general result of his critical study of the records may be stated in his own words. He 'found himself borne along by the force of what seemed to him incontrovertible facts to the

conviction that Jesus of Nazareth actually existed, that some of the events of His life may be known to us, that some of His words may be recovered, and that His personality, imperfectly as we know it, and widely as it differed from the estimate of the Church, is as sublime and potent for good as ever'.

The chapters on 'the Decline of Dogma' and 'the Present Problem' have perhaps some special interest.

J. F. B-B.

Jesus, wer er geschichtlich war, by ARNO NEUMANN (Paul Waetzel, Freiburg i. B., 1904), is the fourth volume of a series entitled 'New Paths to the old God'. The book is designed not so much for theologians as for the educated classes generally, for whom it would portray the Jesus of history in place of the Christ of dogmatics. A true historical description of the personal history and teaching of Jesus implies, however, in the mind of the author, the entire elimination of the supernatural element: everything in the Gospel narrative, which cannot be accounted for by natural causes, must be rejected. The author is, no doubt, sincerely desirous of conserving the ethical teaching of Christianity. He thinks that to strip off from the personality of Jesus all traces of supernatural 'ornamentation', and to represent Him as a true man, is to render service to many of the laity whose minds have been trained by the teaching of science and history to see unchangeable law reigning in God's world. They will thus, he hopes, be rescued from entire unbelief, and will appreciate the greatness of the human personality of Jesus and the depth of His moral teaching.

The book seems to be typical of the theological position of many preachers both in Germany and in Switzerland, and as such it may be worth attention. But the author's claim that his portraiture of Jesus is not an arbitrary one, but stands on firm historical ground, cannot for a moment be allowed. His whole treatment of the subject is vitiated by his preconceived opinion that nothing can occur which transcends the natural; and, as he approaches his sources with this settled judgement in his mind, whatever does not coincide with it, is rejected as belonging to a late stage of the tradition.

G. A. SCHNEIDER.

The Historic Christ, by the Rev. T. A. LACEY (Longmans, Green & Co., London, 1905), is a valuable defence of traditional views, in which timely stress is laid on the fact that the books of the New Testament which contain the accounts of the Resurrection and the Birth of our Lord were received by the Church because they were in accord with the traditional beliefs. Mr Lacey insists that the Fourth Gospel is identical with the Pauline gospel of the death and resurrection of Jesus—the significance of which for St Paul lay in the fact that He was the Son of

God—and cannot be thought of as a late developement growing out of the simple elements preserved in the synoptists. The lectures are full of close reasoning and interesting suggestions. Two of them are replies to Dr Inge's contention that M. Loisy and Mr Lacey upheld 'a formal orthodoxy based on extreme scepticism'.

One of the avowed aims of *St Paul, the Man and his Work*, by H. WEINEL, Professor of Theology in the University of Jena, translated by the Rev. G. A. Bienemann, M.A., and edited by the Rev. W. C. Morrison, LL.D. (Williams & Norgate, London, 1906), is 'to make our people understand and love St Paul'. That the author himself is inspired by an enthusiastic admiration for the great apostle is evident and we may well hope that the contagion will pass to his readers. To review the book adequately would be to review the whole question of the historical value of the Acts of the Apostles and the genuineness of St Paul's Epistles. There is so much that is admirable and attractive in the book, that no one could fail to read it with interest and profit: but again and again I can only feel how arbitrary are the presuppositions as to the early history of the Church that underlie it all, and how purely individualistic is the treatment of the evidence. It is no part of the author's purpose in this book to discuss such questions, nor need I give instances. Only one may be permitted to doubt whether the 'schoolmasters and other teachers of religion', who naturally enough asked Prof. Weinel to publish in book form his articles in the *Christliche Welt* will not have their love of St Paul enhanced at the cost of some serious misunderstanding of the principles by which sound criticism of the New Testament must be controlled.

J. F. B-B.

S. Jean et la fin de l'âge apostolique, by the Abbé C. FOUARD (Paris 1905), is the last volume of a series which the author has published under the general title *Les Origines de l'Église*. The other volumes have been translated into English by G. F. X. Griffith, *The Christ the Son of God, a life of our Lord*; *St Peter and the first years of Christianity*; *St Paul and his missions*; and *The last years of St Paul* the first and the last containing short introductions by Cardinal Mannin and Cardinal Gibbon respectively. The volume on St John has been published since the death of the author, from his manuscript which he left complete. It has now reached a second edition in French. The book gives a general account of each of the Johannine writings with large extracts, and several chapters on the history of the times beginning with an account of Palestine after the fall of Jerusalem, the Church under the Flavian Emperors, the persecution under Domitian and the letter of Clement; and ending with a short sketch of the con-

dition of the Church immediately after the death of St John. It is written with the clearness and charm of style which seem to be the natural gifts of all Frenchmen, and the author's learning is apparent on every page. But it can hardly be said to contribute much to our knowledge of the history of the period with which it deals. The point of view from which it is written is clearly shewn in such sentences as the following, in which the author justifies his assignment of the saying in the Gospel according to the Hebrews about the Holy Spirit and Mount Tabor to the Ebionite as opposed to the Nazarene element in that Gospel, 'Comment croire que des Églises éclairées et guidées alors par des hommes apostoliques aient pu tenir pour authentiques de pareilles rêveries?' It is certainly surprising to learn in a book published in 1904, and reprinted in 1905, that the version of the LXX, made from copies sent to the Jews of Alexandria by the Rabbis of Palestine, determines the writings held to be divine in the schools of Judaea a century before the Christian era, and that it was the later Rabbis who 'sacrificed' Tobit, Judith, Wisdom, and the rest of the Apocrypha: 'On voit tout ce que rejetait l'aveugle critique des Rabbis.' The Introduction deals with the Johannine question, especially the external attestation to the books. The author is clearly well acquainted with a good deal of the most recent criticism, though he has apparently less knowledge of its earlier stages. But the results are hardly convincing. The burden of the whole is that St Irenaeus tells us that the books are the work of the Apostle, and St Irenaeus cannot have made a mistake. And we can hardly read any part of the book without feeling that what is being put before us is history as it must have been, if ecclesiastical tradition was never at fault. But the earlier chapters give an interesting account of the history of Palestine after A. D. 70, and of Christianity under the Flavian Emperors. In the chapters which describe the Johannine writings, and make large extracts from them, true insight is shewn, as we should naturally expect from such a writer, into their spiritual import and real value. The general impression which the book leaves cannot be stated better than in the words of the Editors in their short preface—'Le manuscrit fera regretter plus encore aux lecteurs la fin prématurée d'un homme dont les œuvres et la vie ont eu pour but unique la gloire de Jésus. Dieu a anticipé le salaire pour ce bon ouvrier. Ses yeux contemplent aujourd'hui la divine face du Christ, qu'il a dépeinte avec amour et ravivée dans tant de cœurs.'

A. E. BROOKE.

Saint John and the Close of the Apostolic Age (Longmans, Green & Co., London, 1905) is an English translation of the last-mentioned work

by the Abbé Fouard. The translation, which is anonymous though 'authorized', shews abundant signs of its French original and an imperfect knowledge of English; and the revision of the proofs has not been thorough. But though the book does not read easily, it will doubtless be of value to many to whose notice it would not come in its original form.

L'Évangile selon Saint Jean, by Père TH. CALMES (V. Lecoffre, Paris, 1906), is an abridged edition of the book which was noticed in the JOURNAL vol. vi p. 144.

After twenty years a fourth edition of Scrivener's *New Testament Greek*, printed on India paper, is published by Messrs Deighton, B. & Co. (Cambridge, 1906), revised and corrected by Dr NESTLE, with the aid of corrections by Dr Schmiedel. Dr Nestle's name guarantees the microscopic accuracy of the new edition, the need of which is shewn in the interesting explanatory preface in English which he publishes as a separate leaflet with the book.

Mr F. C. CONYBEARE and Mr ST GEORGE STOCK give us a most useful introduction to the Greek of the Septuagint in a small volume entitled *Selections from the Septuagint* (Ginn & Co.). An excellent account of the history of this and other Greek translations of the Old Testament is followed by chapters on accident and syntax, which give just the kind of information that a reader of the Septuagint needs. The *Selections* are seven in number (the 'stories' of Joseph, the Exodus, Balaam and Balak, Samson, David and Goliath, Elijah, and Hezekiah and Sennacherib), and the notes are useful, though too often they deal with words only when difficulties of thought demand explanation. The historical and literary standpoint of the editors is expressed in the adaptation of words of Plato—'The truth in these matters God knows, but that what the Higher Critics say is like the truth—this we would venture to affirm'.

Biblical Christianity, by H. LÜDEMANN, D.D., Professor of Theology in the University of Bern, translated by M. A. Canney, M.A. (A. Owen & Co., London, 1905), is another of the attempts to which we are now accustomed, to commend the *residuum* of the Christian religion which is called 'the Christianity of Christ and the Bible', freed from all the accretions of dogma and theology and worn-out ideas of the universal Church. The essence of the Gospel is 'God's eternal love for the children of men' in spite of their sin; Jesus realized this as no one else had ever realized it, and so was able 'to come forward as the redeemer of mankind'. The pamphlet represents the attitude of Liberal Protestantism in Germany, and is written with the religious warmth which characterizes the writings of other members of the school.

The Truth of Christianity, by Lt.-Col. W. H. TURTON, D.S.O., Royal Engineers (Wells Gardner, Darton & Co., London, 1905), is a defence on thoroughly traditional lines. When the third edition appeared in 1900 it was warmly welcomed in many quarters, and the fact that a fifth edition, carefully revised throughout, is now published is sufficient evidence that it has been found of use to many readers.

A new and revised edition of *Studies in the Character of Christ*, by the Rev. C. H. ROBINSON, and a re-issue of the sequel to that book, *Human Nature a Revelation of the Divine*, Parts II and III, the substance of Part I being incorporated in the former volume, were published last year (Longmans, Green & Co., London, 1905).

The theme of a lecture published under the title *Jesus und das Sackopfer* by Lic. HANS VOLLMER (A. Töpelmann, Giessen, 1905) is the advantage to be derived from the comparative method of study of religious rites; and the particular example dealt with is an incident in the Gospel history—the Mockery of Christ by the soldiers.

Grotius long ago, referring to the account of the mockery of King Agrippa I by the populace at Alexandria in Philo in *Flaccum* v 6, suggested that the soldiers were imitating a scene from some Mime, well known to them though not to us. H. Reich, the author of a comprehensive work on the history of the Mime, has recently reaffirmed this explanation of the incident in his book *Der König mit der Dornenkrone* (Teubner, Leipzig, 1905). Other writers have connected it with the customs of the Saturnalia, and the sacrifice to Cronos which took place a month before the festival, originally of a human being, but in later times of a dummy figure.

Herr Vollmer now contests this explanation and, following a forgotten reference to Dio Chrysostom *De regno* iv 66 in Wetstein's edition of the New Testament (1752), finds the clue to the scene in the Persian festival of the Sakae, in which out of the prisoners under sentence of death one was chosen for the purpose of the rite, and seated on the king's throne, clothed in the royal apparel, allowed during the festival every pleasure he desired, and then at the end of it stripped of his royal robes, scourged, and impaled¹:—the whole process being a religious rite and the death of the chief agent being regarded as a sacrifice to the Deity. There is evidence that this rite was widespread in the districts of the empire which were most susceptible to Eastern influences, and Herr Vollmer argues that evidence that it had been introduced into the celebration of the Saturnalia in the army is furnished by the martyrdom of Dasius at

¹ Herr Vollmer translates 'und hängt ihn', but the regular sense of the word *κρεμάννυμι*, as applied to executions, is 'crucify' or 'impale': hanging was a form of suicide, but not of execution (see J. G. Frazer *The Golden Bough* vol. i p. 226 note).

Durostorum (Dorostolos) in the time of Diocletian (see the *Acts Dasius* ed. F. Cumont *Analecta Bollandiana* xvi p. 5 ff), and the survivals of the rite are to be seen in some of the customs connected with the Carnival (the custom of burning a dummy figure on the eve of Ash Wednesday, which was in use a hundred years ago at Bonn and has lately been revived, and the burial of Prince Carnival at Düsseldorf). So he thinks that Syrian troops in the time of Tiberius may well have been familiar with the customs of the festival of the Saka, and applied them in mockery to the prisoner who was charged with making himself a king. The *Gospel of Peter* and Justin *Apol.* i 35, when they represent our Lord as having been seated on the judgement seat, would thus have followed an accurate account of the details of the incident.

To any one who thinks that some remote explanation must be sought of so simple a piece of 'horse-play' on the part of the soldiers against a prisoner charged with making himself a king Herr Vollmer's essay may be welcome. To me it seems to be one of the instances in which recondite researches into other religious rites do not contribute anything to the understanding of the New Testament. The inference from such evidence as this that the incident described in the Gospels is not historical can only be characterized as absurd.

J. F. B-B.

Aids to Belief in the Miracles and Divinity of Christ, by the Rev. W. L. PAIGE-COX (London, Elliot Stock, 1905), is a book intended for business men, or other thoughtful persons, who have not time for technical study of theological questions. It is small but not 'thin': the tone of it is both strong and sympathetic. The author treats of miracles as signs rather than wonders, and discusses the historical character of the Gospels as the evidence of candid eyewitnesses. The Divinity of the Christ fulfils the hopes of the human race among Jews and Gentiles alike: the claim of Divinity is involved in the Sermon on the Mount and the Synoptic Gospels no less than in St John's Gospel. The Doctrine of the Trinity is an attempt to take account of all the facts of Revelation, while Unitarianism fails through its very simplicity. The author emphasizes the value of the Creeds, and the importance of the Incarnation as distinguished from the moral greatness of Jesus Christ. The book is written in the conviction that times of trial are times of progress, and that true science is not dangerous to the Faith. Some subjects are scantily treated—e. g. the evidence for the Resurrection and the Virgin Birth; but this may be due to the narrow limits of the book (ninety-two pages). It is none the less an honest and useful aid to belief in a scientific and critical age.

W. L. E. PARSONS.

RECENT PERIODICALS RELATING TO THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

(1) ENGLISH.

Church Quarterly Review, July 1906 (Vol. lxii, No. 124: Spottiswoode & Co.). Back to the Land—Archbishop Temple—The New Testament in Coptic—Mysticism and Discipline—James Redfern, Sculptor—Mohammed and the rise of Islam—Liberal Theology III—Education and Politics—Short Notices.

The Hibbert Journal, July 1906 (Vol. iv, No. 4: Williams & Norgate). O. LODGE First principles of Faith—KNOX LITTLE Denominationalism, Undenominationalism, and the Church of England—H. A. GARNET A layman's plea for the separation of the Creeds from Worship—H. B. GRAY The teaching of the Christian Religion in public schools—H. JONES The working faith of the social reformer IV—D. H. MACGREGOR The great fallacy of Idealism—R. H. SMITH Japanese character and its probable influence outside Japan—P. T. FORSYTH A rallying-ground for the Free Churches—K. C. ANDERSON Why not face the facts? an appeal to Protestants—C. E. STEPHEN Signs and wonders in divine guidance—E. GITTINS The suffering of the saints—B. W. BACON Gospel types in primitive tradition—Discussions—Reviews—Bibliography.

The Jewish Quarterly Review, July 1906 (Vol. xviii, No. 72: Macmillan & Co.). I. ELBOGEN Studies in the Jewish liturgy—H. HIRSCHFELD The Arabic portion of the Cairo Genizah at Cambridge (13th article)—D. PHILIPSON The Breslau Rabbinical Conference—M. N. ADLER The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela (concluded)—L. GINSBERG Geonic Responsa—G. H. SKIPWITH Ashtoreth, the goddess of the Zidonians—S. A. COOK Notes on Old Testament History V: Meribath-Kadesh—G. MARGOLIOUTH Critical Notice: Gunsburg and Stassoff's 'Hebrew Illuminated MSS'—A. MARX Notes on *J. Q. R.* xviii 399 ff—Bibliography.

The Expositor, July 1906 (Seventh Series, No. 7: Hodder & Stoughton). G. A. SMITH Ezra and Nehemiah—D. S. MARGOLIOUTH Dr Orr on the problem of the Old Testament—W. M. RAMSAY Tarsus

—W. KNIGHT The site of Capernaum—W. H. BENNETT The life of Christ according to St Mark—J. H. A. HART The Scribes of the Nazarenes—J. MOFFATT Notes on recent New Testament study.

August 1906 (Seventh Series, No. 8). J. H. MOULTON Synoptic Studies: I the Beatitudes—A. CARR St Paul's rule of life—G. A. SMITH Nehemiah's Jerusalem—W. M. RAMSAY Tarsus—D. M. M'INTYRE The mystical doctrine of Christ—N. J. D. WHITE The unchangeableness of Jesus Christ in relation to Christian Doctrine—S. A. COOK Old Testament Notes.

September 1906 (Seventh Series, No. 9). G. A. SMITH The Jewish Constitution from Nehemiah to the Maccabees—V. BARTLET Melito on the Muratorian Canon—H. T. F. DUCKWORTH The origin of the Book of Daniel—G. B. GRAY The alphabetic structure of Psalms ix and x—H. BLACK Personal religious influence—J. STALKER What is 'the communion of the Holy Ghost'?—W. M. RAMSAY Tarsus.

(2) AMERICAN.

The American Journal of Theology, July 1906 (Vol. x, No. 3: Chicago University Press). W. A. BROWN Changes in the theology of American Presbyterianism—H. P. SMITH The Old Testament Theory of Atonement—W. C. KEIRSTEAD Theological presuppositions of Ritschl—J. RICHARD The Church and Divorce—H. A. THOMPSON The Catholic Cultus of the Virgin Mary—S. M. JACKSON The Scorn of the World—a poem in three books: Book III—Recent theological literature.

The Princeton Theological Review, July 1906 (Vol. iv, No. 3: Philadelphia, MacCalla & Co). G. VOS Christian Faith and the truthfulness of Bible history—W. B. GREENE JR. Broad Churchism and the Christian Life—D. BEATON 'The marrow of modern divinity' and the Marrow controversy—J. LINDSAY The development of Scottish theology—F. W. LOETSCHER Schwenckfeld's participation in the Eucharistic controversy of the sixteenth century—Reviews of recent literature.

(3) FRENCH AND BELGIAN.

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THE LORD'S COMMAND TO BAPTIZE (ST MATTHEW XXVIII 19).

IN an article which I contributed to the JOURNAL in July 1905 (vol. vi no. 24) I dealt with the interpretation of the Lord's command to baptize recorded in Matt. xxviii 19 βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος. I quoted Bishop Westcott's emphatic commendation of the rendering in the R. V.—'baptizing them *into* the name' (see his *Some Lessons of the Revised Version of the New Testament* p. 62). On the other hand I referred to the Dean of Westminster's brief but decided advocacy of the rendering of the A. V.—'baptizing them *in* the name' (see his article on Baptism in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica* i 473). I added a statement of my own view—'I must say at once that I believe that the R. V. represents the meaning of the words far better than the A. V.; for I do not doubt that the Greek phrase connotes the idea of incorporation. But I venture to doubt whether all the conditions of the problem have been fully taken into account.' I then gave at some length my reasons for these opinions.

In the number of this JOURNAL for January 1906, the Dean expanded the arguments in support of the A. V., which he had summarized in the article in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica*. In the months which elapsed between my article and the Dean's I had been called to my present work; and in his article, with great consideration but to my own regret, the Dean forbore 'to examine in detail' my arguments. In studying therefore what he has written I have often found myself desiring simply to repeat what

I had already said. In this article I must to some extent recapitulate.

It is, I need hardly say, no want of respect for the Dean or the readers of this JOURNAL which has so long withheld my response to the Dean's article. I am sure that it will be readily understood that new and overwhelming duties have left me no leisure for work in the region of Biblical criticism.

In former days, when we were both resident in Cambridge, I sometimes had the privilege of discussing with Dr Robinson questions of exegesis and the like in which we were both interested. That, alas, is impossible now. The interpretation, however, of St Matthew's record of the Lord's command to baptize is a subject of such great importance that it will be worth while for me to venture to think, to endeavour to reach a conclusion by a discussion of each other's arguments. The best and fairest course is that throughout the following pages I should quote Dr Robinson's own statements of his arguments and of his conclusions. In this article, then, (1) I shall consider the Dean's interpretation of the words βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα: (2) I shall then discuss the rendering of the R. V. 'baptizing them into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit'; (3) I shall lastly say a few words on the suggestion which I made in my former article that the word βαπτίζοντες, if we were to fully grasp the meaning of the whole phrase, should be transliterated rather than transliterated.

I. The Dean's interpretation of the words is stated by him thus (p. 197): 'A confession of faith in the Name was a preliminary of baptism: an invocation of the Name was an essential part of the ceremony. The baptized person accepted a Master: he received remission of sins through His Name: he was "washed, sanctified, justified" in His Name: he was henceforth to "do all things" in His Name.'

Before going into detail it will be well to consider a matter of primary importance: What is the significance of the Name of God, the Name of Christ? In my former article I briefly spoke of 'the Hebrew mode of speech, whereby "the Name" was used as a reverential synonym for God Himself.' I now proceed to develop this conception of 'the Name'.

In the Old Testament I call attention to such passages as the following: Is. xxix 23, 'But when he seeth his children, the

of mine hands, in the midst of him, they shall sanctify my name; yea, they shall sanctify the Holy One of Jacob.' Ezek. xxxvi 23, 'And I will sanctify my great name, which hath been profaned among the nations, which ye have profaned in the midst of them; and the nations shall know that I am the Lord, saith the Lord God, when I shall be sanctified in you before their eyes.' In the latter of these two passages the words 'I will sanctify my great name' are taken up in the words 'when I shall be sanctified in you'. In the former, the clauses 'they shall sanctify my name' and 'they shall sanctify the Holy One of Jacob' are strictly parallel. In the same way sometimes God's name is said to be glorified (Ps. lxxxvi 9, 12), oftener God Himself (e.g. Lev. x 3, Ezek. xxviii 22); sometimes God's name is said to be blasphemed (e.g. Ps. lxxiv 18, Is. lii 5), sometimes God Himself (e.g. Is. xxxvii 6, 23, lxxv 7). These passages are typical. In later times the conception of the Name which is implied in such passages was formulated in the saying שמו הוא ויהוה שמו, 'His Name is He, and He is His Name' (see Buxtorf *Lex. Chald.* 2432). In the *Pirge Aboth* 'The Name' (iv 7, v 14) was used as a synonym for יהוה or "God" (Dr Taylor *Pirge Aboth* p. 67); and 'since the Name was used as a synonym for "God", the actions of God himself appeared to be attributed to the Name of God' (*ib.*). In Rabbinic writings we find the expression 'the name of The Name', i.e. 'the name of the Lord or of God'. To a Jew, then, the Name of God was 'a reverential synonym for God' as revealed and confessed by men.¹

The way is now prepared for a consideration of the Dean's interpretation of 'in the Name' in connexion with Baptism. 'It would seem', he writes (p. 194), 'as though from the earliest days baptism was accompanied by a confession of the Name on the part of the baptized as well as by an invocation of the Name on the part of the baptizer.' There is no doubt (1) that a confession of faith was required in primitive times from the person to be baptized; comp. e.g. the interpolation, as ancient as Irenaeus,

¹ It is worth while to note that this Jewish use of the word *Name* is akin to the use of the word *ὄνομα* as meaning 'person' in somewhat late Greek. Deissmann *Bible Studies* (p. 196) gives illustrations from the Papyri of the second and third centuries A.D. Such a use of *ὄνομα* is found in Acts i 15, Apoc. iii 4, xi 13 (see Dr Swete's notes); comp. Clem. Rom. i (see Bp. Lightfoot's note), Ign. *ad Eph.* 1.

in Acts viii 37; (2) that in post-apostolic days there was an invocation of the Name on the baptized; see e.g. Justin Martyr *Ap.* i 61 (94 D).

But what is the evidence for this invocation in apostolic times? One passage is quoted, viz. Acts xxii 16. Ananias is here represented as saying to Saul of Tarsus: καὶ νῦν τί μέλλεις; ἀναστὰς βάπτισαι καὶ ἀπόλυνσαι τὰς ἁμαρτίας σου ἐπικαλεσάμενος τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ. Two points are to be observed. (1) The words ἐπικαλεσάμενος τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ are used in reference to him who receives, not in reference to him who administers, Baptism. (2) The phrase ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τὸ ὄνομα is in the LXX the translation of the Hebrew words *וַיִּקְרָא*, e.g. Gen. iv 26, xxi 33, Ps. lxxix (lxxx) 19, civ (cv) 1. In these passages the meaning is 'to call upon the Name' of the Lord in worship and prayer; there is no idea of invocation in the proper sense of the term. In the New Testament the phrase is used in the same sense as in the LXX in Acts ii 21 (Joel iii 5), ix 14, 21, Rom. x 13 (Joel l.c.), 1 Cor. i 2; comp. Acts vii 59, Rom. x 12, 14, 2 Tim. ii 22, 1 Pet. i 17. When invocation in the full sense is intended, the verb, I think, is always in the passive voice, and the person on whom the name is invoked is distinctly expressed, e.g. Deut. xxviii 10 τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου ἐπικέκληται σοι, 2 Chron. vii 14 ἐφ' οὗ τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐπικέκληται ἐπ' αὐτούς, Acts xv 17 (Amos ix 12), Jas. ii 7. Thus the one passage of the New Testament which is cited does not, when it is examined, bear out the position that an ἐπίκλησις of the Name was a part of the baptismal rite in apostolic times. Two other passages, however, are adduced as illustrative of this supposed custom; and these it is of some interest to discuss.

The one is 1 Cor. vi 11 καὶ ταῦτά τινες ἦτε· ἀλλὰ ἀπελούσασθε, ἀλλὰ ἡγιάσθητε, ἀλλὰ ἐδικαιώθητε ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ ἐν τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν. 'Though the word baptism is not used,' it is said, 'the rite is clearly referred to. It is a cleansing from past guilt and a consecration for the future—a hallowing in the holy Name.' But the action of the holy Name is not here contemplated apart from the action of that Divine Person who bears the Name. The action is the action of 'our Lord Jesus Christ' Himself, confessed by the convert. This personal reference is required by the parallelism (ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ ἐν τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν).

The Lord Jesus Christ Himself and the Spirit Himself both work in man's regeneration. We at once compare 1 Cor. i 2 *ἡγιασμένοις ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ*, and Gal. ii 17 *δικαιωθῆναι ἐν Χριστῷ*.

The other passage is Eph. v 26 *ἵνα αὐτὴν [sc. τὴν ἐκκλησίαν] ἁγιάσῃ καθάρισας τῷ λουτρῷ τοῦ ὕδατος ἐν ῥήματι*. 'The word', it is said, 'which is here brought into connexion with the "washing of water" is, according to the most probable interpretation, the same confession or invocation of the divine Name to which reference is made in Rom. x 9 *ἐὰν ὁμολογήσῃς τὸ ῥῆμα ἐν τῷ στόματί σου ὅτι ΚΥΡΙΟΣ ΙΗΣΟΥΣ* (cf. 1 Cor. xii 3).' It must be noticed that in Rom. x 9 the thought is not of an invocation of the Name but of the confession of the earliest Christian Creed (comp. Phil. ii 11). But what is the meaning of *ἐν ῥήματι*? The Dean's interpretation is that of Bishop Westcott. In his note on the passage the latter writes '*ἐν ῥήματι*, accompanied by the confession of the Christian Faith. For *ῥῆμα* compare Rom. x 9'. Yet I confess that the interpretation does not satisfy me. For in the first place, if this were the meaning, we should look for some clearer and more definite phrase. Rom. x 9 is not a real parallel; for there (1) the article is used (*τὸ ῥῆμα*); (2) the reference is made clear by the words which follow (*ὅτι . . .*). And in the second place this interpretation seems to me to intrude an alien thought. It is the action of Christ Himself on which the Apostle is dwelling throughout the context (*ἠγάπησεν . . . ἑαυτὸν παρέδωκεν . . . ἵνα ἁγιάσῃ καθάρισας . . . ἵνα παραστήσῃ*). The *ῥῆμα* must be a 'word', a fiat, of Christ.¹ Once when He was upon earth Christ spoke such a 'word'—*θέλω, καθάρισθῃτι* (Matt. viii 3). In the re-creation of man, as in the creation of the world (e. g. Hebr. i 3, xi 3), it is the Divine word which operates. Here too 'He speaks and it is done'.

I think then that we may put aside the explanation of the relation of the Name to Baptism which presupposes the invocation of the Name on the person to be baptized. There is no evidence for such a custom in Apostolic days.

II. I turn now to the investigation of Matt. xxviii 19.

I am sorry to detain my readers on a grammatical question. But the use of the preposition *εἰς* demands a brief investigation.

¹ Comp. Cyril of Jerus. *Catech.* iii 5 (Migne P. G. xxxiii 433) *ἐλευθερία ἁμαρτιῶν τῷ κύσματι διὰ τοῦ λουτροῦ τοῦ ὕδατος ἐν ῥήματι θεοῦ*.

The Dean writes (p. 189 note 2), 'I need hardly undertake the defence of the phrase "the interchangeability of the prepositions in late Greek". At one time *ἐν* with the dative was very commonly used after verbs of motion, and *εἰς* with the accusative after verbs of rest. In modern Greek *ἐν* has disappeared except in a few privileged phrases, and *εἰς* with the accusative has taken its place'. I cannot but think that there is some misunderstanding, or at least some serious exaggeration, here. On the supposition of the 'interchangeability of the prepositions' not a page of the New Testament would be intelligible. We have only to recall such a passage as Col. i 15-18 (*ἐν αὐτῷ ἐκτίσθη τὰ πάντα . . . τὰ πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν ἑκτίσται . . . τὰ πάντα ἐν αὐτῷ συνέστηκεν*), and we must admit that the two prepositions are not only distinguished but are both used with complete and deliberate precision. 'It cannot be denied', as I said in my former article (p. 500), 'that the N. T. supplies instances of the preposition *εἰς* being thinned down in meaning and differing little from *ἐν*. But to speak of the interchangeability of the prepositions is surely to overstate the case.' To this view I entirely adhere. The Dean refers to Blass *Grammatik des NTlichen Griechisch* § 39, 3 f; § 41. I turn to Blass and I find that he says (Trans. p. 122), 'From this intermixture, which meets us also in LXX and in Egyptian private records, no writer of narrative in the N. T. is free, with the exception of Matthew'. The last words are important for our present discussion; they warn us at a rate against lightly assuming that in any particular passage St Matthew uses *εἰς* for *ἐν*. Many of the passages in the N. T. where at first sight *εἰς* appears to be used for *ἐν* are capable of another explanation. I take, for example, the two passages to which the Dean refers in his note. The first is Matt. v 34 f, *ὁμόσαι . . . ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ . . . ἐν τῇ γῇ . . . εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα . . . ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ σου*. Here I believe that the writer instinctively avoided the phrase *ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις*, which superficially might have a local meaning, and that the use of *εἰς* here is parallel to the use of *εἰς* in Acts ii 25 (*Δαυεὶδ λέγει εἰς αὐτόν*), Eph. v 32, Heb. vii 14. It denotes, so to speak, the direction of the oath. No doubt in such a passage *εἰς* and *ἐν* do not widely differ. But to say that terms or phrases are synonymous is a very different thing from saying that they are identical in meaning. The

age is Luke iv 44 καὶ ἦν κηρύσσων εἰς τὰς συναγωγὰς
 is. If we remark how very commonly entrance into
 ogues is specially noted in the Apostolic writings and
 y in the Acts (Mark i 21, iii 1, Luke vi 6, Acts xiii 14,
 10, xviii 19, xix 8, Jas. ii 2), I do not think that we
 any difficulty in regarding this Lucan phrase as an
 'constructio praegnans' like the familiar εὐρέθη εἰς Ἀζωτον
 i 40.¹ No doubt the adoption of this construction was
 by the fact that the words κηρύσσων εἰς τὰς συναγωγὰς
 ther in the document which St Luke is here following
) καὶ ἦλθεν κηρύσσων εἰς τὰς συναγωγὰς αὐτῶν).
 not here concerned with 'late Greek' but with Hellenistic
 he first century A.D. The process whereby ultimately
 took the place of ἐν had already begun, but it had
 s yet only an early stage. I doubt if it had got
 undue fondness (to judge by the standard of classical
 the use of the *constructio praegnans* in prose.

we then to consider St Matthew's phrase βαπτίζοντες
 τὸ ὄνομα. The Dean proposes to follow 'the recognized
 hat the interpretation of a writer should first be sought in
 language in other passages of his own writing' (p. 191).
 cation of this principle in this case, however, neglects
 al element in the investigation. The principle is of
 nportance when we are dealing with a phrase which is
 s own invention or which he uses in a new application.
 quite secondary importance when the writer employs
 sion which he inherits and which is the common
 of his contemporaries.

we find the phrase βαπτίζειν (-εσθαι) εἰς τὸ ὄνομα in the
 passages—

13 ἡ εἰς τὸ ὄνομα Παύλου ἐβαπτίσθητε ;
 μή τις εἶπη ὅτι εἰς τὸ ἐμὸν ὄνομα ἐβαπτίσθητε.
 16 μόνον δὲ βεβαπτισμένοι ὑπῆρχον εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου

βαπτίσθησαν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ.²

mer suggests as an alternative interpretation that εἰς may here express
 or direction of the preaching (Mark iv 15, Jn. viii 26). Comp. ἐς τὸν
 ἄγῳσιν (Thuc. v 45. 1).

ogue, of which these words form part, is instructive. St Paul asks,

St Paul wrote the First Epistle to the Corinthians long before the Gospel according to St Matthew was written. And the way in which St Paul uses the phrase in application to himself shews. I think, that it was a phrase well known to his correspondent in a higher application; in other words, that the phrase βαπτίζει εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ, or the like, was then current among Christians. The scope of his appeal is that the Corinthians should not put him, the servant, in the place of the one Saviour and Master — μὴ Παῦλος ἐσταυρώθῃ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν; His plea would have been robbed of its point and force, had he been coining a new expression. We need not for our present purpose endeavour to settle the relative dates of the Acts and of the First Gospel. St Luke wrote independently of St Matthew, if not at an earlier time. The evidence in my judgement clearly shews that the phrase had long been the common possession of Greek-speaking Christians when the First Gospel was composed.

With this proviso we will examine the usage of St Matthew. The passages are—

vii 22 οὐ τῷ σῷ ὀνόματι ἐπροφητεύσαμεν . . . δαιμόνια ἐξεβάλομεν . . . ὀνόματι πολλὰς ἐποιήσαμεν;

xii 21 τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ ἔθνη ἐλπιούσω (Is. xlii 4; LXX ἐπὶ τῷ ὀν.).

xviii 5 ὃς ἐὰν δέξηται ἐν παιδίῳ τοιοῦτο ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματί μου (= Mark ix 37).

xxi 9 εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου (= Mark xi 9; Ps. cxvii (cxviii) 26).

xxiii 38 the same quotation from the Ps. (= Luke xiii 35).

xxiv 5 πολλοὶ ἐλεύσονται ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματί μου (= Mark xiii 6).

I have not included in this series the two passages in which (besides xxviii 20) εἰς (τὸ) ὄνομα occurs: they are considered below.

'We observe', it is said, 'that the common phrase ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι

'Did ye receive the Holy Ghost when ye believed?' The disciples answer, 'Nay, we did not so much as hear whether there is a Holy Ghost'. St Paul asks, 'Into what (εἰς τί) then were ye baptized?' They answer, 'Into John's baptism'. Clearly the historian represents the disciples as puzzled by St Paul's question, εἰς τί οὖν ἐβαπτίσθητε; In their ignorance they answer as best they can, εἰς τὸ Ἰωάννου βάπτισμα. If the point of St Paul's question had been 'What name was used or invoked when you were baptized?' the form of the question would have been ἐν ποίῳ ὀνόματι [cf. Acts iv 7] ἐβαπτίσθητε; Comp. Gregory of Nazianzus (quoted below p. 175) εἰς τί ἐβαπτίσθη; εἰς πατέρα; καλῶς.

and the less usual phrase ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι are not used by this author, except in passages which he has embodied from the works of other writers.' But what do the facts really amount to? If we set aside the phrase εἰς τὸ ὄνομα which is in dispute, then (1) in one passage (vii 22) St Matthew, instead of using the phrase ἐν τῷ σῷ ὀνόματι, adopted a construction found in the LXX of Jeremiah¹ and used the simple dative, adhering to the simple dative in the two following clauses; (2) in one quotation he writes τῷ ὀνόματι . . . ἐλπιοῦσιν where the LXX has ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι. It cannot surely be maintained that these two passages shew that St Matthew had a habit of avoiding the phrase ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι. On the other hand we may fairly ask the question why, if St Matthew had some degree of fondness for the phrase εἰς τὸ ὄνομα as equivalent to ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι, he did not use εἰς τὸ ὄνομα in any one of the above passages.

But there remain the two passages in which St Matthew employs the words εἰς (τὸ) ὄνομα. These, if I mistake not, will repay examination.

(i) x 41 f ὁ δεχόμενος προφήτην εἰς ὄνομα προφήτου μισθὸν προφήτου λήμψεται, καὶ ὁ δεχόμενος δίκαιον εἰς ὄνομα δικαίου μισθὸν δικαίου λήμψεται. καὶ ὅς ἂν ποτίσῃ ἕνα τῶν μικρῶν τούτων ποτήριον ψυχροῦ μόρου εἰς ὄνομα μαθητοῦ, ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, οὐ μὴ ἀπολέσῃ τὸν μισθὸν αὐτοῦ. 'Here', it is said, 'we can hardly translate εἰς ὄνομα προφήτου and εἰς ὄνομα δικαίου otherwise than "in the name of a prophet" and "in the name of a righteous man".' To speak frankly, however, while I can understand the meaning of the expression 'to receive a prophet in Christ's name', I find it difficult to understand the meaning of the expression 'to receive a prophet in the name of a prophet'. The sense which we plainly require is 'to receive a prophet as a prophet'. The thought is then clear. He who receives a prophet with a full recognition of his character as a prophet, shews by his power to recognize it that he himself has a share in the prophetic character; and he shall himself receive a prophet's reward. And, if we take into account what was said above of the significance of the word 'name' to a Jew, this is the meaning conveyed by the Greek.

¹ Jer. xiv 15 τῶν προφητεύοντων ἐπὶ [om. A] τῷ ὀνόματί μου, xxxiii (xxvi) 9 ἐπὶ ὀνόματι Κυρίου, 20 προφητεύον [ἐπὶ A] τῷ ὀνόματι Κυρίου, xxxiv 12 (xxvii 15) προφητεύουσιν [ἐπὶ A] τῷ ὀνόματί μου.

For this sense of *εἰς* in such a context it is sufficient to refer Matt. xxi 46 ἐφοβήθησαν τοὺς ὄχλους, ἐπεὶ εἰς προφήτην αὐτοὺς εἶχον.¹

Dr Robinson holds that his rendering is confirmed 'when we observe that the remainder of the passage appears to be an adaptation of Mark ix 41 ὃς γὰρ ἂν ποτίσῃ ὑμᾶς ποτήριον ὕδατος ἐν ὀνόματι ὅτι Χριστοῦ ἐστέ, ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι οὐ μὴ ἀπολέσῃ ὁ μισθὸν αὐτοῦ. It would seem that St Matthew preferred the simpler phrase "in the name of a disciple" to St Mark's phrase "in the name that ye are Christ's"; and also that he preferred to say *εἰς ὄνομα* rather than *ἐν ὀνόματι*. The rendering 'in the name that ye are Christ's' is certainly literal, but is it really intelligible? What, we ask, is the meaning of the words *ἐν ὀνόματι ὅτι Χριστοῦ ἐστέ*? I venture to submit the following interpretation. I think that a comma should be placed after *ἐν ὀνόματι* and that we should render 'in the Name, because ye are Christ's'. We have *τὸ θέλημα* used absolutely of the Divine will in Rom. ii 18. We have the anarthrous *θέλημα* of the Divine will probably in 1 Cor. xvi 12 and certainly in several passages of Ignatius (cf. Bp. Lightfoot on Ignatius *Eph.* xx); comp. 1 Macc. iii 60 ὃ ἂν ᾗ θέλημα ἐν οὐρανῷ, οὕτως ποιήσει. Similarly we find *τὸ ὄνομα* used absolutely of the Name of Christ in Acts v 41, Jas. v 10 (according to a not improbable reading), 3 John 7. Here we believe that we have the anarthrous *ὄνομα* in the same absolute sense. If this interpretation be true, St Matthew's procedure is intelligible. He co-ordinates the phrase whereby he reproduces St Mark's phrase with the phrases he has used in the immediate preceding context (*εἰς ὄνομα προφήτου, εἰς ὄνομα δικαίου, εἰς ὄνομα μαθητοῦ*). He exactly gives the sense of St Mark's somewhat difficult words.

(ii) Matt. xviii 20 οὗ γὰρ εἰσιν δύο ἢ τρεῖς συνηγμένοι εἰς τὸ ἐν ὀνόματι, ἐκεῖ εἰμὶ ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν. 'With the former example

¹ In Lightfoot *Horae Hebraicae* vol. ii p. 118 I find the following Rabbinic phrases: 'One baptizeth a Hebrew woman in the name (שֵׁם) of a woman, we assert that for a deed rightly done.' 'If an Israelite find a Gentile infant baptizeth him in the name of a proselyte, behold he is a proselyte.' 'A man find an infant cast out, and he baptizeth him in the name of a servant; in the name of a freeman, do you also circumcise him in the name of a freeman.' The meaning of these expressions severally must be 'as a woman', 'as a proselyte', 'as a servant', 'as a freeman'.

St Matthew's usage before us, we need feel no hesitation accepting the familiar rendering of these words, "where two or three are gathered together in my name". So the Dean who has given the reasons why, in my judgement, 'the familiar rendering of the words' shakes our confidence in the familiar rendering of the words. That rendering indeed is a perfectly legitimate sense; but is that sense conveyed by the Greek? The preposition *ἐς* in connexion with *συνάγειν* is quite usual in the sense 'to gather together into'. That is the *prima facie* meaning which we naturally attach to the phrase (see Matt. vi 26, xiii 30, xxvi 3, John xi 52, Apoc. xvi 16). Is there any reason why we should depart from the *prima facie* meaning here? We must, I think, interpret this saying of the Lord in connexion with a series of passages in the Old Testament. In Deut. xii 5 we read, 'Unto the place which the Lord thy God shall choose out of all your tribes to put his name there, even unto his habitation shall ye seek, and thither thou shalt come'; and again in 1 Kings ix 3, 'And the Lord said unto David, I have heard thy prayer and thy supplication, that thou hast said before me: I have hallowed this house, which thou hast built, to my name there for ever; and mine eyes and mine heart shall be there perpetually'. Compare Deut. xvi 2, xxvi 2, 1 Kings iii 16, 29, Neh. i 9, Jer. vii 10, xxxii 34, xxxiv 15, Dan. ix 17, Tobit xiii 11 (ἐθνη πολλὰ μακρόθεν ἤξει πρὸς τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου εὐερεῖ), 1 Esdras vi 33, Baruch ii 26, 1 Macc. vii 37, 3 Macc. ix 14. Under the old dispensation there was a holy House where God made His Name to dwell, and into this House the people were to gather together for worship. Under the new dispensation the local limitation is for ever done away. The Name of Christ takes now the place of the House where God made His Name to dwell. Christ's disciples are not now to enter a House made with hands but into the Name of Christ. Whatsoever the place may be, if 'two or three' of the disciples of Christ are 'gathered into His Name', there Christ's presence with them is pledged. If they draw nigh to Him, He will be nigh to them. The idea conveyed by the words so interpreted is closely akin to the revelation given by the well of Sychar (John iv 21 ff; comp. Apoc. xxi 22). I venture to maintain that it is only when we give to the words *συνηγμένοι ἐς τὸ*

ὄνομα their full and literal meaning that we discern the true significance of the Lord's promise.

The usage of St Matthew, though I hold that its consideration is of secondary importance, leads us, in my opinion, to expect that the rendering of Matthew xxviii 19 given in the R. V. will prove correct.

I have already pointed out that (1) St Matthew in his account of our Lord's command to baptize used a phrase, βαπτίζειν (-εσθαι) εἰς τὸ ὄνομα, which he did not himself invent but which was already current among Greek-speaking Christians; (2) that St Paul is the earliest Christian writer who employs it; that St Paul's use of it in 1 Cor. i 13, 15 implies that the phrase βαπτίζειν (-εσθαι) εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ, or the like, was well known to him and to his converts (comp. Acts viii 16, xix 5). What then is the meaning which St Paul attaches to the phrase βαπτίζειν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα? He leaves us, I think, in no doubt as to his view of the matter. I may be allowed to quote some words from my former article (p. 501). 'In two passages, in complete accordance with the Hebrew mode of speech whereby "the Name" was used as a reverential synonym for God Himself, for the expression "into (in) the name of" the Apostle substitutes the quite unambiguous expression "into the Person Himself"—Gal. iii 27 ὅσοι γὰρ εἰς Χριστὸν ἐβαπτίσθητε, Rom. vi 3 ὅσοι ἐβαπτίσθημεν εἰς Χριστὸν [Ἰησοῦν]: comp. 1 Cor. x 2 πάντες εἰς τὸν Μωυσῆν ἐβαπτίσαντο (v. l. ἐβαπτίσθησαν). Now it may be plausibly argued that βαπτίζειν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα Χριστοῦ means "to baptize in the name, i. e. by the authority, of Christ". But such an interpretation is out of the question with the phrase βαπτίζειν εἰς Χριστόν. The latter necessarily expresses the ideas of incorporation and union. There can be no doubt, then, that to St Paul's mind εἰς τὸ ὄνομα in connexion with Baptism signified not "in the name of" (i. e. by the authority of) but "into the name of." Dr Robinson indeed puts aside 'these Pauline phrases'. 'They bear', he says (p. 200), 'no direct relation to the phrases βαπτίζειν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα, βαπτίζειν ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι. They are concerned with the result of baptism, not with its method or process. We must not argue from them as to the meaning of the preposition εἰς in the baptismal commission as recorded by St Matthew.' But is not this separation of the Pauline phrases as to baptism into two classes which

bear no direct relation' to each other, wholly arbitrary? Can we conceive that in a matter of such solemn import as Baptism the 'method or process' is not wholly conditioned by the 'result'?

I am not alone, however, in maintaining the position, sanctioned, I believe, by St Paul's authority, that 'to baptize into the name of Christ' means 'to baptize into Christ', that 'to baptize into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost' means 'to baptize into the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost'. 'I cannot leave this subject', the Dean writes (p. 200), 'without emphasizing a warning which it suggests. It is an excellent illustration of the thesis that modern translators as well as modern critics must have regard to ancient tradition'. I fully agree with these words. I desire to 'have regard to ancient tradition'. 'Ancient tradition', I believe, speaks with no uncertain voice on this question. I subjoin therefore a brief catena of passages from writers of the ancient Greek Church which, I think, are unambiguous.

Irenaeus I xxi 3 (ed. Massuet) οἱ δὲ ἄγονσιν ἐφ' ὕδωρ καὶ βαπτίζοντες οὕτως ἐπιλέγουσιν εἰς ὄνομα ἀγνώστου πατρὸς τῶν ὅλων, εἰς ἀλήθειαν πατέρα πάντων, εἰς τὸν κατελθόντα εἰς Ἰησοῦν, εἰς ἔνωσιν καὶ ἀπολύτρωσιν καὶ κοινωνίαν τῶν δυνάμεων.¹

Ibid. III xvii 1 Et iterum potestatem regenerationis in Deum dans discipulis dicebat eis: Euntes docete omnes gentes, baptizantes eos in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Comp. I xxi 1 τοῦ βαπτίσματος τῆς εἰς θεὸν ἀναγεννήσεως.

Origen in *Ioan.* vi 44. After the analogy of 1 Cor. x 2, Origen says of Joshua: πάντες εἰς τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐβαπτίσαντο ἐν τῷ πνεύματι καὶ τῷ ποταμῷ. But Joshua was a type of Jesus the Christ. ἀκουστέον τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ λέγοντος τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ . . . Ἐν τούτῳ γινώσκεσθε ὅτι θεὸς ζῶν ἐν ἡμῖν ἐστίν· ἐν γὰρ τῷ βαπτίσασθαι εἰς Ἰησοῦν γνωσόμεθα ὅτι θεὸς ζῶν ἐν ἡμῖν ἐστίν.

Apostolic Constitutions vii 41 (Migne *P. G.* i 1041 f) μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀποταγὴν συντασσόμενος λεγέτω ὅτι Καὶ συντάσσομαι τῷ Χριστῷ καὶ πιστεύω

¹ Irenaeus is here describing the Marcosians. The phraseology of the Gnostic sects was often an adaptation of the phraseology inherited from the Catholic Church. Controversy made it necessary to call attention to the language of the Gnostics. In such notices we often have the earliest evidence, albeit indirect, as to the language of the Church. This chapter of Irenaeus supplies an excellent instance in the Gnostic formula εἰρήνη πᾶσιν ἐφ' ὅς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦτο ἐπαναπαύεται. This, so far as I know, is the first trace of the *Salutation* so common in the Church.

καὶ βαπτίζομαι εἰς ἓνα ἀγέννητον μόνον ἀληθινὸν θεὸν παντοκράτορα, τὸν πατέρα τοῦ Χριστοῦ . . . καὶ εἰς τὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν τὸν Χριστόν, τὸν μονογενῆ αὐτοῦ υἱόν . . . βαπτίζομαι καὶ εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον.

Apostolic Canons 49 (48) (see Hefele *History of the Church Councils* Eng. trans. i p. 478) εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος ἢ πρεσβύτερος κατὰ τὴν τοῦ κυρίου διάταξιν μὴ βαπτίσῃ εἰς πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα ἀλλὰ εἰς τρεῖς ἀνάρχους ἢ τρεῖς υἱοὺς ἢ τρεῖς παρακλήτους, καθαίρεσθω.

Pseudo-Ignatius *ad Phil.* ii διὸ καὶ [κύριος] ἀποστέλλων τοὺς ἀποστόλους μαθητεύσαι πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐνετείλατο αὐτοῖς βαπτίζειν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος· οὔτε εἰς ἓνα τριώνυμον οὔτε εἰς τρεῖς ἐνανθρωπήσαντας, ἀλλ' εἰς τρεῖς ὁμοτίμους.

Athanasius *Oraf. contra Arianos* ii 41, 42 (Migne *P. G.* xxvi 233 ff) διὰ τί καὶ ἐν τῇ τελείῳσι τοῦ βαπτίσματος συγκατανομάζεται τῷ πατρὶ ὁ υἱός; . . . εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἵνα συναφθῶμεν τῇ θεότητι, τίς χρεία τοῦ κτίσματος; εἰ δὲ ἵνα ἐνωθῶμεν τῷ υἱῷ κτίσματος ὄντι, περιττὴ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἢ ἐν τῷ βαπτίσματι τοῦ υἱοῦ ὀνομασία; ὁ γὰρ αὐτὸν υἱοποιήσας θεὸς ἱκανός ἐστι καὶ ἡμᾶς υἱοποιῆσαι . . . εἰ γὰρ εἰς ὄνομα πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ δίδοται ἡ τελείωσις, οὐ λέγουσι δὲ πατέρα ἀληθινόν . . . πῶς οὐ παντελῶς κενὸν καὶ ἀλυσitelές τὸ παρ' αὐτῶν διδόμενόν ἐστι . . . ; οὐ γὰρ εἰς πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν διδούσιν οἱ Ἀρειανοὶ ἀλλ' εἰς κτίστην καὶ κτίσμα καὶ εἰς ποιητὴν καὶ ποίημα. . . οὐ γὰρ ὁ λέγων ἀπλῶς Κύριε οὗτος καὶ δίδωσιν, ἀλλ' ἰ μετὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος καὶ τὴν πίστιν ἔχων ὀρθήν. διὰ τοῦτο γοῦν ὁ σωτὴρ οὐκ ἀπλῶς ἐνετείλατο βαπτίζειν, ἀλλὰ πρῶτόν φησι Μαθητεύσατε, εἰθ' οὕτως βαπτίζετε εἰς ὄνομα πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος.

Ibid. iv 21 (Migne *P. G.* xxvi 500) τὸ ἅγιον δὲ βάπτισμα, ἐν ᾧ πάση πίστεως ἡμῶν ἡ σύστασις ὁρμεῖ, οὐκ εἰς λόγον ἀλλ' εἰς πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα δίδοται.

Ep. iv *ad Serap.* 12 (Migne *P. G.* xxvi 653) τὸ ἅγιον δὲ λουτρὸν εἰ μὴ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα μόνον ἐδίδοτο, εἰκότως ἂν ἐλέγετο τοὺς βαπτιζομένους εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα μόνον ἁμαρτάνειν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ εἰς πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα δίδοται, καὶ οὕτω τελειοῦται τῶν βαπτιζομένων ἕκαστος, ἀνάγκη πάλιν τοῦ μετὰ τὸ βάπτισμα παραβαίνοντος εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν καὶ ἀδιαίρετον τριάδα τὴν βλασφημίαν ποιῆσθαι.

Cyril of Jerusalem *Catechesis* xvi 6 (Migne *P. G.* xxxiii 925) τίς σε πρὸς τοὺς ἀνεπίστους κοινωνία, τῷ βαπτισθισμένῳ νῦν καὶ εἰς πνεῦμα ἅγιον;

Ibid. 19 (Migne *P. G.* xxxiii 945) εἰκότως βαπτίζομεθα εἰς πατέρα καὶ εἰς υἱὸν καὶ εἰς ἅγιον πνεῦμα.

Basil *de Spiritu Sancto* 14 (Migne *P. G.* xxxii 121) ἀλλ' οὐδὲ εἰς τὸ βάπτισμα, φησὶν, εἰς αὐτό [sc. τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον], οὐδὲ οὕτω δίκαιο μετὰ θεοῦ τετάχθαι· καὶ γὰρ καὶ εἰς τὸν Μωσῆν τινὲς ἐβαπτίσθησαν.

Err. classis ii, *Ep.* cxcix 47 (Migne *P. G.* xxxii 732) μὴ γὰρ λεγέτωσα ὅτι εἰς πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα ἐβαπτίσθημεν, οἱ γὰρ κακῶν ποιητὴς ὑποτιθέμενοι τὸν θεὸν ἐφαμίλλως τῷ Μαρκίῳ καὶ ταῖς λοιπαῖς αἰρέσεσιν.

Ibid. Ep. clxxxviii (Ep. Canonica I; Migne *P. G.* xxxii 668) τίνα οὖν λόγον ἔχει τὸ τούτων βάπτισμα ἐγκριθῆναι τῶν βαπτιζόντων εἰς πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν καὶ Μοντανὸν ἢ Πρίσκιλλαν; οὐ γὰρ ἐβαπτίσθησαν οἱ εἰς τὰ μὴ παραδεδομένα ἡμῖν βαπτισθέντες.

Gregory of Nazianzus *Orat.* xxxiv 17 (Migne *P. G.* xxxvi 236) εἰς τί ἐβαπτίσθης; εἰς πατέρα; καλῶς· πλὴν Ἰουδαϊκὸν ἔτι. εἰς υἱόν; καλῶς· οὐκέτι μὲν Ἰουδαϊκόν, οὐπω δὲ τέλειον. εἰς ἅγιον πνεῦμα; ὑπέρευγε· τοῦτο τέλειον. ἄρ' οὖν ἀπλῶς εἰς ταῦτα, ἣ καὶ τι κοινὸν τούτων ὄνομα; ναὶ κοινόν. τί τοῦτο; δηλαδὴ τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ.

Gregory of Nyssa *Contra Eunom.* xi (Migne *P. G.* xlv 881) φησὶ γὰρ τὸν τοῦ κυρίου νόμον παραγραφόμενος (νόμος γάρ ἐστιν ἡ τῆς θείας μυσταγωγίας παράδοσις) μὴ εἰς πατέρα τε καὶ υἱὸν καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα τὸ βάπτισμα γίνεσθαι, καθὼς ἐντείλατο τοῖς μαθηταῖς παραδιδούς τὸ μυστήριον, ἀλλ' εἰς δημιουργὸν καὶ κτίστην . . . πορευθέντες, φησί, μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος. ποῦ κτίσμα τὸν υἱὸν προσηγόρευσε; ποῦ κτίστην καὶ δημιουργὸν τοῦ μονογενοῦς τὸν πατέρα ὁ λόγος ἐδίδαξεν;

In baptism. Christi (Migne *P. G.* xlv 585) τί δέ φησι τὸ τοῦ δεσπότου παράγγελμα; βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος. πῶς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς; ἐπειδὴ ἀρχὴ τῶν πάντων. πῶς εἰς τὸν υἱόν; ἐπειδὴ δημιουργὸς τῆς κτίσεως. πῶς εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον; ἐπειδὴ τελειωτικὸν τῶν πάντων.

Epist. v (Migne *P. G.* xlv 1032) ἡ δὲ τοῦ κυρίου διδασκαλία ἐστὶν αὕτη· πορευθέντες, φησί, μαθητεύσατε . . . ἁγίου πνεύματος. ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἡ ζωopoῦς δύναμις ἐπὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ θανάτου πρὸς τὴν αἰώνιον ζωὴν ἀναγεννωμένων διὰ τῆς ἁγίας τριάδος περιγίνεται τοῖς μετὰ πίστει καταξιουμένοις τῆς χάριτος, καὶ ὁμοίως ἀτελής ἡ χάρις ἐνός τινος οἴου δήποτε τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας τριάδος ὀνομάτων παρλειφθέντος ἐν τῷ σωτηρίῳ βαπτίσματι· οὐ γὰρ χωρὶς πνεύματος ἐν μόνῳ υἱῷ καὶ πατρὶ τὸ μυστήριον τελεῖται τῆς ἀναγεννήσεως· οὔτε υἱὸς σωτηρῆντος ἐν πατρὶ καὶ πνεύματι τὸ τέλειον τῆς ζωῆς παραγίνεται βαπτίσματι· οὔτε ἐν πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ παρεθέντος τοῦ πνεύματος ἐκτελεῖται ἡ τῆς ἀναστάσεως χάρις . . . ταύτην οὖν ἔχοντες τὴν πληροφορίαν, βαπτιζόμεθα μὲν ὡς προεταχθῆμεν, πιστεύομεν δὲ ὡς ἐβαπτιζόμεθα, δοξάζομεν δὲ ὡς πιστεύομεν· ὥστε ὁμοφώνως τὸ βάπτισμα καὶ τὴν πίστιν καὶ τὴν δόξαν εἰς πατέρα εἶναι καὶ υἱὸν καὶ πνεῦμα ἅγιον.

Comp. *Orat. Catech.* 39 (Migne *P. G.* xlv 100) ἐπεὶ οὖν ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ τὰ τρία παραδέδοται πρόσωπά τε καὶ ὀνόματα, δι' ὧν ἡ γένεσις τοῖς πιστεύουσι γίνεται, γινῆναι δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἴσον ὁ ἐν τῇ τριάδι γεννώμενος παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς τε καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ πνεύματος [τοῦ] ἁγίου.

Didymus of Alexandria *de Trin.* ii 15 (Migne *P. G.* xxxix 720) μετερχόμενοι τοίνυν εἰς τὴν ὀρθοδοξίαν, κἂν τυχόν ὥσιν βεβαπτισμένοι, βαπτίζονται μὲν (οὐ γὰρ λέγομεν ἀναβαπτίζονται, ἐπειδὴ μὴ ἔχουσι τὸ ἀληθές

βάπτισμα) . . . Φρύγες δὲ διὰ τὸ μὴ εἰς τὰς τρεῖς ἀγίας ἰποστάσεις βαπτίζων ἀλλὰ πιστεύειν τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα.

Socrates *Hist. Eccles.* v 24 (Migne *P. G.* lxvii 649) τὸ βάπτισμα παρεχάραξαν [sc. οἱ ἀπὸ Εὐνομίου]. οὐ γὰρ εἰς τὴν τριάδα, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸν τοῦ Χριστοῦ βαπτίζονσι θάνατον. Comp. Sozomen *Hist. Eccles.* vi 26 (Migne *P. G.* lxvii 1364) περὶ τὴν θείαν βάπτισιν ἐνεωτέρισαν, οὐκ εἰς τριάδα ἀλλὰ εἰς τὸν τοῦ Χριστοῦ θάνατον βαπτίζεσθαι εἰσηγησάμενοι.

John of Damascus *de Fide Orthod.* iv 9 (Migne *P. G.* xciv 1117) ἀπαξ δεῖ βαπτίζεσθαι. βαπτίζεσθαι δὲ κατὰ τὸν τοῦ κυρίου λόγον εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, διδασκομένους τὴν εἰς πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα ὁμολογίαν. ὅσοι τοίνυν εἰς πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα βαπτισθέντες . . . αὐθις ἀναβαπτίζονται, οἱτοὶ ἀνασταυροῦσι τὸν Χριστόν . . . βαπτιζόμεθα δὲ εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν τριάδα.¹

The foregoing catena of passages is the result of a very slight and hasty search in the writings of the Greek Fathers. Anything like a thorough investigation would bring to light, I am convinced, many other passages of like import. The inference, however, which we cannot but draw from those passages which I have collected, is clear and unmistakeable. Theologians, to whom Greek was the language of everyday life, from the second century onwards did not speak of Christians being baptized 'in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit'.²

¹ Tertullian *adv. Prax.* 26 writes thus: 'Novissime mandans ut tingerent in patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum, non in unum. Nam nec semel, sed ter, ad singula nomina in personas singulas tingimur.' Here, as in not a few other instances, Tertullian anticipates the language and thought of Greek theology. Compare *The Testament of our Lord* (translated from the Syriac by Cooper and Maclean) ii 7 (p. 124), 'Being baptized in the Trinity, in the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost'.

² The constancy with which the phrase εἰς τὸ ὄνομα maintains itself in Greek theology is very instructive. If this phrase had been taken in the sense in which ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι is commonly taken, it is certain that the latter phrase would often, as in Western Christendom, have been substituted for the former. I do not remember noting such substitution in orthodox Greek writings except in the *Apostolic Constitutions* vii 43 (Migne *P. G.* i 1045) βαπτίσας αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος χρυσάτω μύρον. The following passages however are worth noting: *The Acts of Paul and Thecla* 34 καὶ εἶδεν ὄνυμα μέγα πλήρες ὕδατος καὶ εἶπεν Νῦν καιρὸς λούσασθαι με. καὶ ἔβαλεν ἑαυτὴν λέγουσα 'Ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ὑστέρᾳ ἡμέρᾳ βαπτίζομαι . . . ἡ μὲν οὖν ἔβαλεν ἑαυτὴν εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ' αἱ δὲ φῶκαι πυρὸς ἀστραπῆς φέγγος ἰδοῦσαι νεκραὶ ἐπέπλευσαν. Hippolytus *Philosoph.* ix 15 εἰ τις . . . θέλει ἀφ᾽ ἑσιν λαβεῖν τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν, ἀφ' ἧς ἂν ἀκούσῃ τῆς βίβλου ταύτης, βαπτισάσθω ἐκ δευτέρου ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ ἐφίστου θεοῦ καὶ ἐν ὀνόματι υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως καθαρισάτω καὶ ἀγενεσάτω.

They spoke of Christians being baptized 'into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit'; of their being baptized 'into the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit', 'into the Three Holy Persons', 'into the Holy Trinity'. The meaning which they attached to such solemn words is clear from the phrases of Athanasius—*ἐνωθῆναι τῷ νίῳ, συναφθῆναι τῇ θεότητι*.¹

An important inference must be drawn from this interpretation of Christ's command to baptize as interpreted by Greek theology. That command does not lay down the express words of a Baptismal formula. It reveals a spiritual fact about Baptism which is closely related to the final realities of Christian life. When we place side by side the phrases *βαπτισθῆναι εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ* (Acts viii 16, xix 5) and *βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος*, we are not comparing competing rival formulae. We have to deal with a question of Christian theology. Both phrases connote incorporation and union. Christ is the mediator. Those who are brought into union with Him are thereby brought into union with the Father and with the Holy Spirit. If Baptism, to use the phrases of Athanasius, means *ἐνωθῆναι τῷ νίῳ*, it must mean also *συναφθῆναι τῇ θεότητι*. He who is 'baptized into Christ' is 'baptized into the Holy Trinity'.

III. Hitherto I have left out of account the two passages of the Acts where *ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι* occurs. They are:—

Acts ii 38 *μετανοήσατε καὶ βαπτισθήτω ἕκαστος ὑμῶν ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς ἄφεσιν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ὑμῶν.*

x 48 *προσέταξεν δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ βαπτισθῆναι.*

Do these passages afford us any ground for modifying the interpretation of *εἰς τὸ ὄνομα* which we have seen reason to adopt?

The words *ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ* may of course be taken to mean 'by the authority of Jesus Christ' or the like. The thought, it need not be said, is true. He who 'baptizes into the name of Jesus Christ' acts by the authority of Christ; he baptizes 'in the name of Christ'. There is no reason why the two phrases should not both be used in regard to any valid Baptism.

¹ Comp. e.g. Basil *adv. Eunom.* v (Migne P. G. xxix 761) *ναὸς θεοῦ καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ πνεύματος ἁγίου εἰσὶν πάντες οἱ ἅγιοι ἐν οἷς οἰκεῖ ἡ μία θεότης καὶ μία κυριότης καὶ ἡ μία πατρὶς μία πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος διὰ τὸν ἕνα τοῦ βαπτίσματος ἁγιασμόν.*

But it appears to me that we may justly conclude that the more frequent *ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι*, interpreted as St Paul interprets the words (Gal. iii 27, Rom. vi 3), gives us the meaning of *ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι*. May not *βαπτισθῆναι ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ* signify 'to be baptized and incorporated in the name of Jesus Christ'? And this in truth, if we bear in mind what has been said of the meaning of 'the Name', is nothing else than 'to be baptized and incorporated in Jesus Christ'. But in my former article (pp. 503 ff) I urged 'that a secure interpretation of St Matthew's words must be based on the consideration not of the preposition only, but of the whole phrase—the preposition and the verb itself'. 'The Aramaic Christian when he used the Aramaic word [ܠܫܡܝܐ] and the Greek Christian when he used the Greek word [βαπτίζω], would never in this particular application of the term [i.e. to the Christian rite] lose sight of its primary and proper signification "to immerse", "to plunge in or into"'. I compared the words 'Communion' and 'Confirmation', which with us have the force of quasi-technical religious terms, but which yet retain their proper meaning, the former necessarily suggesting the ideas of union and participation, the latter the idea of strengthening.

Dr Robinson, however, is unable to accept this position. 'We are solely concerned', he urges (p. 187), 'with the use of the word in connexion with religious rites . . . The notion of immersion has practically disappeared before that of ritual cleansing.' In confirmation of his view he adduces two passages of the Gospel: (1) 'The Judaism of our Lord's day had its *βαπτισμοὺς ποτηρῶν καὶ ξεστῶν καὶ χαλκίων* (Mark vii 4); that is to say, ceremonial washings of vessels. . . . Even if we do not accept the additional item *καὶ κλιῶν*, which in some MSS is appended to the list, yet the gloss testifies to a sense of *βαπτισμός* incompatible with actual immersion.' The addition of *καὶ κλιῶν*, suggested by Lev. xv, is a 'Western' interpolation (see Hort *Introduction, Notes on Selected Readings* p. 25). It is quite in the way of an over-conscientious scribe to make an addition without very carefully considering the language of the content; '*βαπτισμοὺς . . . κλιῶν* seems an incongruous combination' (Dr Swete *in loco*). Such an obvious addition to the list made by an unthinking copyist does but bring out into clearer light the fact that the writer himself de-

not include in that list anything to which the term βαπτισμός in its proper sense could not be applied. The cleansing of 'cups and pots and brazen vessels' had doubtless a ceremonial aspect; yet common household experience shews us, I think, that vessels are not cleansed unless they are put into water. Sprinkling them would have unsatisfactory results. Again, it would be obvious to a copyist, ignorant probably of Jewish life, to substitute the familiar word βαπτίζονται for the less familiar ῥαντίζονται; probably he thought that 'bathing' would be more effectual than 'sprinkling'. St Mark himself is careful to use the more correct word ῥαντίζονται and avoids the word βαπτίζονται. (2) The Dean further adduces Luke xi 38 ἐθαύμασεν ὅτι οὐ πρῶτον ἐβαπτίσθη πρὸ τοῦ ἀρίστου. 'Such a sentence', he adds, 'could not have been written until the verb βαπτίζειν had ceased in common parlance to connote immersion; until, in other words, the idea of ceremonial ablution had become paramount.' There is no question that a Jew before a meal ceremonially cleansed only his hands by immersing them in water. And a Jew would not have described this cleansing by the word ἐβαπτίσθη unless he had qualified it by the addition of τὰς χεῖρας. But St Luke was not a Jew nor did he write his Gospel for Jews. He may or he may not have known of the Jewish custom of 'bathing the hands' before a meal; his Gospel supplies no evidence to shew that he was aware of it. The Greeks and the Romans commonly bathed before meals. It is sufficient to refer to the passages collected by Wetstein¹ in his note on John xiii 9; e.g. Lucian *Timon* 54 ἐπειδὴ λουσάμενος ἀφίκοιτο ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον, Ter. *Phormio* ii 1. 25 Tene asymbolum venire, unctum atque lautum a balneis? St Luke then, I believe, writing as a Gentile for Gentiles and therefore employing an expression which their own custom would make intelligible to them, used the word ἐβαπτίσθη here in its full and proper sense. Unless then I am mistaken, the two passages quoted to shew that βαπτίζειν had lost the sense of

¹ Mayor in his note on Juv. xi 204 quotes Artemidorus i 64 εἴτα δὴ λούονται μύλλοντες δειπνήσειν· καὶ ἔστι νῦν τὸ βαλανεῖον οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ ὕδωρ ἐπὶ δεῖπνον. Another explanation seems to me possible though less probable than that given in the text. Is St Luke here transferring to the Pharisees a custom of the Essenes? Of them Josephus (*B. J.* ii 8. 5) tells us, ἀπολούονται τὸ σῶμα ψυχροῖς ὕδασι, καὶ μετὰ ταύτην τὴν ἀγρίαν εἰς ἰδίον οἶκημα συνίσσιν, ἐνθα μηδὲν τῶν ἑτεροδόξων ἐπιτέτρεπται παρελθεῖν· αὐτοὶ τε καθαροὶ καθάπερ εἰς ἁγίον τι τέμενος παραγίνονται τὸ δειπνήτηριον.

'immersion' and only connoted some kind of ceremonial cleansing with water, in reality are simply instances of the normal use of the verb and of the corresponding substantive.

It would be easy to shew that in the language of writers contemporary with the Apostles the word βαπτίζειν preserved its proper meaning. Let us take the Jewish historian of this age, Josephus, who uses the words βάπτισις and βαπτισμός in reference to the work of John the Baptist (xviii v 2 οὕτω γὰρ δὴ καὶ τὴν βάπτισιν ἀποδεκτὴν αὐτῷ [sc. τῷ θεῷ] φανεῖσθαι μὴ ἐπὶ τινῶν ἁμαρτάνων ποιεῖται χρωμένων ἀλλ' ἐφ' ἀγνείᾳ τοῦ σώματος). Other passages in his writings shew what idea the words conveyed to him. He uses the verb in *Antiq. Jud.* XV iii 3 in the description of Herod's murder of Aristobulus by drowning: τῶν φίλων οἷς ταῦτα ἐπιτέτακται . . . βαροῦντες αὐτὸν καὶ βαπτίζοντες ὡς ἐν παιδιᾷ ὑψηλόμενον οὐκ ἀνήκατο ἕως καὶ πωτάσας ἀποπνίξαι. Elsewhere he uses the word in a metaphorical sense which is no less clear. *Antiq. Jud.* X ix βεβαπτισμένον εἰς ἀναισθησίαν καὶ ὑπνον ὑπὸ τῆς μέθης: *de Bello Jud.* IV iii 3 ὁ δὲ καὶ δέχα τῆς στάσεως ὑστερον ἐβάπτισεν τὴν πόλιν. Unless the word in common parlance maintained its full and proper force, such passages are robbed of all meaning.

But what associations had the word to a Jew in regard to the religious rite of baptism? We are not left in doubt. Three things were required for the admission of a male proselyte—circumcision, baptism, and sacrifice. 'The person to be baptized, having cut his hair and nails, undressed completely—made fresh profession of his faith before "the fathers of the baptism" . . . and then immersed completely, so that every part of the body was touched by the water' (Edersheim *The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah* ii pp. 745 f). It is true that the account of the rite comes to us in Jewish writings of a date long after the Apostolic age. But (1) the mention of sacrifice appears to carry the ceremonial back to a time anterior to the destruction of the Temple; (2) it is wholly improbable that later Jews introduced into this rite details which were, or which would seem to be, an imitation of the practice of the hated Christians; (3) we have evidence for immersion at a far earlier date. In regard to the last point Schürer (*Gesch. des Jüd. Volkes* iii p. 132) adduces a line (iv 164) in a portion of the Sibylline Oracles which certainly seems to be Jewish and to which Justin and Clement of Alexandri-

refer. The writer calls on men to cease from their wickedness and then adds *ἐν ποταμοῖς λούσασθε ὅλον δέμας ἀενάοισι*.

There is not the least reason to suppose that John the Baptist broke with Jewish custom in his Baptism. He chose as the place where he baptized 'the ever-flowing river' of the Jordan. His converts went down 'into the Jordan' (Mark i 9). They came up 'out of the water' (Mark i 10).

And if from John's Baptism we turn to Christian Baptism, the tenour of the evidence is the same. In the one detailed account of a Christian Baptism which we find in the New Testament we are expressly told of him who administered and of him who received Baptism that *κατέβησαν ἀμφότεροι εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ* and *ἀνέβησαν ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος* (Acts viii 38 f). St Paul could not have spoken of Baptism as 'a burial with Christ' (Rom. vi 4, Col. ii 12) unless the recipient of Baptism had passed beneath the waters of his Baptism (see e. g. Bishop Lightfoot on Col. ii 12).

Whether then we consider linguistic evidence or the evidence of Jewish custom¹ or the evidence of the New Testament as to John's Baptism or as to Christian Baptism, we are confirmed in the view, which, to say the least, is *a priori* probable, that *βαπτίζω* did not among the Jews lose its proper signification, that it meant 'to immerse in *or* into', 'to plunge in *or* into'.

Now the point to which I desire to call attention is this. In English we transliterate the Greek word *βαπτίζω*; and, since the word 'baptize' is with us simply and solely a religious technical term, we forget the fact that to the Aramaic Christian the Aramaic word, and to the Greek-speaking Christian the Greek word, would never in the particular application lose its primary and proper meaning. Further, in their versions of the New Testament the Syriac and the Egyptian Christians translated the word *βαπτίζω*. Latin-speaking Christians, though like ourselves they commonly transliterated it, yet sometimes used as its equivalent the verb *tingere*. In the modern German New Testament the word *taufen* is the regular translation of *βαπτίζω*. With ourselves beyond question the word *baptize* is so firmly established and consecrated by immemorial usage that in the English Bible and in common religious speech no one

¹ Comp. the name of the Jewish sect *ἡμεροβαπτισταί* (probably = *Toble shacharith*,

* morning-bathers'); see passages collected in Bp Lightfoot's *Col.* pp. 368, 402.

would dream of suggesting that it should give place to any other expression. But the case of the scholar whose business it is closely to interrogate words and phrases is different. May he not rightly dare to follow the example set him by ancient and modern translators in other languages than his own and, instead of transliterating, venture to translate the word—*βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα*, 'immersing them into the Name'? So surely a Greek-speaking Christian, familiar with the common metaphorical use of the word *βαπτίζω*, would understand the words. He would be led to regard the Divine Name as the element, so to speak, into which the baptized is 'immersed', to perceive that the outward rite is an immediate parable of a supreme spiritual reality. As in the Eucharist the Bread and Wine are effectual symbols of the Body and Blood of Christ, so in Baptism the water which cleanses the body is a type of nothing less than God Himself, as the one true and perfect power of spiritual cleansing. The natural man being brought into union with God is purified. This view of Baptism found expression, I venture to suggest, in ancient times (1) in the very ancient custom of trine immersion or affusion (see e.g. *Didache* 7); (2) in the *ἐπίκλησις*, the invocation of the Holy Spirit upon the waters of Baptism, parallel to the invocation of the Holy Spirit upon the Eucharistic elements (comp. Cyril *Catech.* xxi 3; Migne *P. G.* xxxiii 1089).

This interpretation, bold as it may seem, may be supported by other passages of the New Testament. In Mark i 8 (*ἐγὼ ἐβάπτισα ὑμᾶς ὕδατι, αὐτὸς δὲ βαπτίσει ὑμᾶς πνεύματι ἁγίῳ*), Matt. iii 11, Luke iii 16, (*ἐν*) *πνεύματι ἁγίῳ* stands in precisely the same relation to *βαπτίσει* in regard to Christ's work as (*ἐν*) *ὕδατι* stands to *ἐβάπτισα* in regard to John's work. Again, in John iii 5 (*ἐὰν μή τις γεννηθῇ ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ πνεύματος κ.τ.λ.*) 'the image suggested', writes Bishop Westcott in his commentary, 'is that of rising, reborn, out of the water and out of that spiritual element, so to speak, to which the water outwardly corresponds'. Again, in 1 Cor. x 2 (*πάντες εἰς τὸν Μωϋσῆν ἐβαπτίσαντο* [*ἡ. ἡ ἐβαπτίσθησαν*]) it is clear to us, if we recall the use of *βαπτίζεσθαι* in Polybius¹, that we lose the full force of the Apostle's bold metaphor unless we translate rather than transliterate *ἐβαπτί-*

¹ e.g. iii 72, 4 *μόλις ἔως τῶν μαστῶν οἱ πεζοὶ βαπτίζονται διέβαινον*.

σαντο. Lastly, we must consider two passages of St Paul in which, I submit, we must *translate* if we desire to grasp his words in all their freshness. In Gal. iii 27 (ὅσοι γὰρ εἰς Χριστὸν ἐβαπτίσθητε Χριστὸν ἐνεδύσασθε) the thought of 'immersion into Christ' naturally leads on to that of 'investiture in Christ'. Similarly in Rom. vi 3 (ἀγνοεῖτε ὅτι ὅσοι ἐβαπτίσθημεν εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, εἰς τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ ἐβαπτίσθημεν; συνετάφημεν οὖν αὐτῷ διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος εἰς τὸν θάνατον) the idea of 'immersion into Christ' fitly prepares the way for the idea of 'burial with Christ'.

If this interpretation is correct it supplies us with a key to the relation of the two phrases βαπτίζειν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα and βαπτίζειν ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι. In regard to the physical act we have two constructions of βαπτίζειν; it is followed by εἰς or ἐν; e.g. Polybius v 47 2 αὐτοὶ δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῶν βαπτιζόμενοι καὶ καταδύνοντες ἐν τοῖς τέλμασιν, Plutarch *de Supers.* 3 (166 A) βάπτισον ἑαυτὸν εἰς θάλασσαν.¹ Corresponding to these two constructions we have two constructions of βαπτίζειν when it is used to express the mystical and spiritual reality of the divine incorporation—βαπτίζειν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα ('to immerse *into* the Name'), βαπτίζειν ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι ('to immerse *in* the Name'). The two phrases are strictly synonymous. They both represent the Divine Name as the element *into*

¹ Dr Robinson, however, contends that when βαπτίζειν refers to Baptism it is not followed by εἰς—εἰς ὕδωρ. 'If my contention is a true one', he writes (p. 189), 'it will result that βαπτίζειν, as meaning "to cleanse ceremonially with water", cannot ordinarily be followed by the preposition εἰς in the sense of into.' It is true, I believe, that among Greek-speaking Christians when ἐν was rarely if ever used, and when εἰς was the preposition regularly used, with 'the Name', ἐν ὕδατι was much more commonly used than εἰς ὕδωρ or the like, if it was needful to speak of 'the water'. This was natural and is entirely consonant with my view. But in early times, before the phraseology of Baptism had become stereotyped, this was not so. When St Mark is speaking generally of the crowds who came to the Baptist, he says of them (i 5) ἐβαπτίζοντο ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ ποταμῷ. When, however, he gives a detailed and particular account of our Lord's Baptism he varies the phrase that he may give an exact picture of what took place—ἐβαπτίσθη εἰς τὸν Ἰορδάνην ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου (i 9). That εἰς is here used in its proper sense, implying entrance into the submerging stream, appears from the words which follow καὶ εὐθὺς ἀναβαῖναν ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος. Again, we read in the *Didache* ch. vii βαπτίσατε εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐν ὕδατι ζῶντι. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἔχῃς ὕδωρ ζῶν, εἰς ἄλλο ὕδωρ βάπτισον· εἰ δ' οὐ δύνασαι ἐν ψυχρῷ, ἐν θερμῷ. Here in the first sentence εἰς ὕδωρ ζῶν is avoided because of the immediately preceding εἰς τὸ ὄνομα. But in immediate connexion with βάπτισον the proper and, as it were, the pictorial preposition ἐν is used. Comp. Clem. *Hom.* xi 35, 36 (Migne *P. G.* ii 300 f) ἀγαγὼν με εἰς τὰς ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ πλησίον οὐσας πηγὰς, ὡς εἰς ἀέανον ἐβάπτισεν ὕδωρ . . . εἰς τὰς ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ πλησίον οὐσας πηγὰς βαπτίσας.

which or *in* which the person baptized is 'immersed', the former emphasizing the idea of his entrance, so to speak, into the Name, the latter the idea of the Name encompassing him. At the same time, it must be added, it is always possible to interpret the phrase βαπτίζω ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι as pointing to the Divine authority by which the act of Baptism is carried out. Thus whether *eis* or *ἐν* is the preposition used, the idea of incorporation is equally expressed. It is involved in the whole phrase βαπτίζω ἐς τὸ ὄνομα or βαπτίζω ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι.

It seems right that I should add that I do not regard as on precisely the same level the conclusion which I have reached in the second part and the suggestion which I have submitted to the judgement of scholars in the third part of this article. In the former case I believe that I have shewn that the authority of St Paul and of Greek theology supports the rendering of Matt. xxviii 19, given in the R.V., 'baptizing them into the name'. In the latter case I have submitted an interpretation of the phrase which to my own mind possesses great probability but which perhaps from the nature of the case cannot be proved, and which will doubtless be differently regarded by students.

One further question must in conclusion be briefly noticed. We cannot doubt that our Lord spoke to His disciples in Aramaic. In what Aramaic words would this command of His be expressed? Probably in these ܕܡܝܬܐ ܢܚܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ, 'baptize (immerse, bathe) them in the Name of'. I do not doubt that that command included the idea of 'incorporation in the Name'. It may be said truly, as I believe, that the Jewish phrase 'in the Name' did not among the Jews connote the idea of 'incorporation in the Name'. But Christ revealed new religious ideas and to give them expression He re-minted current language. It may well be that He Himself clearly interpreted to His disciples the full meaning of His command. However that may have been, the fact remains that, when His followers translated into Greek the thoughts which they had learned from Him, they chose, as the phrase which seemed to them most adequate to express the meaning, the words βαπτίζω ἐς τὸ ὄνομα, and that, as the language of St Paul (adopted in significantly varying forms by Greek theology) shews, the first generation of Christians found in that phrase the ideas of incorporation and union.

F. H. ELY.

ISRAEL IN CAMP: A STUDY.

'THE old theory of the composition of States was based upon the tendency of families to multiply round a central family, whose

'The late R. A. Proctor, the astronomer, in the *Contemporary Review*, June 1879, gave the world what must now appear a remarkable instance of insight and prediction. Having remarked that the Hebrew race derived from their Chaldean ancestors a nature-worship relating more directly to the heavenly bodies than that of nations living under less constant skies; he declared that their myths must of course be more essentially astronomical than those of other nations; and predicted that 'more light will be thrown on the ancient systems of astronomy and astrology by the careful study of some of the Jewish Scriptures, and clearer light will be thrown on the meaning of these books by the consideration of astronomical and astrological relations associated with them, than has heretofore been supposed'.

During the last few years several German writers have found their way into this field of enquiry, and several English theologians are beginning to give it recognition. Dr Cheyne frequently quotes Winckler and others, and one need only refer to his volume on Bible Problems. Dr A. Jeremias, reviewing Dr Cheyne's book in the *Hibbert Journal* (October 1905, p. 217), tells us of the light that has come to himself concerning 'the great world-year' and 'calendar myth' of the ancients, which pervaded the atmosphere in which the Bible writers lived. In the *Expositor* for January 1906, Mr Stanley A. Cook explains how B. Jacob, of Leipzig, finds a certain artificial construction in the Pentateuch—extending to the narratives which deal with the tabernacle and the ritual—and is led to an approximation to 'the cosmological theory which has lately attained some prominence among certain continental writers'. Mr Cook remarks that this tendency in present O.T. study deserves serious consideration. In America, too, Prof. W. Max Müller, in the *American Antiquarian* for March, in reviewing Prof. E. König's pamphlet on the Babylonian Captivity, refers to Dr Stücker as the real founder of 'the new astro-mythological system of historiography'.

Lastly, let me quote from Dr Cheyne's article in the *Contemporary Review*, March 1905:—'But it may be well for me to say here as a fact, and not as a mere opinion, that the theory which is now advocated by a number of leading German Assyriologists, that astral myths are the outer garment of the Biblical stories of primitive times (I quote from Hommel), is not the result of mere "philological jugglery", but a fine specimen of concentrated intellectual work, and an attempt, by no means wholly unsuccessful, to penetrate to the centre of the Babylonian, Canaanitish, and probably to some extent early Israelitish view of the world.'

I desire that the following article may be regarded as a tentative essay on these lines. I have for many years engaged in such studies; and I hold in hand a full interpretation of the Bible narrative from the Creation to the Flood. The Book of Genesis, if read in the light of Geology, reads like false science or childish imaginings. In the light of astro-theology it is seen to be a true history of celestial change, calendar reform, ritual reconstruction, and religious conflict: and every stage of it can be dated.

head represented the original progenitor of them all. The family, under the government of a father, was assumed to be the primary group—the elementary social unit; in it were found at once the germs of the State and of sovereign authority. Many circumstances recommended this theory, and none more than its apparent simplicity. It was easy to find abundant analogies for the prolongation of the family into the State. A family tends to multiply families around it, till it becomes the centre of a tribe, just as the banyan tends to surround itself with a forest of its own offshoots. And it is obvious to follow up this figure by remarking that the feelings of kindred which hold families together in tribes, tend to bind together in nations, tribes which, like the Greek races, trace back their descent to kinsmen. I take this from J. F. McLennan's *Primitive Marriage* chap. ix.

Mr McLennan holds that, nevertheless, the theory cannot be supported. In the first place it is not borne out by history. The tribes are numerous whose members claim to be descended from a common progenitor. Enquiry, however, everywhere discloses the fact, that the common progenitor is a fiction—a hero or god called into being to explain the tribe. This opinion is not uncommon among anthropologists; we find it, for example, in C. O. Müller's *Doric Race*, translator's Preface; in Dr E. B. Tylor's *Primitive Culture* i 362; and Prof. Kittel of Leipzig who says (*Babylonian Excavations and Early Bible History*, pp. 18 and 28)—'It has come more and more to be regarded as proved that the earliest traditions concerning the Patriarchs and Tribes of Israel are merely presentations of myths—projections of later history into the prehistoric past.'

Mr McLennan finds it to be a very widespread practice for men to take wives from other tribes; and this exogamy is even religiously enjoined. The women are captured and forcibly borne away; or where this is no longer the case the pretence of it is kept up as a marriage ceremony. Long custom has created a law, and it is now regarded as incest to marry within one's own community; but the original reason, he believes, was the scarcity of women, which had arisen from the practice of infanticide. Children belonged to their mother, they received the mother's family name, and thus they were exotics or foreigners, like the woman herself. The mother's tribe-name, clan-name,

totem or crest-name, might be Buffalo, Badger, Emeu, Bear, Turtle, &c.: there seemed to be a general preference for animal names. Marriage by capture brought many totems into the tribe; but by their names they were known, and it was not allowed to take a wife of the same totem-name whether within the tribe or without. The animal form may be tattooed on the body, or inscribed on the shield; and those who use such a crest—as Bear or Badger—call themselves Bears or Badgers, and regard the animal as their ancestor. From reverence or from some other motive they shrink from killing and eating it, while they have no objection to killing the sacred animal of their neighbours. Totemism is almost universal among the natives of Australia, among the Red men of America, and is widely prevalent in Asia and Africa; while its former existence among the early Arabs, and the ancient Greeks and Egyptians can also be shewn. It seems to arise naturally at a certain stage of human progress; and it would be of much interest to learn the true cause. But what chiefly concerns us in the present enquiry is to ascertain, if we can, the origin of the tribal division among nations, and especially in Israel. Such investigations as those of Mr McLennan seem to demand the existence of different tribes to start with: tribes so distinct as to have diverse names and to be often hostile to one another. How do they get their names, and why do they happen to be, in so many nations, exactly four or twelve?

A Parable.—Long ago, in a pastoral region of Asia, a small community, descendants of the Sabeans, erected a tabernacle for their religious rites, and pitched their tents round about it. The door of the tabernacle faced the east; and the people were grouped east, west, north and south, according to their families. There were some priestly duties, of course; and as the holy house had to be protected, the attendants were armed men. In actual practice the whole community might have to be protected at the same time, and for this reason the guards must be fairly numerous. In the earlier days the duties were undertaken in turn by the men of each quarter of the camp or settlement, the four filling out the year. But when the population had multiplied, twelve companies of guards in rotation did monthly service.

These guards, isolated in the midst of a vast circle, and watchful while others slept, became familiar with many conspicuous stars, and most of all with the group or constellation which culminated at midnight in the middle of their term of service. As the nights followed one another they watched it slowly pass; and measured their own remaining time of public duty. Meanwhile they saw, ascending close behind it, the constellation which would bring them relief—because, simultaneously would arrive the next batch of men. Naturally each company was becoming associated with a particular month of the year, and identified with the zodiacal constellation of that month, though there had not been any plan to bring about such a result. If the constellation had a name—as the Ram, the Snake, the Antelope—the men might begin to be called Antelopes, Snakes, &c.

Sacrifices were offered, and were a charge assessed on all. The guards, too, must be fed, and it was the duty of all families to contribute. Each of the eleven Sections carried to them a share of food from its own farm or communal field. One brought sheep and lambs, another wheat or barley: the contributions comprised lentils, apples and grapes, poultry, eggs, and goat's milk, every production, according to the special cultivation. Families engaged in hunting and trapping offered rabbits, hare, and game. There was generous provision, and no ground of complaint. Yet one thing was always wanting, and every company of guards felt it in turn: they looked in vain for the article of food which it was their own special occupation to produce. It is not certain that it was not this industry which gave them their totem-names, afterwards bestowed also upon their star-groups. In their absence on camp service there was less of this commodity produced, and the little was wanted by their women-folk. In this way their month of service involved an enforced abstinence from their own accustomed food or dainty, their speciality, the flesh of the animal which gave them their crest. Because of the religious obligation they submitted willingly to the self-denial and even after they returned to their homes were inclined to persevere in it.

It is interesting to watch social developments and observe the emergence of unexpected results. The people we are speaking of, when they made twelve companies to guard their tabernacle

each for one month, did not foresee that they would be led in consequence to new customs of marriage. Yet so it was. A man's absence from home was practically a temporary divorce *a mensa et toro*. He had to trust his wife's virtue. When children were born in his house the neighbours would say: We know who the mother is! Descent would be more conveniently reckoned through the mother; though perhaps this had been so, even before. The men had daughters as well as wives; the younger men had sisters at home. If they marry during the service month of their clan, they must necessarily accept the men of other clans. Young men of other clans made raids on the clan denuded of its fighting men, and carried off the young women willy nilly. Some of the maidens, however, were not averse, and arranged dances, although they knew that they might be 'surprised' and captured. To this practice also the fathers and brothers had to reconcile themselves, as being incidental to their tabernacle service. In their turn they would make raids on others: and by and by it would seem to be the only right thing.

In course of time the twelve monthly companies became distinct tribes. A later development was to leave all tabernacle duties—priestly and soldierly—to one tribe in perpetuity; and then of course this tribe received the gifts in support continually.

The words of our parable are ended. We confess it to be an imaginary story, for which we cannot quote contemporary historical authorities. Yet as it would appear to account for tribal divisions and totem standards, we may usefully bring together some of the scattered facts which seem to support it. It is not pretended that nothing has hitherto been done; but it may safely be said that very little has been finally settled. Tribal constitution is discussed, but there is no answer to the question why the divisions should so often be four or twelve. Max Müller held that a totem was a clan mark: but how come the clans? Mr Andrew Lang conjectures that the early inhabitants of the earth lived in small groups, and they fixed animal names on one another in derision. Messrs Spencer and Gillen, living among the Blacks of Australia, have discovered some totem practices inconsistent with the previous ideas of anthropologists. It remains the case, as confessed by Mr Howitt

in 1888, that to explain the rise of totemism is as yet one of the unperformed tasks of investigators. The present paper will only have to do with totems incidentally: its principal aim is to find some clue to the tribal arrangement in Israel.

Divisions of 12 and 4.—When we observe that many of our towns are built with main streets making a cross east and west, north and south, and having a cathedral or an ancient cross in the middle, we are reminded of the Hebrew camp in the wilderness, or an American Indian arrangement. It is remarkable that tribes of men whom we deem barbarous are often more regardful of the cardinal points than we are ourselves. After the fashion of barbarians they are also very religious. Dr Louis H. Morgan, in his work on *Ancient Society*¹, tells us that the American Indian tribes in general held religious festivals at particular seasons of the year, which were observed with forms of worship, dances, and games. Among the Iroquois each *gens* furnished a number of Keepers of the Faith, both male and female, who together were charged with the celebration of these festivals. These Indians have their phratries or brotherhoods; and these are subdivided into two or more gentes, comprising persons of the same family relationship and ancestry; or perhaps gentes were first and were combined into phratries.

'The pueblo of Mexico was divided geographically into four quarters, each of which was occupied by a lineage, a body of people more nearly related by consanguinity among themselves than they were to the inhabitants of the other quarters. Presumptively each lineage was a phratry . . .' In the brief account of these quarters at the foundation of Mexico, Herrera proceeds as follows: 'When this was done, the idol ordered a priest to bid the chief men divide themselves, with their kindred and followers, into four wards or quarters, leaving the house that had been built for him to rest in the middle, and each party to build as they liked best. These are the four quarters of Mexico now called St John, St Mary the Round, St Paul and St Sebastian. That division being accordingly made, their idol again directed them to distribute among themselves the gods he should name' (Morgan p. 198). 'Among the Village Indians of Mexico and Central America the phratry must have existed, reasoning upon general

¹ Macmillans, 1877.

principles, and have been a more fully developed and influential organization than among the Iroquois. The four "lineages" of the Tlascalans who occupied the four quarters of the pueblo of Tlascala, were, in all probability, so many phratries. Each had a distinct military organization, a peculiar costume and banner, and its head war-chief, who was its general military commander. They went forth to battle by phratries. . . . The Aztecs in like manner, of the four quarters of Mexico, were distinguished from each other by costumes and standards, and went out to war as separate divisions.' Regarding the government of the Aztecs Brasseur de Bourbourg remarks generally that 'nearly all the towns or tribes are divided into four clans or quarters whose chiefs constitute the Great Council' (pp. 98, 203). Dr J. G. Frazer (*Totemism* 81) tells us that when a North American tribe is on the march, the members of each totem-clan camp together, and the clans are arranged in a fixed order in camp, the whole tribe being arranged in a great circle or in several concentric circles. When the tribe lives in settled villages or towns, each clan has its separate ward.

Among the ancient Greeks—so far removed from these Indians in time and place—tradition said that in the days of Cecrops there had been twelve clans or divisions of the people; and that, first, Amphictyon brought their representatives to meet at a round table, and then Erechtheus invited them all to a Pan-athenaic festival. It was part of the business of Erechtheus, however, to drive a chariot with four horses abreast; and 'these things are an allegory'. There were four chief tribes of the Hellenes, whose progenitors were said to be sons of Hellen. The legend used to be regarded as historical, but Dr E. B. Tylor classes it with the eponymic myths of other nations (*Prim. Cult.* i 364). Taking a single city of Greece, the four tribes of the Athenians were each organized in three phratries, each phratry composed of thirty gentes. Suidas, who gives this information, adds that these numbers were derived from the four seasons, the twelve months, and the three hundred and sixty days of the year (G. Cornwall Lewis *Astron. of the Ancients* p. 17 Note).

In the Book of Genesis the sons of Ishmael are not merely individuals, for their names are given to us 'by their villages, and by their encampments; twelve princes according to their

nations' (Gen. xxv 16). In Assurbanipal's account of his eighth expedition, we have mention of the 'twelve districts which were in Elam' and 'fourteen cities, royal seats' (George Smith *Hist. of Assurb.* p. 222).

How comes the prevalence of the number 12? We have in Israel the historical record of monthly service of military companies, and service in turn by 'courses' of priests. In the early years of the monarchy we find the military organization begun by Saul and then greatly developed by David. 'The Host' was the whole available military force of Israel, consisting of all males capable of bearing arms, and was summoned only for war. There were twelve divisions who were held to be on duty month by month; and over each of them presided an officer, selected for this purpose, from the other military bodies formed by David (Stanley *Jewish Church* Lect. xxiii). The only standing army had for its nucleus David's 600 heroes or mighty men; and when it became divided into three, and these again by ten, each band of twenty had its officer—'the thirty'—and each 200 its superior officer 'the three'. There were also courses of priests appointed in David's reign (1 Chron. xxiv 1-19; 2 Chron. xxiii 8; Luke i 5); and although their term of service was but one week, and not a month, the number twelve seems to emerge. The twenty-four courses were made up from two great priestly houses, rivals in a measure, each of which was apparently entitled to twelve. Both the priestly and the military arrangements of the days of the monarchy appear to look back to earlier time, and derive something from tradition. In Greece 'the sacrifices at Elis were conducted by a priest, who held office for one month, and by the seers, the libation officers, the Interpreter of Antiquities, the flute-player and the woodcutter' (Paus. v, xv). Among the Hebrews, had not the priests in the olden time served the tabernacle month by month?

That chapel of the Mexicans, with the idol in it, would demand some priestly service and require some soldierly guardianship. The tabernacle of Israel in the wilderness was served by priests, and both served and guarded by Levites. The Levites, as we know, were essentially a military caste—'a band of determined soldiers, each with his sword by his side, ready to defend and avenge the Divine Presence at the risk of their lives, against traitors

thin or enemies without the camp' (Stanley, Lect. xxxvi). And they needed to be that ; for they would be called upon sometimes to carry the ark into the battlefield (1 Sam. iv 3, 5, v 2, xiv 18 ; Sam. xi 11). Such duties and risks, we may fairly suppose, were at one time undertaken by all the able-bodied men of the nation in turn. In the wilderness, although the priests and Levites render public service all the year round, the Israelites are already divided into twelve tribes, and it is revealed to us that formerly each tribe took its turn.

We have a description of that orderly encampment which called forth the passionate burst of Balaam's admiration : 'How goodly are thy tents, O Jacob, and thy tabernacles, O Israel !' The Holy Tent is in the middle, and there are three tribes on the east side, three on the west, three north and three south. The ground plan would be just like that of an Indian zodiac, which is made square instead of circular, with the Sun in the centre. When on the march the groups are headed severally by the tribes of Reuben, Judah, Dan and Ephraim, each carrying a standard. What these ensigns were we are informed by Aben Ezra and Jonathan Ben Uzziel : the Targum of Jonathan tells us that Reuben carried a bull, Judah a lion, Dan an eagle or a basilisk, and Ephraim a man. Taking the basilisk as equivalent to a scorpion, these four signs also headed the four quarters of the zodiac, and introduced the seasons some thousands of years ago. The tribe of Levi is not in either of these four divisions, but carries and guards the tabernacle in the midst of them, and performs these duties at all seasons of the year. But this had not always been so ; and the Books of Moses contain many references to the former participation of all the tribes. At first, and as long as primitive customs prevailed among the Hebrews, the head of each family performed the sacerdotal functions ; and it is related in the narrative of the exodus that the chief of every house performed all the rites connected with the paschal sacrifice. The 'young men of the children of Israel', who assisted Moses in the ceremonies of the covenant, were any that were deemed most fit for the task (Exod. xxiv). Kalisch conceives that the Levites gradually devoted themselves entirely to priestly pursuits, which at once secured subsistence to themselves and relieved the chiefs of families from duties often burdensome and inconveniently

interfering with their general occupations. They assumed, in the course of time, the rights of spiritual primogeniture, and boldly represented themselves, in religious matters, as substitutes for the Israelites. Yet this was, not unjustly, regarded as pretentious arrogance by the Reubenites, the oldest of the Hebrew tribes, which naturally claimed its religious privileges. A struggle ensued from which the Levites came forth victorious (Num. xvi 1 sqq.).¹

Dr M. Flinders Petrie, speaking of the tribes in the desert, says: 'Their fixation may well be due to a monthly corvée of forced labour in Egypt' (*Expositor* Aug. 1905). It seems hardly to have occurred to expositors that the secret of tribal division may lie hidden in the Hebrew word *mazzaroth* (or *mazzaloth*), a word of astronomical significance. 'Canst thou bind the sweet influences of Pleiades, or loose the bands of Orion? Canst thou bring forth Mazzaroth in his season? or canst thou guide Arcturus with his sons?' (Job xxxviii 31, 32). The precise meaning of the word has troubled translators. Is it a term for the twelve zodiacal signs, or for the seven planets? Does it relate to annual phenomena, or to diurnal? Mr Fox Talbot finds the Assyrian word Mazarta, meaning a watch, and infers a derivation from *natsar* or *nasar* 'to watch', as in Psalm xli 3 'Watch the door of my lips' (נצרה, &c.). The usual term for 'watchmen' is נצרים, which also means 'watch-towers' on the hills and 'watch-houses' in the fields. The same verb is very common in Assyrian, and is often applied to astronomical *observation*. Mr Fox Talbot's conclusion is that the Mazzaroth of Job were probably the Constellations which, by coming successively to the meridian, marked the watches of the night, the hours at which the sentinels had to be changed.² Prof. Schiaparelli, the Italian astronomer, sees some difficulty in the way of this: the problem is not so simple as some might think, besides which some means would be wanted which were also applicable when the sky was clouded over.³ How much more likely that the watchers who were to change guard were the monthly contingent! The annual succession of the Twelve Signs, magnificently conducting the seasons, possesses a grandeur worthy of the poetry of Job, and of the companion phrases of

¹ Kalisch on *Leviticus* i 395.

² *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Archaeol.* i 339.

³ G. Schiaparelli *Astronomy in the Old Testament* Eng. transl. p. 81.

passage:—Canst thou bind the cluster of the Pleiades [heralds of spring], or loose the bands of Ophiuchus¹ [where the vernal equinox is made fast]? Canst thou lead forth the constellations of the Zodiac in their season [bringing up hidden stars from the South]? Or canst thou guide the Bear with her den [in the North]?

The Association of the Tribes of Israel with the Signs and Seasons, thus suggested to us by more than one circumstance, may be strengthened by shewing that the Twelve of the zodiac were assigned a personality like the eponyms. If they were regarded with religious reverence they would be the Fathers of their worshippers, by the same way of thought as made the worshippers of Chemosh to be called his sons and daughters (Am. xxi 29). It would be perilous to attempt any proof from etymology that the names of the tribes of Israel were originally coincident with the names of the months. It is less hazardous to maintain that a special personality was attributed to each of the twelve constellations. In Persia and elsewhere the stars and their time-periods were ruled by great angels; and it was natural to identify the angel with the star. In Greece many of the months were plainly named from gods—'Απολλώνιος in Athens, 'Απειος in Bithynia, 'Αρτεμίδιος in many states, &c. (see *Wis Astron. of the Ancients* p. 23). In Assyria we read in the Creation Legend, 'He arranged the year according to the constellations that he defined. For each of the twelve months three constellations he fixed'. Diodorus Siculus says that each sign had its deity. It follows that the animal forms under which the signs are represented are symbols of the divinities. In the Persian Zodiac, as in our own, they were the Lamb (or the Ram), the Bull, the Twins, the Crab, the Lion, &c. It might easily come about that a military company associated with the Lion month would blazon the lion on their shields and become known as the Lion tribe. Plutarch suggested that the worship of animals may have arisen from the custom of representing them on standards. Diodorus explains the worship of animals by the myth that the gods, being at one time hard pressed by the giants, concealed themselves for awhile under the form of animals, which in consequence were probably Prometheus Bound. See the argument in G. St Clair *Myths of Greece*.

sequence became sacred.¹ Under varying views the fact is recognized that the constellations are furnished with animal names; and behind the animal form, there was believed to be a divinity. That divinity was the progenitor of his worshippers. Dr Sayce finds that a common phrase in Assyrian texts is this: 'The man the son of his god'; and of these deities, one is represented as a Fish, another as an Antelope, &c. In the Hebrew Scriptures even Malachi calls a heathen woman the daughter of a strange god (Mal. ii 11).

Mr R. A. Proctor, the astronomer, in an essay explaining the shield of Hercules, the shield of Achilles, &c., reminds us that the temple domes of ancient days were made to represent the heavens. He reasonably conjectures that on these shields we have many of the starry figures reproduced, besides the pursuits of hunting, pasturing, sowing, ploughing, and harvesting.

Jacob's Blessing.—Taken by itself, there is nothing incredible in the statement that the patriarch Jacob had twelve sons, and lived to see one of them famous. At first we may be inclined to match the fact by the instance of Ishmael, who was the father of twelve sons, all princes. Further thought may shew us that the second case does not add to the credibility of the first, but rather the contrary. It strengthens the argument for allegory. In what sense were the twelve brothers the sons of Jacob?

In any case we are led to associate Jacob's sons with the zodiacal signs. Joseph's dream likens his family to the sun and moon and the twelve stars; and the twelve stars were understood by Philo to be the month representatives (*On Dreams sent from God*: see Robert Brown *Eridanus* p. 57). Hecataeus of Abdera also, speaking of Moses, says,—'He divided the people into twelve tribes, because he regarded twelve as the most perfect number, agreeing as it does with the number of months that complete the year.' Our chief justification, however, is found in the terms of Jacob's prophetic blessing (Gen. xlix), which borrows all its phrases from zodiacal suggestions. The great era to which astronomic legend looks back is that of the vernal equinox in Taurus. The year began in spring, and the first of the signs was the Bull, as we now feign the spring to begin with the Ram. Accordingly, Jacob appears inclined to liken his eldest

¹ Discussed in Lubbock *Origin of Civilization* chap. vi.

Reuben to the Bull, for he ascribes to him that excellency power which in the Blessing of Moses belongs to the wild ox (Gen. xxxiii 17). The second quarter begins of course with the third sign: the fourth sign is Leo, the fourth son is Judah, and Judah is a lion's whelp'. Dan, who is described as 'an adder the path', suits very well the Scorpion, the seventh sign, and is the seventh in the order of blessing, although the fifth in the order of birth. The seventh month begins the second half the year; it became in fact the first month of the civil year the Jews; and some commentators have noticed that a sort of secondary leadership is ascribed to Dan. Thus we have a good start: but before we get all round, difficulties crowd upon us, and we falter. Why is the fifth son taken seventh in the order of blessing? If Reuben is identified with Taurus how comes he to have a characteristic of Aquarius, 'unstable as water'? What is meant by Simeon and Levi being 'brethren' when they belong to a group of four and are not twins; and how came they to say 'I am a man' and 'I have bought an ox'? For some of the twelve others it is difficult to find any place in the circle, to fit their characters; or even to know what place was intended for them, since the order of the names varies. They are the sons of four mothers, and something seems to depend on that: but if we try to link to group them under the four seasons we are baulked again. They are not in groups of three. Reuben with Taurus might open the spring; and Judah in Leo would go well with summer; but both are of the same mother. Leah's first family children are four; Rachel's children are only two; and between them are some who seem to be of lesser dignity, as the sons of two handmaids. With four sons of Leah, two of Bilhah, and two of Zilpah; then two more of Leah's own, and two of Rachel's, we cannot claim any obvious correlation with the four seasons. We are perplexed by what seems to be a tangle; and no one has been able to solve the problem satisfactorily.

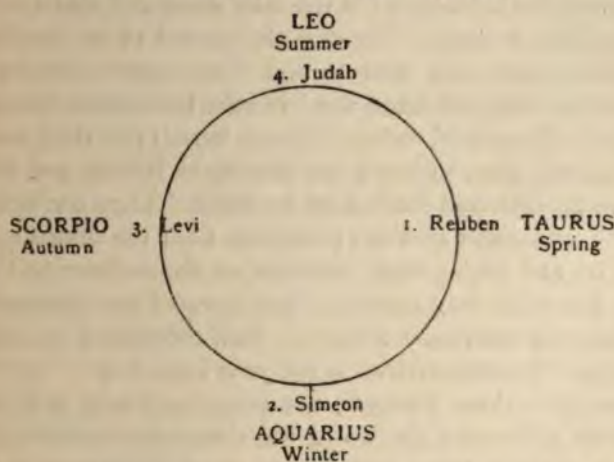
We have to seek our clue in astronomy; and nothing can be done until we learn something of the early history of the people, and the features of the early calendars. The year was divided into four quarters some time before the subdivision into twelve months, and that is why the first group of the sons

of Jacob are four in number. The defective calendar of the 'Vague Year', allowing the zodiac to revolve factitiously, brought one quarter into the place of another; and that mixes the signs together and makes Reuben to be Bull and Waterman at the same time. Let us call to our aid a few facts and dates.

Records and legends concur in their indication that the ancient astronomy dated from the time when the equinox of spring passed out of Gemini into Taurus. The summer sign was Leo, the autumn was Scorpio, and winter Aquarius. This era, as I have elsewhere shewn, may be reasonably fixed at 4437 B.C. Then, since the sun occupies 2,156 years in traversing one sign, the equinox would enter Aries in 2281 B.C., and be passing out of 'the first point of Aries' into the thirtieth point or degree of Pisces in 125 B.C. It was in 125 B.C. that Hipparchus, the astronomer, observed the equinox to be in the first point of Aries. Whatever the merits of the calendar founded in 4437 B.C., it had only gone on for 195 years when a new era was adopted, namely that of the 'Vague Year' of the Egyptians. Their New Year's Day was at midsummer, when the rising of the Nile waters was heralded by the rising of the star Sothis (or Sirius) a little before the sun. The year was reckoned at 365 days, and as there was no bissextile or other intercalary, the festival was held one day too soon in the fourth year, and two days too soon in the eighth year, getting more and more out of accord with the star. It went the whole round of the seasons in 1,460 years (four times 365) and returned to the starting-place, when it was once more in accord with Sothis. This period was the Sothic Cycle, or Great Year. Its institution appears to have been in 4242 B.C., an era to which the Samaritans looked back as the date of creation. Time or reckoning began then; and if we follow the moving festival round and round, the first cycle brings us to 2782 B.C.; the completion of the second, in 1322 B.C., is known as the Era of Menephtes; and when we come round the third time, in 137 A.D., Censorinus tells us that a Phoenix Period is ended. The fabled phoenix bird, accustomed to revive from its ashes, was an astronomical cycle; and although any recurring period might claim the name, Tacitus and others give the period of the phoenix as 1,460 years (Tacit. *Ann.* i 6).

The Blessing of Jacob has to be read in relation to the Great

Year, and it contemplates the state of things which existed when one cycle had been completed, and a second was three-quarters round. We have to assume the course of things to have been as follows :—The fortunes of Leah are bound up with the Vague Year, and those of Rachel with the Tropical. Starting with the Sothic era 4242 the first four sons of Leah are named as the four quarters, not the first four months ; and Judah correlates with the lion, not because Leo is the fourth month from Taurus, but because Leo is the fourth quarter, moving the reverse way.



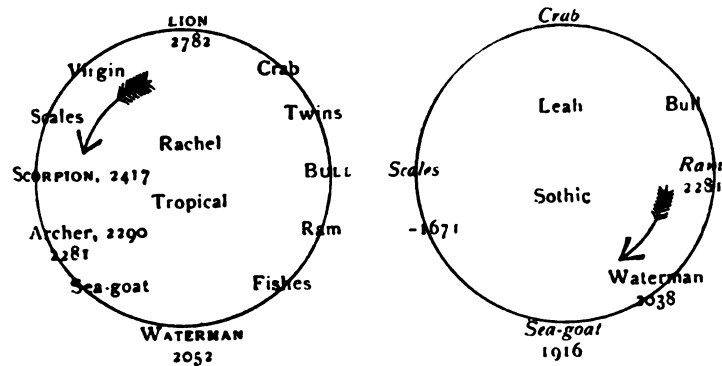
When the year is too short the movement of the festival is of course retrograde, and the order of the quarters is—Spring, Winter, Autumn, Summer. Reuben goes with spring, and Judah with summer ; but between them we have Simeon and Levi. The completion of the cycle gives rise to great searchings of heart. The Great Year has seen the New Year Festival carried backward through all the seasons, and now that it has come home again, it is found that a whole year has been lost in the reckoning : it requires 1461 Sothic years to equal 1460 Tropical. In Egypt, although the common people follow the Sothic reckoning, the priests keep time by the Tropical. The difference is that, beginning with a summer festival—let us say, on the 1st of July—the ‘Sothic’ people keep to the calendar *date*, which goes wandering backward through the seasons, and pretend that it carries the season and the sign with it ; while the Tropical people adhere to

the solstice and allow the calendar to bring a succession of date for the festival. By the second method the festival advances through the *months* of the *calendar*, in the natural order, though keeping to its season ; and may be said to revolve, in the opposite direction from the first. This adherence to the solstice is the right way ; it is the way of the wise priests of Egypt. There is a party in favour of reform. It is now the year 2782 B.C., and the first Sothic Cycle is ended. Which way shall things move for the future ?

The decision is indicated in the brief statement that Leah 'left bearing' (for a time). The new time is not to be like the old. Leah has given four sons to the Vague-year cycle. Rachel espouses the Tropical Year, and will send the festival through the months in the natural order. Unable herself (we shall presently see why), she gives to Jacob her handmaid Bilhah, and Bilhah's sons are the fifth and sixth born to Jacob. They correspond to the fifth and sixth *quarters* ; starting from the summer (where Judah is) and taking their positions at the *autumn* and *winter* points (the right way round). In this way Dan displaces Levi, and Naphtali supersedes Simeon. Half the second cycle is completed, and we have arrived at the year 2052 B.C.

Before this time, however, the vernal equinox had entered Aries—in 2281—and the world was everywhere perturbed. No event of ancient times had a more revolutionary effect on the rituals of the current worship. It was as though Zeus was deposed. Taurus is no longer the proper image of the Deity, but Aries rather ; Jupiter-Ammon must have ram's horns, and what not. When things are at length adjusted, the Ram equinox, 2281 B.C., becomes a new era, in true succession to the Bull beginning, 4437. It is realized that Nature herself has struck the note of true time, and discredited the Vague Year as artificial. The existing calendar is wrong at all points, and the Tropical ritual is affected as well as the Sothic. As the Ram occupies the place where Reuben was, so the Goat and not the Waterman is now at the winter solstice, the birth-place of Bilhah's son Naphtali. The two sons of Bilhah, although counted to Rachel, are not Rachel's own, for Rachel is the Ewe, the Lamb (למ)—the same astronomically as the Ram—and all the quarters and signs are shifted round.

The adherents of the Vague Year, seeing their opportunity, adopted the new era, and set out again with their year of 365 days, having its festival tied to the calendar first day. Drifting backwards through the seasons it favoured the fortunes of Leah, and in due time two more sons were born—viz. Gad at the spring point, and Asher at that of winter. Yet these are offspring of the handmaid Zilpah, and not Leah's own, because they are counted in the Cancer-Aries succession, and not from Leo-Taurus in the old way. The birth of Asher brings us down to B.C. 1916. Meantime, since the calendar is running in the old Sothic way, Leah must have two more children given to her on her own account. These are Issachar and Zebulun, to be correlated with the Bull and the Waterman. This only



brings us to the year 2038, and not to 1916, the true winter point established by the recent reform. Leah seems to reach that point with the birth of a daughter—Dinah—and then she 'left bearing' again. There would not have been a seventh son until 1671. Rachel, the Ewe, and Jacob's favourite, is to have two sons on her own account, and that will complete the list. Looking at our diagram, starting from 2281, and remembering that Rachel moves the right way of the seasons, we judge that Joseph will be born close by the Crab in 1916, and Benjamin near the Scales in 1550. We need not, indeed, use these terms of mere approximation; for since the Taurus era (4437 B.C.) preceded the Sothic era by 195 years, all the signs are about three degrees in advance of the places marked. In the Ebers papyrus the year 1550 is referred to as a noted era, an era in

which some astronomical coincidence occurred. Measuring by the Sothic Cycle, and in the way followed by Leah and her maid, 1550 B.C. brings us to the autumn equinox, and shews the second cycle three-quarters gone. But going with Rachel we find Benjamin to be born (in 1550) in a place near Libra; and Rachel dies. We are not to expect any more members of the Ewe or Lamb line, in the present story. Or the meaning may be that Rachel dies because she has yielded to child-bearing of this sort. The equinox in Aries should have for its successor the equinox in Pisces, after long time. There ought not to be any Sothic family. In Grecian story we should come next to the Siege of Troy ($1550 - 365 = 1185$).

Jacob's blessing contemplates the state of things in B.C. 1550



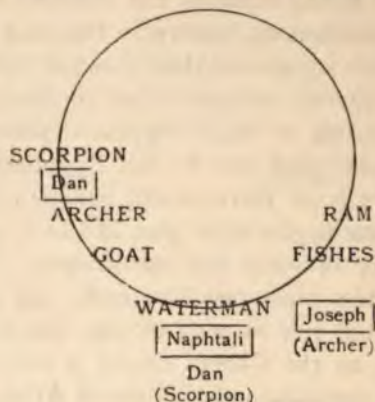
and views the calendar confusion in its religious aspect. Ritual and fasts and feasts had to be in accordance with the seasons and the stars; and the Vague Year was always wrong, from start to finish. When it was half-way through it declared summer in midwinter, and spring in autumn. Being three-quarters elapsed, it now brings Reuben and the Bull into the place of Judah and the Lion, and works similar confusion all round. Jacob addresses Reuben as his first-born, the first-fruits of his union with Leah, and as possessing the dignity and power belonging to the eldest son. At the same time Reuben is unstable as water, for he has yielded his own proper place to Simeon and the Waterman. In the spring of the year, although the sun is in Taurus, the calendar is telling the people that it is winter and

they are under the Waterman. Melville, in his *Veritas*, taking his plate from the Atlas of Alexander Jamieson (1820), represents Reuben as Aquarius. Flammarion also, in his *History of the Heavens*, makes the same identification. At the beginning of this second cycle, when Jacob was associated with Bilhah, and the New Year festival began to move the other way, the lapse of one quarter saw Reuben's sin—he 'went up to his father's couch'; for the solstice was the resting-place and secret chamber of the sun. He has forfeited this primogeniture; though he found advocates (Deut. xxxiii 6). Coming to Simeon, the second son, we see that, in his own place, he now has Levi with him: 'Simeon and Levi are brethren'; yet Levi in usurping a place at the winter solstice has slain the Man of the sign, and Simeon in annexing the spring equinox has disabled the Bull. They cannot escape punishment, however. Dan and Naphtali, of the second Cycle, have superseded them; and in the land of Canaan they will be scattered, without tribal territory. Judah alone, out of the first group of four, is approved without qualification. The solstice Ruler gave law to the Egyptians; and Judah is the solstice. He is no mere month nor sign; and he has not moved. The year begins with him, and he is lord of the year; the mere quarter divisions are subordinate. The Lion in the heavens behind him represents him well. He reigns as lord of the year, and shall rule as long as ever the solstice is in Leo. When it comes to the Cancer border a new Era will begin, for the equinox simultaneously arrives at Aries; and the leadership will be given to Ephraim, whose Holy Place shall be Shiloh. Meantime, although the calendar pretends that Judah has changed characters like his brothers, and the vineyards of autumn are his through the factitious revolution of the signs, he is not made drunken like Noah, but has washed his garments in wine.

That the first four sons should lose prominence seems thus to be explained by two causes: they were associated with the moter time; and their successors were introduced by the inevitable movement of the stellar signs.

Of these successors we need not attempt to shew the stellar connexions in detail: but we may take one or two. Dan, although the fifth son, is taken seventh in Jacob's blessing; and his place in Scorpio belongs to the seventh month. The

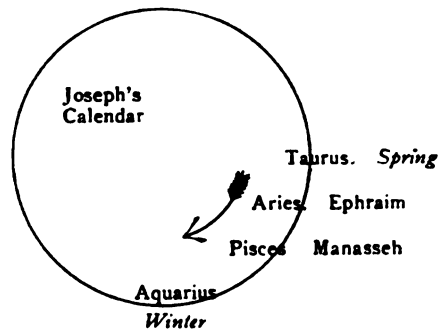
promise that 'Dan shall judge his people' assigns him a leadership second only to that of Judah; and this is appropriate to his factitious place in the Waterman sign, for the adherents of the Sothic calendar claimed that to be the original starting-point. Levi has been there already, and taught the Law (Deut. xxxiii 10). In the Waterman sign, however, Dan will do mischief: his scorpion, or the coluber snake close by (see Drummond's *Oedipus Iudaicus* pp. 20, 208), will bite the heels of those horses which have their place just above Aquarius, on the celestial globe. Take one other name. Joseph has been made strong by the Mighty One (comp. xlix 24 with xlviii 3)—by El Shaddai, the Deity as revealed to Abram and associated with the winter solstice. The sign of Sagittarius is wrongfully



placed in Pisces, and Joseph is sorely grieved with the archers (i.e. through the opposition in the calendar, and therefore in the monthly ritual).

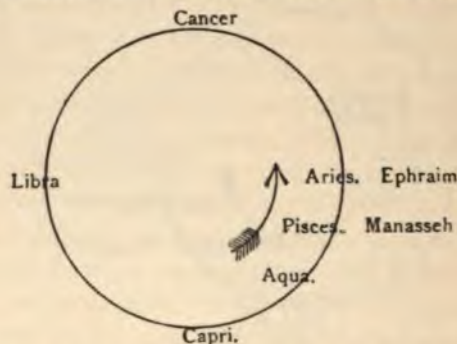
The Blessing on Joseph's sons.—The prophecy in Gen. xlviii appears to be independent of that in xlix, and proper to be taken later. Of course the grandsons of Jacob come after the sons. In chap. xlix the patriarch blesses Joseph, whereas in chap. xlviii Joseph gives place to his sons. We have two instead of one, and the younger brother placed before the elder, while their uncle Benjamin seems to be pushed out of the circle to make room for them. We have seen that Jacob's sons were not allocated to the twelve months, but to the quarters; and although the precession of the equinoxes brought another set of four into

prominence, all the eight were leaders of the quarters. Joseph was not one of them, and his sons were not mentioned. We seem now to have intermediate months brought in—a system of twelve months instead of four quarters—and the reform or addition is borrowed from Egypt, whereas all that went before was from Mesopotamia. We have seen that in chap. xlix the vision of the Patriarch contemplates the Vague Year, as it was in 1687 B.C., with the Sothic Cycle calendar twisting the seasons three-quarters round (in the backward direction); and the conventional fallacy that the equinox remains in Taurus. In blessing the sons of Joseph the seer realizes that the equinox has long since passed into Aries. It did so in 2281; and half a cycle had passed when Benjamin was born in 1550. This important era (mentioned as such in the Ebers papyrus) is probably the date here contemplated, to which Jacob desires to see calendar and



ritual properly adjusted. In the calendar of Joseph the two sons stand between Aquarius and Taurus, and are going from spring to winter, a direction which causes Manasseh to precede Ephraim. In the calendar now enjoined upon him by Jacob the natural order of the seasons is re-established; Jacob crosses his hands, Ephraim is to precede Manasseh. Not only so, but he goes with Aries to the equinox, and thus from being last becomes first—leader of the year. It is part of the reform that the year shall begin with the spring instead of the summer. Thus it was with the Egyptians themselves, for the *equinox* in Aries became a new era. Aratus having made a mistake in this matter, and made Cancer the first of the signs, was reproved by Theon: 'Wherefore has he taken the commencement from Cancer, when the

Egyptians date the beginning from Aries?' So the sceptre departed from Judah. In the false calendar, three-quarters wrong, we have seen Reuben and Simeon at the vernal equinox: so Jacob says, 'Ephraim and Manasseh, even as Reuben and Simeon, shall be mine' (xlviii 5). Ephraim in this place ought to shew his association with the Ram; but after the Bull had held the position for two thousand years, it was hard to establish new customs. The associations of the vernal equinox continue to be with Taurus. In the blessing of Moses Ephraim is given the horns of the wild ox (Deut. xxxiii 17). 'And centuries after when its great disaster had fallen on the kingdom of Israel, the same images occur to the prophets . . . Ephraim is still the "bullock", now "unaccustomed to the yoke" but waiting a restoration to the "pleasant places" of his former pasture (Jer. xxxi 18 Hos. ix 13; iv 16)' (Smith *Dict. of Bible* art. 'Ephraim').



We have seen why Jacob crossed his hands, and declared prophetically that Ephraim must become greater than his brother. Still there was something consolatory in the blessing of Manasseh. It is true that the sign of Pisces is the twelfth and last in the circle, but the last is not always the least. If the Sothic cycle error is to be avoided, the year of 365 days must have an occasional intercalary, and this shall be given to Manasseh. To take in the annual six hours we may add one day in the fourth year, or one month in the 120th year (as the Persians did), and there are other ways. 'The ancients by combining the course of the sun with that of the moon, assumed the tropical year, at a rough and approximate calculation, to consist of twelve lunations or 360 days' (Lewis *Astron. of the*

Ancients p. 17); and then it was necessary to add a thirteenth month in every sixth year. With the Babylonians the twelfth month was Adar, and the occasional thirteenth was called Ve-Adar, or 'Adar again'. In Israel the twelfth and thirteenth are both to belong to Manasseh, whose multitudinous family will prove equal to that of two tribes. It seems likely that the doubling of the last month was the reason for placing two fishes in the zodiacal sign; an enigma to the astronomical expositor. It is a pity, from this point of view, that our Bible Revisers did not render Gen. xlviii 16 more literally, for Jacob promises Joseph that his sons shall 'like fish become a multitude' (root נָדַף).

The Date of the Exodus.—The coincidence of events with eras, observable so far in these records, suggests to us that the departure from Egypt may synchronize with some quarter of the Great Year, i. e. the Sothic Cycle. We have, however, the confusing circumstance that from the time of the Ram equinox, in 2281 B. C., the cycle has been dated from two eras, 136 years apart, or 229 years, according as we measure upwards or downwards.¹ Some tribes and peoples followed it as from 2281, while others adhered to the older era, 4242. The quarter days of the cycle, 365 years apart, were themselves eras of considerable importance; and we find that 1550 is noted in the Ebers Papyrus. With this date—which is in the Ram equinox succession—we have been led to correlate the birth of Benjamin: and we are ready to say that of course the Exodus should be later. Legendary story, however, sometimes goes back upon itself. The next quarter after Benjamin, in the Ram line, would be 1184, the date of the Trojan War, and too late for probability. By the old system (Bull succession) the next quarter would be 1322—the Era of Meneptah; and this is Bunsen's date for the Exodus. But there is antecedent improbability against reverting to that line at all. It was said to Abram,—‘In Isaac shall thy seed be called,’ and he was instructed to sacrifice the ram. Jacob loved Rachel more than Leah, and Rachel is identified with the Lamb, which is otherwise the Ram. Truth must recognize that the spring sun is no longer in Taurus but in Aries. Moreover, the Bible writers associate the right ritual with the tropical year and an accurate calendar. The Sothic Cycle is a wrong method, though good men may compromise with it.

¹ See the table in *St Clair's Myths of Greece* ii 727.

Where did Abram come in? When the equinox was adjusted in charts and reckonings, in 2281 B.C., the Ram having come to the spring quarter, the Sea-goat acceded to the winter solstice. The legends afford grounds enough for associating Abram with Capricorn and the winter festival. In Babylonia Dr. Sayce (*Hibbert Lecture* p. 280) finds Terah the father of Abram, to be connected with Ea the sea-deity, called 'the antelope of the deep'; and we know from Sir William Jones that in the Indian Zodiac the Sea-goat has the face of an antelope. We have seen that Naphtali was given the winter solstice in the second great Cycle; and in Jacob's Blessing Naphtali is a hind let loose. The goat supplies the symbol for El Shaddai, the Strong One, Abram's name for the Deity, just as does the Bull or the Ram. In *Myths of Greece* it is shown that the winter solstice was assigned to Kronos 'the nether Zeus', as Zeus of Olympus reigned at the summer solstice. Mr E. Richmond Hodges—the learned editor of Cory's *Ancient Fragments*—remarks upon some 'quite unmistakeable' points of resemblance between Kronos (or Saturn) and Abraham (p. 17). Saturn's-day again, the seventh day, the sabbath of rest for Abraham's people. On the supposition that Abraham at first followed the old ritual of the Sothic Cycle, a great quadrant festival would have been celebrated (though in honour of *Aquarius*) in the year 2052, and have passed onward 136 years towards the autumn equinox, when the Goat acceded to the winter solstice in 1916. We may picture to ourselves how the great error and the general confusion of ritual would stir a soul like that of Abram, to smash all the idols of his father's house and rise up and leave his country. Not only has the changing declination of the stars been ignored, but the Sothic Cycle has been allowed to carry round the festival days factitiously. While he drifts with the Cycle, backward through the seasons, he is allied to the wrong partner. When he recognizes his error and harks back to the solstice, for the Ram sacrifice, as the call from heaven directs, he discards Hagar the bondwoman and consorts with Sarai. As Hagar wanders in the wilderness (and the cyclic drifting is commonly represented as a wandering) her son by and by becomes an Archer: the festival passes out of Capricornus into Sagittarius. Abram's heart goes after Hagar and Ishmael; but in the end he preserves Isaac alive, and sacrifices the ram. His seed is to be called in Isaac, not in Ishmael. He becomes

solicitous to see his son Isaac rightly married; and the union is effected.

Yet it would seem that things did not go altogether as intended. The rivalry between Esau and Jacob indicates that affairs had become doubtful again by that time. Esau, the hairy man, has his name from the goat, and he will dwell in Mount Seir, the Goat country; Jacob is associated with the Ram or Lamb. When the Ram equinox was established as an era, the Sothic Cycle should have been abolished. Custom prevented that, and made the rectified equinox the starting-point of a fresh cycle. By this drifting the Ram has been sent wandering, and in the year 1916 it has come to the winter solstice to jostle the Goat. A leadership belongs to the winter solstice, and they are both there to claim it: Esau and Jacob being the respective champions. Esau



loses his birthright; falling into the cycle the Goat is carried up the side of the heavens to the place of the autumn equinox, and the Ram is left in possession. It is thus that the false calendar represents things. We see then that the Sothic Cycle is being followed even by the Jacob ritual. The difference is that it dates from the Ram equinox as an era (2281) and shifts the stellar signs one month forward all round the circle. But it is still wrong: the cyclic movement in any form is wrong. The Tropical Year alone would be right. However, moving thus in the false calendar, the Ram is found by and by (1550) at the next quarter point—the spring festival at the autumn season! This is a very anomalous state of things; and it finds mention, as we have seen, in the Ebers Papyrus. It sets men considering: it is not a mere calendar coincidence, it is a matter of practical concern and

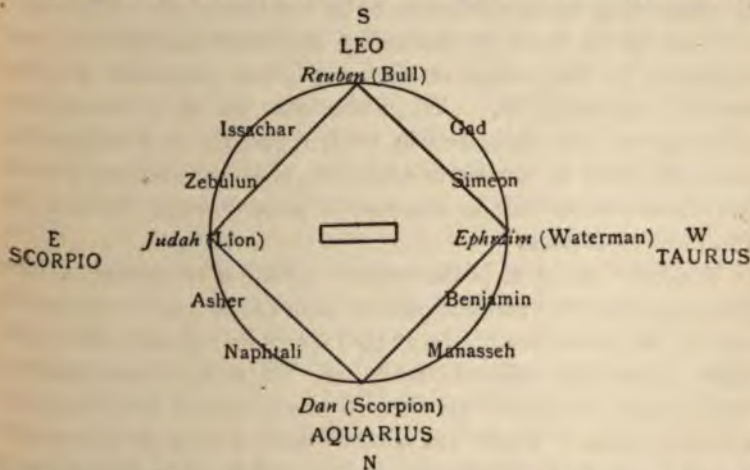
religious importance. The ritual is so outrageously wrong that the wrath of heaven is to be feared.

Then Moses was raised up, and given a commandment for his people. The Ram must be restored to its place, for autumn should not see the ritual sacrifices of spring, and the month *Tishri* should not begin the year. He reverted to *Nisan* (our April), and said, 'This month shall be unto you the beginning of months; it shall be the first month of the year to you' (Exod. xii 2), and he taught them to offer the Passover lamb and rejoice that the son of the household was saved from death. This reform comes so fittingly when the rectification of season and ritual is called for, in 1550 B.C., that we may accept that date for Moses and the Exodus.

The Wilderness Camp Arrangement.—We have not yet seen all the twelve tribes correlated with all the twelve signs. Reuben, Judah, Levi and Simeon took the quarter signs, in the first instance; two of them were displaced by Dan and Naphtali in the next cycle; the Ram equinox brought in a second set of four and to these were added the two sons of Joseph. That is all. The Blessing of Jacob enumerates the twelve, but leaves the location of some of them uncertain. In the wilderness camp, the tabernacle and its Levitical guards form the centre, around which the twelve tribes are grouped in four divisions, of three each north, south, east and west (Num. ii). It is not stated whether they formed a square, or a circle; or whether the order was virtually altered when they all faced one way to march. Expositors understand the description in different ways, and give us diverse diagrams. My own conception of the arrangement must here be offered. We place the South uppermost in the diagram because we face the south to watch the course of sun and stars. Mr Collingwood¹ remarks that this was commonly done in the astrologic square. If we are right in our representation—and we certainly are so as to the quarter points—the camp arrangement is fundamentally that of Jacob's Blessing. (1) It takes the zodiac when it is artificially twisted three-quarters backward (which is practically the same as one quarter forward) and fixes it there, so that the calendar spring overlies the real summer &c. The leading tribes are correlated as of old to the stellar co-

¹ *Astrology in the Apocalypse*.

figurations if we take the false calendar, not if we take the actual constellations. Judah, which had once been associated with the south and the summer, but has factitiously been brought to the season of autumn by the Sothic cycle, is now officially wedded to the autumn. And the same with the rest. No correction is attempted on the score of precession: it seems not to be recognized that the vernal equinox has entered Aries, which it did as long previously as 2281 B.C. The plan is in theoretical contradiction with the reform which reverted from Tisri to Nisan for the beginning of the year. That was a change which recognized that the Ram was at the equinox, whereas the camp arrangement assumes that the Bull is still a quarter sign. There is, however,



one feature which seems to take cognizance of the later phase of things: Ephraim and Manasseh are here, instead of the Joseph of Gen. xlix, and Ephraim is given the leading (quarter sign) position which he did not attain to until the Ram equinox was recognized. Another anomaly is that since Reuben is allowed to 'live and not die', Naphtali is deposed from a leading place, to which by birth he was as much entitled as Dan. In the rectification called for when the Sothic movement had brought the Ram (and the spring) to the place of autumn, the remedy was to move back in calendar reckoning, by half a year. The like remedy called for by Jacob's Blessing (and the Camp arrangement), would involve a recession of three quarters. The two events do not belong to

the same time and circumstances. The Exodus we have seen reason to date in 1550; the Blessing implies the Sothic calendar of 1687 B.C.

We seem then to find no support for the idea that Israel owed its tribal divisions to an experience of monthly service in companies in the wilderness. We cannot fairly couple the tribes seriatim with the special starry signs which we may fancy to have been their totems. Judah, for example, is neither placed with the lion nor in a position to see the lion culminate at midnight; nor do the others appear to be more suitably placed. This, however, may only indicate that the tribal division took place earlier.

In Dr Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible* Dr Kennedy holds the tabernacle in the wilderness to be non-historical. With Reuss and others he finds a convincing argument against its actual existence in the complete silence of the pre-exilic historical writers regarding it. W. Robertson Smith (*Kinship and Marriage* p. 219, published in 1885) regards it as already recognized by most of the recent enquirers, that the division of Israel into twelve tribes did not assume its present shape till after the conquest of Canaan.

Whatever the date of the narrative, the writer appears to have had calendars and zodiacal charts before him. There is the fact also of the existence of the twelve tribes in Canaan, with traditions of an early zodiacal connexion. The story of the wilderness wanderings bears evidence itself that the twelve had been preceded by four. There had always been a lion of the tribe of Judah; and three brothers of Judah's, with other animal crests. The devices were carried on their standards. Numbers ii speaks of the standards of Reuben, Judah, Ephraim and Dan; and Aben Ezra says distinctly that the four emblems were the same with the four faces of the cherubim. The cherubim represent the full zodiac, because they combine in one sphinx-like figure, the Bull, the Lion, the Eagle and the Man (Ezek. i). The man is Aquarius, the eagle in some zodiacs is substituted for Scorpio. The circular zodiac of Denderah shews these creatures at the four quarters, with (pillar) angels sustaining the vault of heaven. The standards would have some connexion with the ritual. Plutarch long ago suggested that the worship of animals may have arisen from the custom of representing them on standards.

He may have been wrong ; but his testimony holds good for the existence of animal standards. Military standards or banners are referred to in Ps. xx 5 ; Cant. vi 4 ; Is. xiii 2. Altogether the inference seems fair that the standards of Reuben, Judah, Dan and Ephraim had a zodiacal reference ; and the same would surely be the case with the remaining tribes when the nation was further divided. And what more likely to lead to the division than the adoption of diverse stellar emblems ?

The High Priest's Breastplate.—One other source of light in this enquiry is too important to be neglected : certain precious stones are associated with the zodiacal signs on the one hand and the tribes of Israel on the other. The twelve stones of the High Priest's breastplate, having the names of the children of Israel engraved upon them, were also emblems of the months (Exod. xxviii 17, 29 ; xxxix 8-14). The minute description of these gems in the 28th chapter of Exodus, indicates the symbolical reverence attached to them by the Israelites. Everything about the tabernacle and the garments and adornments of the High Priest was believed to be emblematical (Josephus *Ant.* iii 7. 7). A certain significance of the twelve stones is at once apparent. The beautiful idea is expressed that when Aaron went into the Holy Place he should bear the names of the children of Israel upon his heart for a memorial before the Lord continually. In their numbers and their importance they might differ. In marching through the desert they could not all be in the front : but not one of them was forgotten before God. Among other peoples the corresponding thing was witnessed. In Babylon the king, in his character of Pontifex Maximus, wore a breastplate adorned with twelve precious stones. Ezekiel says that the king of Tyre was so covered, with every precious stone ; and he enumerates nine of them. Apparently the other three have been deleted from the Hebrew text : but they are given in the LXX. What was the full significance of these emblems ?

Josephus (*Ant.* iii 6. 4 ; vii 5. 7) says that if any one should wish to refer the twelve stones to the twelve months, or to the same number of stars (of the constellations) in the circle which the Greeks call the Zodiac, he will not wander far from the true meaning. The arrangement in four rows of three, comes near to a square and not a circle ; but that is the form of an Indian

zodiac as given in Moor's *Hindu Pantheon* (and in the *Philosophical Transactions* for 1772). Philo remarks that the distribution in threes clearly indicates the four seasons, which 'under each of the three months correspond to three signs'. Clemens Alexandrinus also is quoted to the same effect.

Josephus gives the order of the gems as follows:—

Sardonyx	Topaz	Emerald
Carbuncle	Jasper	Sapphire
Ligure	Amethyst	Agate
Chrysolite	Onyx	Beryl.

He does not give the names of the tribes (and patriarchs) in their association with the gems, but he states the order to be that of birth (*Ant.* iii 7. 5). In another place, however (*Wars* v 5. 7) the third row is given in reverse order, and the fourth as 'onyx, beryl, chrysolite'.

Calmet has a plate (CXIII) representing the High Priest's Pectoral, in which he couples the stones with the tribes as follows:—

JUDAH (Sardonyx)	<i>Issachar</i> (topaz)	<i>Zebulun</i> (emerald)
REUBEN (Carbuncle)	<i>Simeon</i> (sapphire)	<i>Gad</i> (jasper)
EPHRAIM (Ligure)	<i>Manasseh</i> (agate)	<i>Benjamin</i> (amethyst)
DAN (Chrysolite)	<i>Asher</i> (onyx)	<i>Naphtali</i> (beryl).

Boothroyd (*Critica Hebraica*) is different again.

A good deal of doubt exists as to the identification of the stones, and their proper arrangement; but we do not need to discuss every point. Our Bible Revisers have given the names as here—

Sardius	Topaz	Carbuncle
Emerald	Sapphire	Diamond
Jacinth	Agate	Amethyst
Beryl	Onyx	Jasper.

The twelve names were also engraved on two large 'shield-like' stones—onyx or beryl—attached to the ephod on the high priest's shoulders, six names on each, 'according to their birth'. Even this plain statement may leave us in doubt whether to class together the six sons first born to Leah, or the six that were

really **her** own. Following Josephus and most of the rabbinical writers, the order is taken as follows:—

Right shoulder.

Reuben
Simeon
Levi
Judah
Dan
Naphtali

Left shoulder.

Gad
Asher
Issachar
Zebulun
Joseph
Benjamin

Why is there this double enumeration of the tribes in the garment of the high priest? It surely has some significance beyond mere emphasis. On looking again we perceive that the representation is not strictly duplicated: we have the current order, and an older order which is superseded. On the shield stone of the shoulder, Reuben heads the list; on the breastplate we have the camp arrangement, in which Judah sets forth first (Num. ii 9). Joseph, on the shoulder, gives place to Ephraim and Manasseh on the breastplate, room being found for the two by omitting Levi as well as Joseph. Here, in the camp, Levi has left the circular series and accepted permanent duties at the centre; but the shoulder stone preserves the memory of his old place. The old order changes, but it refuses to be extinguished. The stones borne on the priest's heart—each engraved with a tribal name—are emblems of a new and improved arrangement, but the old ones retain their hold on sentiment and affection, and must be preserved as relics. Here then we have another instance, in which the condition of things described in the story of the desert bears evidence of something anterior. It is not a new institution, but a developement, and carries about with it the structural survivals which witness to its ancestry.

If those two shield-like stones on the shoulders were the Urim and Thummim, they may have been derived from Egypt. Each of the two stones, bearing six names, is an object both singular and plural; a parallel in that respect to the cherubim. Etymologically the urim and thummim seem to be 'lights' and 'perfections'; or according to the LXX, thummim is 'truth'. Wilkinson tells us that in Egypt, when a case was brought for trial, the judge put on a golden chain, to which was suspended

a small figure of Truth, ornamented with precious stones of various colours: Truth was a goddess with the Egyptians, and her name was Thmei. Colours themselves were emblems of the months and the zodiacal signs. Remembering, too, that Egyptian symbolism deals constantly with the two hemispheres, upper and under, we may surmise that the shield-like stones of Aaron's shoulders had some distant reference of the same kind. The passage in Isaiah xlix 16—'I have graven thee upon the palms of my hands'—is rendered by some 'upon the two concaves'.

The 'breastplate of judgement' was attached to the shoulder-pieces by chains of gold, and we may suppose that its twelve stones inherit the oracular powers hitherto residing in the two sixes. Exodus xxviii 29-30 reads as though the Urim and Thummim might be the twelve stones of the breastplate taken 6 and 6—'Aaron shall bear the names of the children of Israel in the breastplate of judgement upon his heart . . . thou shalt put in the breastplate of judgement the Urim and the Thummim. That the Urim and Thummim here are nothing extra to the twelve stones was the opinion of Augustine at least. The twelve stones may be said to lie over one another in two sixes, to conform as far as possible to the arrangement of names on the shoulders. The disposition of tribe emblems into sixes appears also in *Ant.* iii 6. 6, where the twelve loaves are laid 'six upon each heap, one above another', on 'a table like those at Delphi'. The loaves, Josephus tells us, were emblems of the months of the year; the precious stones, says the Targum of Jonathan, were typical of the twelve celestial signs. Josephus makes the twelve stones to be the oracle, whence such answers came as are elsewhere ascribed to Urim and Thummim (*Ant.* iii 8. 9). The sardonyx on the right shoulder shone with splendour when God was present at the sacrifice; the stones of the breastplate by shining gave promise of victory to Israel's army. According to the Targum of Jonathan the twelve stones were lucid like lamps. It is remarkable that the lustre which betokened the Divine approval came from all the twelve stones of the breastplate, but from only one of the two shoulder-pieces. That one—on the right shoulder—bore the names of the six elder sons, all belonging to Leah and the quarter-points of the most ancient

circle. Astronomically it was long out of date,—superseded indeed when the equinox entered Aries in 2281 B.C.—but in calendar practice and religious ritual it had maintained its hold for ages. It must go at last, but its Urim is affectionately regarded, and the transition is facilitated by allowing to the shoulder-piece its place, and to the Sardonyx its splendour.

Our problem has proved to be complicated and difficult; but our enquiry is not without some result. We find twelve precious stones, twelve signs of the zodiac, twelve months of the year, and twelve tribes of Israel, intimately bound up together: and the ritual order of the nation based ultimately on the order of the heavens. Precessional change, affecting the declination of the stars, dictated some alteration, which was not effected without offending prejudices. A defective calendar twisted the months out of accord with the seasons of nature and dislocated the festivals, producing grotesque anomalies. Worst of all, the people loved to have it so; and some of their earliest traditions continued to have some sway. The children of Israel had come to be twelve tribes; but in olden times they had been but four, and originally a homogeneous community. The story of their wilderness camp is one of their very early traditions; but the encampment in four groups, the delegated service of the priests and Levites, the tails of the tabernacle and the high priest's robes are all reminiscences of an earlier state of things. The system throughout is correlated with the facts of astronomy and the calendar. We can hardly doubt that there were twelve tribes because there were twelve months, and twelve constellations of the months, the associative bond being probably monthly service in rotation, and attraction to the divinity of the month.

Traditions of this sort, so many and so widespread; so ancient that we find them in our earliest books; so persistent that no new Scripture is free from them, no change of faith can eradicate them—must have had an origin in some necessary phase of human development. The cause must have been in operation in different countries independently, and must of course have been adequate to produce the results. A cause is here suggested; and if it be not the true one, it may at least be found helpful in the consideration of the problem.

GEO. ST CLAIR.

THE THIRD BOOK OF ESDRAS AND THE TRIDENTINE CANON.

THE question why the Church of Rome does not consider the Third Book of Esdras to be canonical has recently attracted fresh attention. Sir Henry Howorth in the April number in the last volume of this JOURNAL has presented one view of the question. But it is possible that there is another, as I shall endeavour to shew.¹

His article was entitled 'The Modern Roman Canon and the Book of Esdras A', and in it he drew certain conclusions adverse to the Fathers of Trent and Florence. Before, however, examining his statements and the conclusions at which he arrives, we must be clear as to what is meant by Esdras A.

In the LXX MSS Alexandrinus and Vaticanus we find two books entitled respectively Esdras A and Esdras B. The latter Esdras B, is the Esdras and Nehemias of the Vulgate and Douay versions, the Ezra and Nehemiah of the Authorized and Revised versions. The former, Esdras A, often called the Greek Esdras is not found in the Douay Bibles, but is the book known as 'Esdrae Tertius Liber', and printed in the Clementine Vulgate as an appendix, together with 'Esdrae Quartus Liber' and 'Oratio Manassae'. In order to avoid confusion we may give the nomenclature as follows:—

Esdras A in the Greek Bibles is III Esdras of the Clementine Vulgate, and is known as the Greek Esdras.

Esdras B in the Greek Bibles is the I and II Esdras of the Vulgate, the Ezra and Nehemiah of the English versions.

IV Esdras does not occur in the Greek Bibles and does not concern us here.

Sir Henry Howorth claims to have shewn some twenty years ago in the pages of the *Academy* and in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* that the Greek text of Chronicle

¹ When I wrote an article on the subject in the July issue of *Deuterocanonicals* (1906) I had not seen Sir Henry Howorth's article in the JOURNAL.

and Esdras and Nehemias now found in Greek Bibles is not really due to the original translators of the Alexandrine or Septuagint version, but is made from the Massoretic text as existing in the second century A.D. He moreover maintains that the real LXX translation of the original Hebrew Ezra is that known as Esdras A or the Greek Esdras, and he urges that the editors of the Cambridge Septuagint should give full consideration to this view. If his opinion is correct it will follow that a really canonical book, viz. Esdras A, the only vestige of the original Hebrew Ezra, has been unlawfully excluded from the Canon, while the books which in our canon are known as Ezra and Nehemiah, or I and II Esdras, have no right to be there, since, on Sir Henry Howorth's hypothesis, they do not represent the old Hebrew Ezra of which no trace is to be found except in Esdras A.

It might be contended that the question was decided by the same Holy Spirit who spoke both by the Prophets and by the Councils. But such an argument would be out of place here. Sir Henry Howorth indeed maintains, as we shall see later on, that the Councils are contradictory. 'The fact', he says, 'is peculiarly interesting and important in regard to the Roman position in the matter, and I purpose in the following pages to examine how it has come about that a Church with whom the theory of continuous tradition is so dominant should have in fact departed so completely from its own early tradition in regard to this book, and to shew that this departure has been entirely due to a mistake, a very pardonable mistake, and in no sense to prejudice or predetermination.'

Modern scholarship is a thing of which we are justly proud, but some of the scholars of the Middle Ages and of the Renaissance period do not always receive the recognition that is due to them. If any one needs proof of the really marvellous scholarship possessed by the Fathers who sat on the Tridentine commissions, let him read the introductory pages to the Sixtine edition of the Septuagint. He will rise up from their perusal with very little faith in the capacity of those Fathers to make 'a mistake, a very pardonable mistake' on so serious a question as the relative merits of two such books as Esdras A and B.

In order to explain how the 'mistake' arose, Sir Henry Howorth

sketches the history of the Canon of the Old Testament in the Roman Church. After pointing out that the Vatican decrees regarding the Canon merely reiterate those of Trent, he proceeds to examine these latter. As is well known, the Tridentine Fathers did not merely draw up a list of the canonical books—it was a repetition of that of Florence—but they declared the Vulgate authentic. These are two patently distinct points. The former was necessitated by the keen discussion respecting the relative value of the Proto-canonical and the Deutero-canonical books, a discussion which the Fathers settled by reiterating the decree of Florence and making no distinction between the two classes of books; the latter point arose from the conflicting Latin versions with which the new scholarship, combined with the facilities afforded by the printing-press, was flooding the world. Sir Henry Howorth has confused these two points.

For, after giving the Decree containing the list of canonical books, he says that this decree 'is followed by certain words defining the actual text to be appealed to', and he evidently supposes that these appeals refer to questions regarding the canonicity or non-canonicity of certain books, for he adds that these words 'are very important for our purpose'. It is in fact provided that the text alone authorized as the *ultima lex* of all appeals is the Vulgate. The following are the actual words used in the 'Decretum de editione et usu sacrorum librorum':—

'Insuper eadem sacrosancta synodus considerans non parum utilitatis accedere posse ecclesiae Dei, si ex omnibus latinis editionibus, quae circumferuntur, sacrorum librorum, quatenam pro authentica habenda sit, innotescat; statuit et declarat ut haec ipsa vetus et vulgata editio quae longo tot saeculorum usu in ipsa ecclesia probata est, in publicis lectionibus . . . pro authentica habeatur. . . .' I translate the decree as it is important.

'Moreover the Holy Synod, feeling convinced that no small gain will accrue to the Church of God if it be made clear which of all the current Latin editions of the Sacred books is to be considered authentic, decrees and declares that the self-same old and common (vetus et vulgata) edition which has been approved by such long usage in the Church is to be considered authentic in all lectures, discussions, sermons and commentaries, and that no one is, under any pretext, to dare to reject it.

Sir Henry Howorth has not noticed the clause 'si ex omnibus latinis editionibus'. On the face of it the decree merely means that the Church prefers that *Latin* translation which is known as the Vulgate to all other *Latin* translations. I say 'on the face of it', because the Acts of the Council and subsequent declarations on the subject would, even if the text itself were not perfectly clear, make this absolutely certain.

But Sir Henry Howorth has read together the two decrees, the one on the canon and the other on the authentic text, and he has regarded the latter as the key to the former. But the key will not fit the lock. Consequently he says: 'It cannot fail to be noticed that in these pronouncements there is a palpable contradiction. If the books enumerated are alone to be deemed canonical, it seems difficult to understand how the Vulgate edition of the Bible as then received was to be treated as the conclusive authority in all disputes and controversies, since it contained, in very many if not in most existing copies, at least two additional works which were treated in them as of equal and co-ordinate authority with the remaining books, namely those which in the Latin Bibles were called Esdras III (that is 'Εσδρας Α) and Esdras IV....'

Moreover, not noticing the fact that the Vulgate was only declared to be the authentic *text* and that no reference was made in this part of the decree to the *canon*, Sir Henry Howorth seems to think that the Fathers meant that those books were canonical which were to be found in a majority of MSS of the Vulgate. He adds: 'This contradiction... was apparently ignored by the Fathers at Trent.'

Nor is this all; he supposes that by the words 'haec ipsa vetus et vulgata editio' was simply meant the Latin version of the Bible whether before or after St Jerome's time. It is true that the Old Latin and the LXX were known in St Jerome's time as the 'Vulgata editio' or the *Κοινή*, but a little more extended examination of the Acts of Trent shews what the Fathers actually referred to. They appointed a commission which on March 17th, 1546, indicated, among others, two special abuses as calling for immediate remedy. The first was that there were current various Latin translations of Holy Scripture, all of them claiming to be authentic; the second was the corruption of the copies of the

Vulgate edition in use. The suggested remedy was twofold, viz. (a) that only one Latin version, the Vulgate, should be declared authentic, and (b) that a corrected edition of this should be prepared as soon as possible. The ultimate result of this was of course the Sixtine and Clementine editions of St Jerome's Vulgate, which latter the Fathers did not wish to correct, but endeavoured to bring out in a form as nearly as possible approaching what it was when it left St Jerome's hands.

Having proved, as he thinks, the contradictory character of the Tridentine decrees, Sir Henry then endeavours to shew how unfairly the Fathers treated Esdras A, or the Greek Esdras. Neither Esdras A, nor Esdras IV, nor the prayer of Manasses, appeared in the list of canonical books drawn up at Trent and Florence, and this for the simple reason that they were not to be found in St Jerome's Vulgate; but Sir Henry Howorth, forgetting that it is only a question of the Vulgate and not of the pre-Hieronymian Latin Bibles, nor of copies of the former which have suffered additions, convicts the editors of inconsistency, since whereas the Sixtine Vulgate omitted them altogether but explained the omission in the Preface, the Clementine Vulgate placed them in an appendix 'ne prorsus interirent, quippe qui a nonnullis sanctis patribus interdum citantur et in aliquibus Bibliis latinis tam manuscriptis quam impressis reperiuntur.' This appears to him a case of adding insult to injury; still he feels that he cannot accuse the Tridentine Fathers of any mistake in drawing up the canon, for he finds that in so doing they simply followed the Fathers of Florence in 1439. He can find no other authoritative canon between that period and the famous African Councils of Carthage 419, 397 and Hippo 393, and he explains this 'by the fact that questions as to the Canon had not disturbed men's minds in the Middle Ages'. He seems to have forgotten John of Salisbury.

Turning, however, to the list furnished by the African Councils and comparing it with that of Florence and Trent he finds that 'there is a superficial and misleading equation with regard to the books of Esdras which we are discussing, that accounts for what was really a mistake made by the latter councils'. 'In the Canon last quoted (Hippo, can. 36) we have the phrase *Hesdrae libri duo*. In the Decree of the Council of Florence we have *Esdra*,

Nehemia. In that of Trent we have *Esdrae primus et secundus ut dicitur Nehemias*.

'The fact is that the phrase *Hesdrae libri duo* in the decree of the earlier Councils does not mean the books of Ezra and Nehemiah. Ezra and Nehemiah in the Septuagint and in the early Latin pre-Hieronymian translation of the Bible which followed the Septuagint, and was alone regarded as canonical in the Latin Church at the end of the fourth century, formed a single book, which in the early Greek MSS was entitled *Εσδρας Β*, and which in the early Latin version was entitled *Esdras II*. . . .

'When the Fathers at Florence discussed and decided upon their list of authorized and canonical books, finding, no doubt, that the African Councils had only recognized two books of Esdras, they jumped to the conclusion that these two books must be those called Esdras I and Esdras II in their Bibles, namely, Ezra and Nehemiah; which in fact they were not. Hence this mistake, a great but a natural mistake, which is perpetuated in the Roman Canon.

'The two books of Esdras recognized by the African Councils, and by all the Fathers who escaped the influence of Jerome, were the books labelled *Εσδρας Α* and *Εσδρας Β* in the Greek Bibles, that is to say, the first book of Esdras, which was remitted to the Apocrypha by the Reformers, and the joint work Ezra-Nehemiah.'

But is it possible that the Fathers at Florence made a *mistake* and really did fail to understand what books the earlier canonical lists, viz. those of the African Councils, those of Gelasius, of Innocent I in his letter to Exuperius, of Melito, of St Gregory Nazianzen, of St Augustine, &c., referred to when they spoke of the two books of Esdras?

In the first place, can we conceive that the Fathers of Florence should not be aware that the Esdras A of the Septuagint was different from the Esdras I of the Vulgate, or that the canonical Ezra and Nehemiah were joined together as Esdras B in the Greek Bibles? The part played by Cardinal Bessarion at Florence is well known. He was a profound scholar and a great patron of Biblical study. The number of MSS brought to Europe by him was very great. It is probable that at least the

MSS of the Septuagint numbered by Holmes and Parsons 52, 74 and 134, and now preserved at Florence, were his gift; possibly also Nos. 120 and 121, preserved at St Mark's, Venice. Certainly the famous Codex Venetus belonged to him. Now all these contain in whole or in part Esdras A and B. Is it possible that there was no single scholar at Florence to raise a dissentient voice and shew the Fathers that they were on the verge of a pitfall?

Again, the Fathers must have known that Esdras IV was apocryphal, and they must have known St Jerome's strong condemnation of both Esdras III and IV even though they found these books in many copies of their Bibles. Were they not scholars enough to know that though occurring in many MSS of the Vulgate they were there only as the result of concomitant use of the Vulgate and the Old Latin, so that familiar portions of the latter which had been eliminated by St Jerome were yet afterwards copied into his Bible?

Moreover they knew that only one Father, St Ambrose, could be said to have quoted largely or frequently from either Esdras III or IV, and he of course found them in his pre-Hieronymian Latin Bible. St Augustine quoted it once, St Cyprian several times, Clement of Alexandria once or twice, and a few other stray citations were to be found. And when these Fathers did quote the book it was generally only to refer to the striking passage 'magna est veritas et praevalet', which occurs in the only section iii 1-v 6, peculiar to Esdras III, all the rest being found in Chronicles or in the canonical Ezra and Nehemiah.

It seems impossible, then, to explain the action of the Fathers as arising from ignorance. There is only one way out of the difficulty, and that is to deny Sir Henry Howorth's premise viz. that the African Councils meant by 'Hesdrae duo libri' the two books known as *Ἑσδρας* A and B. This may sound a bold undertaking, but I think I can shew good ground for it.

Sir Henry Howorth lays all the blame for the confusion in nomenclature and for the resulting 'mistake' at Florence on the shoulders of St Jerome: 'It was Jerome who altered the nomenclature of these books as he altered many other things. . . . It was he who, having accepted the Jewish Canon and tradition, also accepted the Jewish division of the book hitherto known as

Esdras B, which in the old Latin Bibles was called *Esdras* II, and gave the two sections of it the new titles of *Esdras* I and *Esdras* II, equivalent to our *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*; and from him the titles passed into the revised Vulgate of which he was the author. . . . It was he who poured scorn on two other books of *Ezra* contained in the earlier Latin Bibles, and refused to have anything to do with them, or to translate them, and gave them an entirely inferior status by numbering them *Esdras* III and IV, names by which they have since been styled in the Vulgate; and it was his violent and depreciatory language about them which made many doubt their value and authority.'

Now if this were true it would be difficult to resist the impression that there really was some such conflict between the views of the Fathers of the early Councils and those of Florence and Trent. But an examination of the passages in which St Jerome treats of these various books will throw some light on the question.

In his preface to his translation of *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* he says to Domnio and Rogatian: 'For three years you have been writing and writing, begging me to translate the book of *Ezra* from the Hebrew, as though you had not got the Greek and Latin renderings already.' Then, after referring to the difficulties incident to the work, he adds: 'Let no one be disturbed at the fact that I have only translated one book, and let no one amuse himself with the dreams of the apocryphal third and fourth books, for in the Hebrew Scriptures the words of *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* are contained in one volume, and what is not to be found in the Hebrew Scriptures nor among the four and twenty elders (viz. the twenty-four books of the Hebrew Canon) is to be wholly rejected. And if anybody insists on the authority of the Septuagint—the very confusion of the copies of which shews how mangled and upset they are—then refer him to the Gospels.' He goes on to explain that the fact that several quotations of the Old Testament in the New are not to be verified from the Greek text of the Old Testament affords proof of the incorrectness of the latter. The word I have rendered 'upset' '*eversa*' may possibly, as Martianay suggested, be really '*inversa*', and it would thus perhaps refer to the inverted order to be found in the Septuagint where, as we have seen, III *Esdras* comes first.

It is noteworthy that St Jerome does not say that *he* has made this change, but seems to suppose it well known.

Again, he says to Vigilantius: 'You quote against me an apocryphal book which you and your fellows read under the name of Esdras. . . . I have never read the book, for what is the good of busying oneself with a book which the Church does not receive?' He is referring to IV Esdras. Does it look as though it was St Jerome who first rejected it?

In two other places he insists that in the Hebrew text Ezra and Nehemiah only form one volume. Thus he writes to Paulinus (*Ep.* liii): 'Ezra and Nehemiah are contained in one volume.' But the most noticeable passage, and the one most instructive in the present discussion, occurs in the famous *Prologus Galeatus*, which he prefixed to his translation of the Books of Kings and Chronicles. He there enumerates the books which are placed in the third class or Hagiographa and says: 'The eighth is Ezra which *likewise amongst the Greeks and Latins* (i.e. in their respective versions) *is divided into two books.*' How can Sir Henry Howorth maintain that the division is due to St Jerome? The truth is we are apt to forget that though our famous Codices \aleph A and B are very old, yet at the very earliest they were written just about the time St Jerome was born. He used MSS immeasurably older than ours, and the words just quoted shew that though Esdras B (viz. Ezra and Nehemiah) is undivided in our present MSS of the Septuagint, yet this was not the case in those St Jerome used. We have, then, at least, negative proof that the present nomenclature which identifies Ezra and Nehemiah with I and II Esdras is much older than St Jerome. But positive proof of this can be brought. As already stated, all the Conciliar and Papal lists of canonical books give either 'Esdras' or 'Esdrae duo libri', and it has been maintained, as we have seen, that this expression is to be explained in the light of the nomenclature in use in our oldest MSS of the LXX where, to repeat, Esdras A means our III Esdras, and Esdras B means our Ezra and Nehemiah or our Esdras I and II. Now Origen who died in 254 A.D. yields to none as an authority on the MSS of the Septuagint. If the view I am combating is correct we should expect to find in his pages the same nomenclature as in our MSS of the Septuagint; thus if

he refers to the first book of Esdras he ought, on Sir Henry Howorth's theory, to be referring to Esdras A or III Esdras; similarly if he quotes the second book of Esdras we should expect to find that he was referring to Esdras B of our Septuagint MSS, and consequently to our Ezra and Nehemiah. Yet what are the facts?

Origen once quotes the Greek Esdras and three times our book of Nehemiah; he nowhere, as far as I know, quotes our canonical Ezra. At first sight this might seem to shew that Esdras I and II were in his eyes the Esdras A and B of the Greek Bibles. But an examination of the passages will perhaps lead to a different conclusion.

The quotation of the Greek Esdras occurs in his ninth Homily on Joshua, 'And so let us also say, as it is written in Esdras: "from Thee, O Lord, cometh the victory and I am Thy servant, blessed art Thou O God of truth,"' a passage which he quotes rather differently from the present Greek text. Another reference to Esdras A is generally noted in his commentary on St John, tom. x, but he is only talking of Esdras's restoration of the Temple, and the passage may equally well refer to the book of Nehemiah as to Esdras A. He has, however, three references to our book of Nehemiah, and it is interesting to note how he quotes it. In his commentary on St Matthew (tom. xv 5) he says, in reference to our Lord's teaching on chastity, that there are two classes of eunuchs, and after referring to the eunuch who was Joseph's master, he continues: 'An instance of the other class is furnished us in the eunuch of whom mention is made in the second book of Esdras and who says: "I was a eunuch before the King . . . and it came to pass in the month Nisan in the twentieth year of Artaxerxes the King" and the words which follow down to "and it pleased the King and he sent for me".' This is a quotation of our book of Nehemiah i 11, ii 1, 6. Again, in Book iv of his commentary on Canticles he says: 'and yet again in the second book of Esdras . . . Tobias the Ammonite says "shall they (viz. the Jews) offer sacrifices and eat the sacrificial victims in this place? Will not the foxes come up and destroy the walls which they are building of stone?"' This is clearly a reminiscence of Neh. iv 2-3. Lastly, in his Letter to Africanus he says: 'Moreover in Esdras, too, Nehemias the

King's cupbearer and his eunuch, a Hebrew by birth, sought leave to rebuild the temple, and obtained permission for himself and others to depart in order to restore it.' This is clearly to be referred to Neh. i.

Examining these references we note that Origen twice quotes from what he calls the second book of Esdras, on the third occasion he calls it simply Esdras. The first two references might merely indicate that he was quoting from Esdras B, though it is noteworthy that both are taken from what the Roman Canon has always called the second book of Esdras, viz. Nehemiah, as distinguished from the Roman first book of Esdras. The third quotation from Nehemiah is simply said to be from Esdras just as the citation given above from the Greek Esdras.

Now these passages taken by themselves will not decide whether Origen's canon contained the Greek Esdras, though they might at first sight lead us to think that it did so.

A reference, however, to Origen's list of the canonical books as given in his Commentary on the first Psalm puts the question beyond doubt. 'There are', he says, 'twenty-two books in the Hebrew Canon . . . the eleventh, Esdras first and second, which are contained in one volume according to the Hebrews and which they call Ezra.' Now by no possibility could Origen here mean by Esdras first and second the Esdras A and B of our Greek Bibles, since Esdras A, the Greek Esdras, never had a place in the Hebrew Bible. When, then, he refers to 'the second book of Esdras', as noted above, he clearly refers to our Nehemiah, as we have seen, and if he had quoted the first book of Esdras we should undoubtedly have found his quotations were taken from our I Esdras and not from Esdras A.

Origen's exact words are: *Ἐσδρας πρῶτος καὶ δεύτερος ἐν ἑνί, Ἐξρά, ὃ ἐστὶν βοηθός*. In this list he gives first the Septuagint title of the book, then the Hebrew title, consequently he means that the two books of Esdras which are canonical are the equivalent of the Hebrew Ezra, which is, of course, our Esdras I and II. It is hard to agree with Dr Swete when he says in his Introduction to the O. T. in Greek, p. 222: 'The Books included in it (Origen's list) are expressly said to be the twenty-two of the Hebrew Canon. Yet among them are the first book of Esdras . . . which the Jews

never recognised.' He adds a note which is still more startling : 'Origen, it should be added, regards I, II Esdras as a single volume.' I understand this note, taken in conjunction with the previous passage, to mean that Origen regarded Esdras A and B, namely our first, second and third books of Esdras, as one volume. This is surely doing violence to the text, and certainly makes Origen say what was palpably false, viz. that Esdras I and II (meaning our Esdras I, II, and III, or Esdras A and B, or the Greek Esdras and the Canonical Ezra and Nehemiah) were the equivalent of the Hebrew book known as Ezra. But it is worth noting that Origen *does* say that in the Hebrew MSS known to him the Epistle of Jeremiah formed one volume with the prophecy of Jeremiah and Lamentations. We have no Hebrew MSS containing the Epistle, but are we therefore to say that Origen was mistaken? After all it is at least doubtful whether any Hebrew MSS in our possession date earlier than 916 A.D. Presumably the reason why Dr Swete and others maintain that Origen's 'Esdras primus et secundus' meant our I, II, and III Esdras is because, as we have seen, he once quotes III Esdras.¹ But how slight a basis Origen's citations afford for any argument touching his views on the Canon is evident from the way in which he quotes the *Pastor* of Hermas. At least five times (*tom. xiv in Matt., Tract. xxx in Matt., Hom. viii in Num., Hom. i^a in Ps. 37, De Princip. lib. iv*) he quotes the *Pastor* with a reservation as to its acceptance in the Church, but on at least another five occasions he quotes it with no reservation, and twice in conjunction with other books now rejected, viz. Enoch and the Epistle of Barnabas (cp. *Comm. in Oseam, Tract. xxxi in Matt., Hom. x in Iesu Nave, De Princip. lib. iii and lib. i*).

I feel justified, then, in maintaining that by 'Esdras primus et secundus, Ezra' Origen means our canonical Ezra and Nehemiah, and does not include Esdras A or the Greek Esdras. Consequently the division of Esdras B of the Greek Bibles into Esdras I and II or Ezra and Nehemiah is not due to St Jerome, but was known and acted on by Origen long before him.

But if this view of Origen's position is correct, we cannot admit Sir Henry Howorth's contention that the African Councils and other lists of canonical books meant the Esdras A and B of our

¹ *Hom. ix in Iesu Nave.*

Greek MSS when they declared that among the canonical books were 'Hesdrae libri duo', or his assertion that St Jerome first made this division of the Esdras B of the present Septuagint MSS into Esdras I and II.

That the Fathers 'who were uninfluenced by Jerome' were also uninfluenced by Origen will hardly be maintained. St Hilary, for instance, in his Prologue to his commentary on the Psalms gives exactly the same canon, and it is hard to believe that he did not derive it from Origen. Eusebius (*H. E.* vi 25) quotes Origen's canon *in extenso*. Are we to suppose that the Fathers of the African Synods were ignorant of it? Moreover if, as is highly probable, the African canon was drawn up as a set-off against St Jerome, who had rejected the Deutero-canonical books, and if, as Sir Henry Howorth says, their phrase 'Hesdrae libri duo' was meant to counteract St Jerome's depreciation of Esdras III and IV, how came it that their statement of this was so very vague? They are perfectly clear about the Deutero-canonical books, but no one could, on the hypothesis, say that they were clear and precise regarding the involved nomenclature of the books attributed to Esdras. If by the words 'Esdrae, libri duo' they meant Esdras A and B as supposed, they ought to have made this clear, since St Jerome had termed Esdras B 'Esdras libri duo'.

In brief then, there is but one positive argument alleged for identifying Esdras I and II of the African Councils with Esdras A and B of the LXX, and that is the witness of the oldest LXX MSS which we possess. But, as we have seen:—

(a) These latter only came into existence a few years before the African Councils.

(b) They do not agree with St Jerome's account of the LXX MSS to which he had access, for, as already stated, he says that in the Greek and Latin versions the Hebrew Ezra was divided into two books, which is certainly not the case in the existing MSS of the LXX.

(c) Neither do these MSS agree with Origen's MSS of the LXX, if we may judge by the list he gives in his commentary on Ps. i as given above, for he seems not to have found Baruch in the LXX, yet it has a place in the Codices Vaticanus, Alexandrinus and Venetus.

On the other hand, the arguments for not identifying Esdras I and II of the African Councils with Esdras A and B of the present LXX MSS are very strong.

(a) St Jerome clearly knew Esdras I and II as distinct books and he certainly did not identify them with Esdras A and B. Nor, as we have shewn above, was he the first to so distinguish them.

(b) Origen, nearly two hundred years before the African Councils, clearly understood by Esdras I and II the Ezra of the Hebrew Bible, viz. Ezra and Nehemiah. If then we find the same nomenclature, viz. Esdras I and II, used by the African Fathers, we can see no valid reason for saying that they meant by those numbers Esdras A and B.

(c) If we turn to Mansi iii, 1039-1041, we find a letter from Innocent I to Exuperius, bishop of Toulouse. The letter was written in the year 405, and is an answer to certain questions put by the bishop. Amongst other things he asks which books are to be considered canonical. Now Exuperius was a friend of Jerome who not only mentions him in two of his letters (123 § 16 and 125 § 20), but had in that year 405 dedicated to Exuperius his commentaries on the prophet Zechariah. We are probably justified in concluding that the bishop was perturbed at his friend's loudly proclaimed views regarding the Deutero-canonical books, and that he in consequence sought the pope's guidance in the matter. Innocent replies by giving him a list of canonical books which exactly tallies with the lists furnished by the African and Tridentine Fathers. 'Esdrae duo' we read. Do they stand for Esdras A and B, or are they the divisions of Esdras B, viz. Esdras I and II, with which we are now so familiar? It seems impossible to doubt that the latter is the true interpretation of the phrase 'Esdrae duo', for, be it remembered, this was precisely St Jerome's nomenclature. If, however, the Pope intended to correct St Jerome, he certainly did not make it clear to Exuperius who, on Sir Henry Howorth's view that St Jerome was the first to make the distinction, must naturally have been as anxious for a decision on this point as he was regarding the Deutero-canonical books which St Jerome rejected.

Sir Henry Howorth, moreover, as we have seen, holds the Roman Church to be inconsistent in first of all rejecting

III and IV Esdras from the Sixtine Vulgate and then placing them in an appendix to the Clementine Vulgate. Yet all in fact is perfectly consistent. Excepting the section iii 1-v 6, III Esdras contains nothing which is not to be found in either Chronicles or Ezra and Nehemiah. This section, as already indicated, contains the 'contentio veritatis', whence issued the famous apophthegm 'magna est veritas et praevalet'. But however interesting and popular this passage may have been, the book as a whole had never been recognized as canonical, and it had been expressly excluded by St Jerome from his Vulgate. Hence when the labours of Trent were at length crowned by the appearance of what the scholars of that age held to be the nearest possible approach to the Vulgate as translated or corrected by St Jerome, it would have been, to say the least, incongruous to insert in it III and IV Esdras.

When, however, the Clementine Vulgate appeared a few years afterwards, it seemed fitting that these two books which certain Fathers had apparently quoted as canonical should be preserved in an appendix prefaced by the words: 'hoc in loco, extra scilicet seriem canonicorum librorum . . . sepositi sunt ne prorsus interrent, quippe qui a nonnullis sanctis patribus interdum citantur et in aliquibus Bibliis latinis tam manuscriptis quam impressis reperiuntur.'

One further remark may be permitted about the citations of Esdras A which are found here and there among the Fathers. They possessed in their Bibles Esdras A and our I Esdras. The differences between them were slight and the two Greek books may well have been regarded as two versions of the original, especially when we remember that few of the Fathers were capable of comparing them with the original. In those days there were current two Greek versions of Daniel and, as is well known, the Septuagint version was finally rejected by the Church in favour of that of Theodotion. Why should not the two versions of Ezra have been regarded in the same light?

HUGH POPE, O.P.

DOCUMENTS

CODEX TAURINENSIS (Y). VII.

¹[ΛΟΓΟΣ ΚΥ'ΘΣ'ΕΓΕ]ΝΗΘΗ ΠΡΟΣ ΣΟΦΟΝΙΑΝ ΤΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΧΟΥ[ΣΙ] . . I
 ΤΟΥ 'ΑΜΑΡΕΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ 'ΕΖΕΚΙΟΥ 'ΕΝ . . . ΙΟΥ 'ΑΜΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ
 'ΙΟΥΔΑ;

2,3 ². . [ἐκλιπ]έτω ἀπὸ προσώπου . . ³[ἐκλ]ιπέτω ἀνὸς καὶ κτή . . . εἰνὰ τοῦ
 οὐνοῦ καὶ . . . [τῆς θαλάσσης] καὶ ἀσθενήσου[σι οἱ ἀσεβεῖς καὶ] ἐξαρῶ
 4 τοὺς ἀνόμους ἀπὸ προσώπου τῆς γῆς λέγει κύ ⁴. . . τενῶ τὴν χεῖρά μου ἐπὶ
 ἰούδαν . . τας τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ἰλημ κ . . ρῶ ἐκ τοῦ τύπου τούτου τὰ
 5 ὄν[όματα τῶν] βααλεῖμ καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα τῶ ***** τῶν ἱερέων ⁵ καὶ
 τοὺς προσ . . πὶ τὰ δώματα τῇ στρατι[ᾳ τοῦ οὐνοῦ καὶ] τοὺς προσκυνούντας
 καὶ τοὺς ὀμνύοντας κατὰ τοῦ [κύ καὶ τοὺς] ὀμνύοντας κατὰ τοῦ μελχ[ορ]

Inscr σοφονίας θ ΒΝΑ Q 22 I. 1. os] om 62 (εγε)νηθη] εγενετο 22 36 51
 62 86* 95 97 147 185 χου(σι)] χουσει ΒΝ^{a,b} (-σι Ν*) Α αμαρειου] αμοριου Β 48
 86 153 233 αμοριου Ν* (-ριου Ν^{c,b} (vid)) αμαριου Ν^{c,a} (vid) Q 22 (exc 48 153 233) αμοριου
 Α αμωσ] αμων Β 22 (exc 51 [αμωσ 51^a] 95 185 233) (αμωσ Β^{a,7b} Α Q) αμω Ν
 2. (OL^c = Y) (εκλιπ)ετω] εκλιφετω Ν* (εκλιπ. Ν^{c,a}) εκλιπετωσαν Ν^{c,b} εκλειπετω Α Q
 35 185 228 + παντα Ν^{c,a} 22 (exc 48 153 233) 3. (εκλ)ιπετω]—θαλασσης] OL^c = Y
 (εκλ)ιπετω] εκλιφετω Ν* (εκλιπ. Ν^{c,a,c,b}) εκλειπετω Α Q 228 233 (θαλασσης)] +
 και τα σκανδαλα τοις ασεβεσι 22 και ασθενησου(σι οι ασεβεις)] hab sub * Θ (sine *
 Syro-Hex) και τα σκανδαλα συν τοις ασεβεσι 36 97^{ms} Σ και η ασθeneia συν τοις
 ασεβεσιν εκλειπει Quint om OL^c (ασεβεις)] βασιλεις Ν* (ασεβεις sup ras Ν')
 (και εξαρω ad fin com] OL^c = Y ανομους] ο 1^o sup ras Α^a 4. χειρα] χειραν
 Β* (χειρα Β^{a,b}) μου] om Ν^{c,a} (hab Ν^{c,b}) ιουδαν] ιουδα Α 48 86 233 + και επι
 ιουδαν (sic) 62 (των) βααλειμ] της βααλ ΒΝΑ Q 48 153 233 του βασιλεως αυτης
 86^{ms} των βααλιμ 95 185 τω βααλ 228 τω*****] om ΒΝΑ Q των ιερων μετα
 22 (exc 48 153) 22 * Syro-Hex^{ms} των ιερων] των τεμενιτων Αq των
 βεβηλων (s. βεβηλωμενων s. μεμασμενων) Σ των χωμαρειμ Θ 5. δωματα] ιδωλα
 Ν τη στρατι(α)] της στρατια Ν τη στρατεια Α Q (και) τους προσκυνουντας 2^o
 —[κ] om 153 233 (και) τους προσκυνουντας 2^o] om 36 51 62 86 95 97 147 185 hab
 sub * in mg sed non in textu Syro-Hex και 3^o] om Ν κατα 1^o] κατα τα Ν*
 (improb τα 2^o Ν^{1,c,b}) (κν)—κατα του 2^o] om Q* (hab κυριου Q¹(ms)) κατα του (κν)]
 κατα βασιλεως 147 κατα του βασιλεως αυτων 147^a του μελχ[ορ]] του βασιλεως αυτων
 Β του κν βασιλεως αυτων (αυτου Ν¹ (vid)) Ν^{c,a} (om κν Ν*) του κν βασιλεως αυτων Q^a (ms)
 (του βασιλεως Q^a) 48 153 233 μολοχ Q^{ms} 62 86 (του βασιλεως 86^{ms}) 147 της βασιλειας

6^a καὶ τοὺς ἐκ[κλίνοντας ἀπὸ τοῦ κῦ καὶ [τοὺς μὴ ζητοῦν]τας τὸν κῦ καὶ
 7 τοὺς μὴ ἀν . . . κῦ . . . εὐλαβεῖσθε ἀπὸ προ[σώπου κῦ τοῦ] ὅτι διότι ἐγγὺς
 8 ἡμέρα τοῦ κ[ῡ] . . . κῶ τὴν θυσίαν αὐτοῦ . . . [τοὺς κλητοὺς] αὐτοῦ . . . καὶ
 ἔσται ἐν ἡμέρᾳ θυσίας κῦ καὶ ἐκδικήσω ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν
 οἶκον τοῦ βασιλέως [καὶ ἐπὶ πάντας τοὺς] ἐνδεδυμένους ἐνδύματα ἀλλότρια
 9^a . . . ἐκδικήσω ἐπὶ π***** πρόπυλα ἐν ἐκείν . . . ροῦντας τὸν
 10 οἶκον . . . ὥς καὶ δόλ[ου]¹⁰ . . . κῶ φωνὴ κραυγῆς ἀπὸ πύλης [ἀποκεν]τούν
 11 των καὶ δολολυγμὸς ἀπὸ . . . ἑρας καὶ συντριμμὸς μέγας ἀ . . . ουνῶν¹¹ θρηνεῖ
 οἱ κατοικοῦν[τες τὴν κ]ατακεκομμένην ὅτι ὡμοι[ώθη] . . . λαὸς χανάαν ἐξω-
 12 λοθρεῦ[θησαν πάν]τες οἱ ἐπηρμένοι ἀργυρίῳ . . . [ἐν τῇ] ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ
 ἐξερευνή[σω τὴν ἰλη]μ μετὰ λύχνου καὶ ἐκδική[σω τὴν ἰλη]μ μετὰ λύχνου
 καὶ ἐκδική[σω ἐπὶ τοὺς] ἄνδρας τοὺς καταφρονούν[τας τα φ]υλάγματα
 αὐτῶν . . . τοὺς λε[γόντας ἐν ταῖς] καρδίαις αὐτῶν οὐ μὴ [ἀγαθοποιήσῃ] κῶ
 13 οὐδὲ μὴ κακώσῃ¹³ . . . ναμὶς αὐτῶν εἰς διαρπα . . . αὐτῶν εἰς ἀφανισμόν
 καὶ [οἰκοδομήσουσιν οἰ]κίας καὶ οὐ μὴ κατοῖ . . . καὶ καταφυτεύουσιν
 14 ἀμπελώνας καὶ οὐ μὴ πῖωσι τὸν οἶνον αὐτῶν¹⁴ ὅτι ἐγγύς ἡ ἡμέρα κῦ

I. 12^{bB} Chrys. In Dan. iv

αυτου 228 ܐܘܬܝܪܐ ܐܘܬܝܪܐ Syro-Hex 6. (καὶ τοὺς ἐκ[κλίνοντας] καὶ τοὺς
 ομνυνοντας καὶ ἐκκλίνοντας 147 του] om Q (ζητούν)τας] ζητησαντας A Q 2^a om Q
 7. εὐλαβεῖσθε—ἡμέρα] OL^a = Y (κῦ) 1^a pr του N* (om N^a)
 postea revoc) 62 86 147 ἡμέρα] pr η N A Q 62 86 95 147 185 228 233 του 2^a
 om Q* (hab Q^{ms}) 95 153 185 233 του κ(υ)] eius OL^a (τους κλητοὺς) αυτου
 τους ελεκτους αυτου 86^{ms} electos suos OL^a 8. καὶ ἐσται ad fin com] erit in die
 sacrificii domini et vindicabo in principibus et in omnes vestitos veste aliena OL^a
 ἐκδικήσω] ἐκδικήσιν 95 185 9. ἐκδικήσω] επισκεψομαι Aq Σ Θ ἐπὶ π (16 li^a)
 εμφανος ἐπὶ τα B 48 ἐπὶ πάντας εμφανος ἐπὶ τα N A Q 1^a . . . ἐπὶ πάντας τοὺς ἐπιβαίνοντες
 ܐܘܬܝܪܐ ܐܘܬܝܪܐ Syro-Hex προπυλα] προπυλα N^a (προπυλα 1^a)
 ܐܘܬܝܪܐ ܐܘܬܝܪܐ Syro-Hex δολ(ου)] δολους N* (δουλου Nⁱ (rid)) 10. κραυγῆς
 κραυγῆς N* (-γῆς N^a) ἀπο πύλης (ἀποκεν]τούνταν] ιχθυακῆς Aq Σ Θ πύλης] pr
 36 καὶ om A ἀπο 2^a ἐπὶ 233 11. θρηνεῖτε] θρηνησατε B A Q 48 153
 θνηνησατε N* (θρηνεῖτε N^a, a^b) θρηνηται 62 θρηνηγε 147 οἱ κατοικοῦν[τες
 κ]ατακεκομμένην] των ολμων (αἱ εἰς τον ολμον Aq) Aq Σ ἐν τῷ βαθεῖ Θ οἱ δι-
 95 185 ὡμοι(ωθη)] ομοιωθη N χανάαν] μεταβαλαν Θ ἐξωλοθρευ[θησαν
 ἐξωλεθρ. B N A Q pr καὶ 1^a (exc 48 233) 86 ἐξωλοθρευ[θησαν] ad fin com] d
 perierunt omnes qui exaltantur in argento et auro OL^a 12. . . (ἐν τῇ) ἡμέ-
 —(τα φ)υλάγματα αυτων] et erit in illo die scrutinabo hierusalem cum lucer-
 defendam super viros qui contemptores sunt ne custodiant mandata OL^a (ἐν τῇ)
 ἡμέρα ἐκείνῃ] ἐν εκ. τῇ ἡμ. A Q 153 233 ἐξερευνή(σω)] καὶ ἐκδικήσω A
 Σ Θ καὶ ἐκδική(σω τὴν ἰλη)μ μετὰ λυχνου] om B N A Q 1^a (exc 36 51 97
 Syro-Hex (φ)υλάγματα] βδελυγματα 86^{ms} τους λε[γόντας] οἱ δ
 λεγοντες B 48 sic sine δε N A Q 153 233 (τους λεγοντας 228^{ms}) (ἐν ταῖς)
 καρδίαις αυταν] om A οὐ μὴ—οὐδε μὴ] Chrys = Y (ἀγαθοποιήσῃ] -σε
 N 62 147 153 -σι Q* (-ση Q^a) οὐδε] οὐδ ου A Q οὐδ ου μὴ 62 147 153 κα-
 κωση] -σει N Q* (-ση Q^a) κακοποιήσῃ Chrys 13. (οικοδομήσουσιν) ad fin com]
 OL^a = Y καταφυτεύουσιν(σιν)] -σασιν A Q (-σουσιν Q^a) φυτεύουσιν 62 86 147 153
 228 πῖωσι] -σιν B N A Q (-σι Q^a) 14. (οἱ ἐγγύς) ἡ ἡμέρα κῦ OL^a OL^a = Y

ἡ μεγά[λη ἐγγὺς καὶ ταχεῖ]α σφόδρα φωνὴ ἡ . . . καὶ σκληρὰ τέτακται
 15 δυνατή· ¹⁶ ἡμέρα ὀργῆς ἡ ἡμέρα ἐκείνη ἡμέρα θλίψεως καὶ ἀνάγκης ἡμ[έρα]
 αἰρίας καὶ ἀφανισμοῦ ἡμέρα [σκό]τους καὶ γνόφου ἡμέρα νεφ[έλης καὶ
 16 δ]μίχλης ¹⁸ ἡμέρα σάλπιγγος καὶ [κραυγῆς] ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις τὰς ὀχυρὰς καὶ
 17 ἐπὶ τὰς] γωνίας τὰς ὑψηλάς· ¹⁷ καὶ ἐκ . . . ἀνους καὶ πορεύονται ὡς τ . .
 18 κῶ ἐξήμαρτον καὶ ἐκχεεῖ . . . τῶν ὡς χοῦν καὶ τὰς σάρκ . . . βόλβιτα· ¹⁸ καὶ
 τὸ ἀργύριον [αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ] χρυσίον αὐτῶν οὐ μὴ δυνή[θῃ] ἐξελεσθαι αὐτοὺς
 ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ὀργῆς κῶ . . . ζῆλον αὐτοῦ κατανα . . . ἡ γῆ διότι συντέλειαν [καὶ
 1 σπουδὴν ποιῇ]σει ἐπὶ πάντας τοὺς κα . . . γῆν· ¹ συνάχθητε καὶ [συνδεθῆτε II
 2 τὸ ἐ]θνος τὸ ἀπαίδευτον ² [πρὸ τοῦ γενέσθαι ὑ]μᾶς ὡς ἄνθος παρα*****
 3 *****μερας πρὸ τοῦ ἐ*****θυμοῦ κῶ. ³ ζητήσατε . . .
 πεινοὶ γῆς· [κρίμα ἐργάζεσθε καὶ δι]καιοσύνην πραότη*****
 4 οκρίνεσθε αὐτὰ ὅπως σκε[πασθῆτε] ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ὀργῆς κῶ. ⁴ διότι γάρ α[διηρπ]α-

I. 15^a Chrys. In Mulier. ii

ἡ om B 48 51 86 95 185 μεγά[λη]] μεγαλα A*^{vid} (ταχει]α] ταχινη 36
 δυνατή] δυνατή N* (δυνατή N^a) 15. (OL* = Y) ἡμερα 1^o—αναγκης] Chrys =
 Y ἡμερα θλιψεως καὶ αναγκης] om A θλιψεως] ταιλαιπαιρις Aq ααιρίας]
 ταιλαιπαιρις N^a,b 153 228 αορασias 147 ααιρίας καὶ αφανισμου] συμφορας καὶ ατης Aq
 (σκο]τους καὶ γνοφου] γνοφου καὶ σκοτους 153 228 ἡμερα νεφ[ελης καὶ ο]μιχλης] om
 62 16. (OL* = Y) κραυγης] κραυγης N* (-γης N^a) τας πολεις] τας πολεις
 N* (λαις N^a,b) om τας Q*^{vid} (hab Q*) οχυρας] ισχυρας A καὶ 2^o] om A (επι
 ται] γωνias] καὶ επι τους πυργους 51^{ms} 17. (OL* = Y ex effundam pro εκχει
 stercora boum pro βολβιτα) εκχει] εκχω 36 51 62 86 95 97 147 185 228^a ως
 χοῦν] εις χ. 153 228 18. καὶ το αργυριον—οργης κῶ] OL* = Y ex αυτων 1^o om
 αυτων 1^o] om 95 185 δυνη(θη)] δυνηται B N^a,b (δυνανται N*) A Q 48 228 233
 δυναται 153 εξελεσθαι] pro σ incep vid ξ A* ζῆλον] ζῆλον Q αυτου] αυτους
 A* (-του A^a) + καὶ 228 συντελειαν] συντελειαν N* (-λειαν N^a,b) συντελειαν (καὶ
 σπουδην)] κατασπουδασιον Aq μετα επειξεως Σ τους κα . .] του κα . . N* (τους
 N^a b nisi iam antes)

II. 1. (OL* = Y) συναχθητε καὶ (συνδεθητε)] συλλεγητε συνετε Σ (συνδεθητε)]
 συνδεθητε N^a,a (rursus συνδεθ.) 62 86 95 147 185 2. (προ του γενεσθαι υ]μας
 ad fin com] prius quam efficiamini sicut flos praeteriens prius quam superveniat
 super vos dies iracundiae domini ante quam veniat super vos dies furoris domini
 OL* (υ]μας] ημας 62 παρα (15 litt!) μερας] παραπορευομενον B N A Q 48 233
 παραπορευομενον ημερας 22 36 51 62 95 97 147 185 παρερχομενον ημερας 86 παραπορ.
 ημεραν 153 228 ܠܚܝܬܐ ܕܝܡܪܐ ܕܝܡܪܐ Syro-Hex ܠܚܝܬܐ ܕܝܡܪܐ Syro-Hex^{ms}
 μερας] + προ του επελθειν εφ υμας οργην (οργην θυμου 51 86 Syro-Hex) κυριον B N
 (om N^a,b) A Q ܠ (ex 95 185 228^{ms}) 86 Syro-Hex sub ܠ ܕܝܡܪܐ ܕܝܡܪܐ ܕܝܡܪܐ
 θυμου κῶ] προ του επελθειν (ελθειν 153) εφ υμας ημεραν (οργην 22 97) θυμον κυριον
 (οργης θυμου κυριου 86 147 228 om θυμον Syro-Hex) B N A Q ܠ (ex 233) Syro-Hex
 3. ζητησατε ad fin com] querite dominum omnes humiles terrae aequitatem opera-
 mini et iustitiam quaerite et respondete ea ut protegimini (sicut tegamini OL¹)
 in die iracundiae (irae OL¹) domini OL¹ OL¹ γης] pr της 36 (κριμα)] + αυτου
 sub Σ (εργαζεσθε)] εργαζεσθαι 48 51 153 228 233 εργασασθαι 62 (δι]καιοσυνην
 πραοτη (16 litt!)] δικαιοσυνην ζητησατε καὶ B N A Q 48 153 228 233 Syro-Hex
 ζητησατε δικαιοσυνην ζητησατε πραοτητα 22 51 62 86 95 147 185 ζητησατε πραοτητα
 36 97 228^{ms} *οκρινεσθε] αποκρινασθε 48 153 228 233 αποκρινασθαι 62 86 αυτα]
 ταυτα 62 86 σκε[πασθητε]] εκσπασθητε Q 4. (διηρπ]ασμενη εσται] διεσπασμενη

σμένῃ ἔσται καὶ ἀσκάλων εἰς ἀφάνισμόν] καὶ ἄζωτος μεσημβρίας ἐκριφῇ
 5 [σεται καὶ ἀ]κκαρὼν ἐκριζωθήσεται ὅσα . . . τες τὸ σχοίνισμα τῆς θαλάσ-
 [σης πάροιχοι] κρητῶν λόγος κῦ ἐφ' ὑμᾶς . . . λοφύλων καὶ ἀπολῶ ὑμᾶς . .
 6,7 καὶ ἔσται κρήνη νομὴ ποι . . . ρα προβάτων ἡ καὶ ἔσται . . . ἥς θαλάσσης
 τοῖς καταλοίποις] . . . δα' ἐπ' αὐτοὺς νεμήσου[ται ἐν τοῖς οἰκ]οῖς ἀσκάλων
 δέλτης καὶ ταλύνουσιν ἀπὸ προ[σώπου τῶν νῶν] ἰουδα . . . τοὺς κῶ ὁ θς
 8 αὐτῶν καὶ [ἀπέστρεψε] . . . λωσίαν αὐτῶν ἡ[κουσα ὀνειδισμοὺς μω]ῦ
 καὶ κονδυλισμοὺς [νῶν ἀμμῶν ἐν οἷς] ὠνειδίζον τὸν λαόν μου . . . τὰ ὄριά
 9 μου ἡ . . . δυνάμειν ὁ θς ἡλ[ε] [τι] . . . μα ἔσται καὶ νῆοι ἀμμῶν ὡς
 γόμορρα καὶ δαμασκὸς ἐκ[λειμμένη] ὡς θιμωνιά ἀλωνος καὶ ἡφανισμ . .
 τὸν αἰῶνα καὶ οἱ κατάλοιποι λαοῦ . . . ἀρπύονται αὐτοὺς καὶ οἱ κατὰ . .
 10 θνους μου κληρονομήσουσιν . . . 10. τῇ αὐτοῖς ἀντὶ τῆς ὑβρεως α . . . ὠνειδισαν
 11 καὶ ἐμεγαλύνθησαν ἐπὶ τὸν λαὸν κῦ παντοκράτορος ἡ *****εταὶ κῶ
 ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐξολε[θρεύσει πάντας] τοὺς θεοὺς τῶν ἐθνῶν τῇς γῆς καὶ
 προσκυνήσουσιν αὐτῷ ἕκαστος ἐκ τοῦ τόπου αὐτοῦ πᾶσαι αἱ νῆσοι τῶν
 12,13 [ἐθνῶν ἡ καὶ ὑμεῖς] αἰθίοπες τραυματαῖαι . . . 13 καὶ ἐκτενεῖ τὴν χεῖρα

II. 11 Chrys. *Contra Iud.* v 12. *Cur in Pentecost.* iv. *Exp. in Ps. cxiii* i. Theod. *Graec. Affect. Cur.* x, De Orac.

εἶσται 62 147 διεσπαρμένη εἶσται 86 95 185 εγκαταλειμμένη Αq Σ Θ ασκαλων]
 + εἶσται Α Q 233 ἐκριφ(σεται)] ἐκριζωθήσεται Α ριφήσεται 62 86 147 ἐκριζωθή-
 σεται] ἐκριφῇσεται Α 5. (παροιχοι] κρηταν] παροιχος κριταν 62 εθνος ολεθριον Αq
 Quint εθνος ολεθρευομενον Σ εθνος ολεθριας Θ εφ] προς Α 6. κρηνη] το
 σχοινισμα της ωραιότητος Αq το περιμετρον(η) το παραλιον Σ 7. τοις κατα(λοιποις)]
 τοις καταλυποις 62 ταις καταλοιποις 185 επ] εἰ Ν* (επ Ν^{c,a},c,b) αὐτοὺς] αὐτοὺ Νⁱ
 (-τοὺς Ν* c,a (r1d)) Α Q* (-τοὺς Q^{ms}) αὐτοῖς 233 νεμήσου(ται)] νομήσου(ται) Ν* (νεμ. Νⁱ)
 εν] ρ και 36 97 ρ και 153 κα(ταλυνουσιν)] -λυνουσιν 153 (απο προ)σώπου ταν νων
 ιουδα] ομι 233 των νων] ομι των Β N A Q L (exc 22 36 51 95 97 185) 86 ιουδα
 2^o] ρ ν Ν (improb Νⁱ postea ras) αυτων 1^o] ομι 153 αὐτοὺ 228 (ἀπεστρεψε)] -ψεν
 Ν^{c,b} Α Q* επεστρεψε Ν* (-ψεν Ν^{c,a}) αποστρεψει 22 233 απεστρεφαι 95 185 επεστρεφαι 147
 8. (ονειδισμους)] -μον 62 147 (νιων)] νιους 62 86 (αμμων)] αμμων Ν* (αμμων Ν^{c,a},c,b)
 ανειδιζον] ονειδίζον Q* (ονειδίζον Q^a) ονειδίζων 62 147 μου 2^o] αὐτοὺ 95 185
 9. ο(τι)] διότι Β Ν^{c,a} (postea οτι) Α Q 48 86 153 228 233 νιοι] incep via Ν* νιοι Νⁱ
 ρ και 153 Α Q L (exc 48 86 95 153 185 228 233) (εκλ)ελειμμένη] εκλελειμμένη Β
 (-λειμμ. Β^{a,b}) Ν A Q (-λειμμ. Q^a) εκτεθλιμμένη 62 147 εκτεθλημμένη 86 13
 cum scholio 1320 1321. 1322 Syro-Hex θιμωνια] θιμωνια 22* (θιμ. 22)
 95 147 αλωνος] αλος Αq Σ Θ αιωνα] αιωναν Ν* και οι καταλοιποι] και οι
 καταλοιπου Α ομι και 95 185 λαου] ρ του Α 153 228 10. (επι τον λα)ον κῦ
 επι τον κυριον Β N A Q 48 153 233 ομι τον 95 185 1320 1321 Syro-Hex παντο-
 κρατορος] τον παντοκράτορα Β A Q 48 153 233 τον παντοκράτοραν Ν* (-ρα Ν^{c,a})
 11. *****εταὶ] επιφανῆσεται Β Q L (exc 62 95 97 147 153 185 [ras aliq post -ται
 22]) Chrys Theod επιφανῆς εἶσται Ν* (-σετε Ν^{c,a} -σεται Ν^{c,b} postea εἶσται revoe)
 Α 62 95 97 147 153 185 praeualebit OL^{co} (ωωω Syro-Hex) κῶ ad fin com]
 OL^{co} = Y επ αὐτοὺς] επι παντα τα εθνη (αἱ ομι επ αὐτοὺς) Chrys εξολε(θρευσει)]
 εξολοθρ. Chrys Theod θεους] ομι 153 των εθνων] ομι Theod τη(ς γῆς)] ομι
 Chrys προσκυνησουσιν] προσκυνήσει 228 αυτω] αὐτοὺ Ν* (-τω Νⁱ,c,a,c,b) εκαστο(ς)]
 + αὐτοὺ 95 185 αυτων] αυτων Α πασαι] ρ και Theod 13. (OLⁱ = Y εκ;

[αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ βορρᾶν καὶ] ἀπολεῖ τὸν ἀσσύριον καὶ [θήσει τὴν νινευὴ] εἰς
 4 ἀφανισμόν ἀνδρ[ον] ὡς ἔρημον ¹⁴ καὶ νε[μ]ήσεται ἐν μέσῳ αὐτ[ῆς] ποίμνια
 καὶ πάν[τα] τὰ θηρία τῆς [γῆς καὶ χαμαιλέοντες] καὶ ἔχῃνοι ἐν τοῖς φ[α]τνώ-
 μασιν αὐτῆς κοι[τασθ]ήσονται καὶ [θηρία φωνήσεται ἐν τοῖς] διορύγμασιν
 1 [αὐτῆς κόρακες ἐν τοῖς] πυλῶσιν [αὐτῆς] . . . αὐτῆς. ¹ αὕτη ἡ πόλις III
 ἡ [φανίστρια ἡ κατ]οικοῦσα ἐπ' ἐλπίδι ἡ λέγουσα ἐν [τῇ καρ]δίᾳ αὐτῆς
 ἐγὼ εἰμι καὶ οὐκ ἔστι μετ' ἐμὲ [ἔτι] πῶς ἐγένετο εἰς ἀφανισμόν νομῇ
 θη[ρίων] πᾶς ὁ παραπορευόμενος δι' αὐτῆς συριεῖ] καὶ κινήσει τὰς χεῖρας
 2 αὐτοῦ ² [ὡς ἡ ἐπιφανὴς καὶ λελυτρωμένη πόλις ἡ [περιστερὰ] οὐκ εἰσῆκουσε
 φωνῆς οὐκ [ἐδέξατο] παιδείαν ἐπὶ τῷ κῶ οὐκ [ἐπεποίθει] καὶ πρὸς τὸν θν
 3 αὐτῆς οὐκ ἤγ[χισεν] ³ οἱ ἄρχον[τες] αὐτῆς ἐν αὐτῇ ὡς λέγοντες ὠρνούμε[νοι] οἱ
 κριταὶ αὐτῆς ὡς λί[κοι] τῆς ἀραβίας] οὐχ ὑπελείποντο εἰς τὸ [πρωὶ
 4 οἱ προ]φῆται αὐτῆς πνευματοφό[ροι] ἄνδρες κατ[α]φρονηταὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς αὐτῆς
 5 βεβηλοῦσιν] τὰ ἅγια καὶ ἀσεβοῦσιν [εἰς τὸν νόμον ⁵ δὲ] δὲ κῶ δίκαιος ἐν μέσῳ
 . . ποιήσῃ ἀδικον πρω . . . αὐτοῦ εἰς φῶς καὶ [οὐκ ἀπεκρύβη καὶ] οὐκ ἔγνω

illam pro την 2° : om̄ eis : in pro ως) εκτενεῖ] εκτενω N^{c.b} (postea -νι) A Q Γ 62
 88 147 153 228 233 (ܐܘܠܥܝܝܢ Syro-Hex) (αυτου)] μου N^{c.b} (postea αυτου)
 A Q Γ 82 88 147 153 228 233 (ܐܘܠܥܝܝܢ Syro-Hex) απολει] απολω N^{c.b} (postea -λι)
 Q Γ 153 228 (ܐܘܠܥܝܝܢ Syro-Hex) (θησει)] θησω N^{c.b} (postea -σι) Γ 153 (ܐܘܠܥܝܝܢ
 Syro-Hex) (νινευη)] νινευην N* αφανισμον] αφανισμὸς N 14. (OL¹ = Y
 exc: pascentur pro (νε)μησεται : om̄ και 1°) (νε)μησεται] νεμησονται B N A Q 48
 153 228 233 νεμηθησονται Γ ܐܘܠܥܝܝܢ Syro-Hex (χαμαιλεοντες)] χαμαιλεοντες N*
 (χαμειλ. N^{c.a} χαμειλ. N^{c.b} (vid)) χαμελεοντες 95 185 πελεκανοι Aq κυκνοι Θ εχῖνοι]
 εχῖνοι Q* (εχῖνοι Q*) φ(ατνωμασιν)] φατνωμασιν B* (φατν. B^b) (κοι)τασθη-
 σονται κοιτασθ. N* διορυγμασιν] διωρ. N* (κορακες)] μαχαيرا (al ξηρασια) Aq Σ
 (κορακες εν τοις) πυλωσιν (αυτης)] om̄ N* (hab N^{c.a}) 228 (hab 228^{ms})
 III. 1. (OL¹ OL¹ = Y exc: civitas pro αυτη η πολις) επ̄] εν Q* (superscr π
 Q^{1a}id) (τη καρ)δια] om̄ τη B N A Q Γ 11 (exc 153 228) εστι] -ιν B N A Q (-ι Q¹) Γ
 22 (ν gas) εσται 153. εγενετο] εγενηθη B N A Q Γ 48 153 228 233 παρα-
 πορευομενος] διαπορευομενος B N 48 153 228 233 πορευομενος Q δι] δια N om̄ 95
 185 κινήσει] seq ras pl litt in A τας] om̄ 147 2. (OL¹ = Y exc: columba
 quae pro η περιστέρα OL¹ OL¹ = Y) (ω η επιφανη)] ουαι η αθετουσα Θ λελυ-
 τρωμενη] απολελυτρωμενη B (λελυτρ. N¹ postea απολ.) A Q Γ (λελυτρ. 22 51 62 88 95
 147 185) πολις] pro η 153 233 η (περιστερα)] η ανοητος Σ εισηκουσε] -σεν
 B N A Q (-σε Q^a) Γ παιδειαν] παιδιαν B (-δειαν B^ab) A παιδιας N* (-διαν N^{c.a}, c.b)
 (επεποιθει)] επεποθει N* (-ποιθ. N^{c.b}) επεποιθησεν A Q Γ ηγ(γισεν)] ηγγικεν Q
 3. (OL¹ = Y OL¹ = Y exc: non hab εν αυτη) λε(οντες)] incep λο N* (λε. N¹ c.b)
 (της αραβιας)] της αραβειας A om̄ της 22 εσπερινοι Σ υπελειποντο] υπελειποντο A Q Γ
 153 228 υπελεφθησαν (sic) N* (υπελιπ. N^{c.a} (vid) c.b) εις] ως 147 4. (οι προ]φηται
 ad fin com) OL¹ OL¹ OL¹ OL¹ = Y πνευματοφο(ροι)] θαμβευται Aq οι 2° om̄ 88
 αυτης 2° αυτων Γ (βεβηλουσιν)] -σι Q^a τα αγια και ασεβουσιν] om̄ N* (hab
 N^{c.a}) ασεβουσιν] -σι Q^a (εις τον)] om̄ B N A Q Γ 48 153 233 5. (ο) δε κῶ
 -αδικον] OL¹ = Y ποιηση] -σει Γ^a (-ση Γ^a) 62 147 αδικον] αδικια 62 88 147
 εις φως -εν απαιτησει] om̄ A Q 153 233 hab sub 97 om̄ Syro-Hex ܐܘܠܥܝܝܢ ܐܘܠܥܝܝܢ
 ܐܘܠܥܝܝܢ Syro-Hex^{ms} εγνω] ενω N* (εγνω
 N¹ (vid) c.a, c.b) και ουκ ad fin com] om̄ 95 185 (απεκρυβη)] επεκ. 97 νικος]

6 ἀδικίαν [ἐν ἀπαιτήσῃ καὶ] οὐκ εἰς νίκος ἀδικί[αν ὅ ἐν διαφθορᾷ] κατέσπασα
 ὑπερηφάνους ἠφανίσθησαν γωνία αὐτῶν· ἐξερημώσω τὰς ὁδοὺς αὐτῶν
 τ . . ράπαν τοῦ μὴ διοδεύεσθαι ἐξέλι . . αἱ πόλεις αὐτῶν παρὰ τὸ μηδένα
 7 . . χεῖν μηδὲ κατοικεῖν· ἔειπον πλὴν . . σθέ με καὶ δέξασθε παιδείαν καὶ .
 [ἐ]ξολοθρευθήτε ἐξ ὀφθαλμῶν αὐ . . [διὰ] πάντα ὅσα ἐξεδίκησα ἐπ' . .
 8 μάζου ὀρθρισον διέφθαρται . . [ἐ]πιφυλλίς αὐτῶν· ὁ διὰ τοῦτο [ἐ]πιμένον
 με] λέγει κῶ εἰς ἡμέραν ἀναστ[άσεώς μου εἰς] μαρτύριον διότι τὸ κρίμα [μου
 εἰς συνα]γωγὰς ἐθνῶν τοῦ εἰσδέξα[σθαι βασιλεῖς] τοῦ ἐκχέαι ἐπ' αὐτοῖς
 πᾶσαν τὴν *****σαν ὀργὴν θυμοῦ μου διότι ἐν πυρὶ] ζήλου μου
 9 καταναλωθήσεται πᾶσα ἡ γῆ· ὅτι τότε μεταστρέψω [ἐπὶ λαοὺς γλώσσας]
 εἰς γενεὰς αὐτῶν τοῦ [ἐπικαλεῖσθαι πάν]τας τὸ ὄνομα κῶ τοῦ [δουλεῖν
 10 αὐτῷ ὑ]πὸ ζυγὸν [ἐνα ¹⁰ ἐκ περάτων ποταμῶν] αἰθιοπίας [προσδέχομαι τοῖς
 11 ἱκετεύοντάς με τῶν διεσπαρμένων οἰσουσι θυσίας μοι] ¹¹ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ
 οὐ μὴ . . ἥς ἐκ πάντων τῶν ἐπιτηδεύ[μάτων] σου ὧν ἡσέβησας εἰς ἐμέ ὅτι
 τό . . ἐλῶ ἀπὸ σοῦ τὰ φαυλίσματα . . ὡς σου καὶ οὐ μὴ προσ . . [μεγ]αλί-

III. 9^{ba} Chrys. *Contra Iud.* vi. *Ibid.* xvii

νείκος B^{ab} 48 62 86 95 147 185 6. (διαφθορα) καταφθορα N* (διαφθ. N^{c.b} postea
 καταφθ.) κατέσπασα ὑπερηφάνους ἠφανίσθησαν] hab sub ~ Syro-Hex γωνία]
 pr ai 62 147 αὐτῶν 2^o αὐτοῦ Q* (-των Q^a) 153 διοδεύεσθαι διοδεύειν BNA QΓ
 48 153 228 233 πόλεις] πόλεις B* N* (-λεις B^{ab} N^{c.b}) παρα] δια N^{c.b} AG 153 233
 7. εἶπον] εἶπα BNA QΓ 48 153 228 233 παιδείαν] πειδίαν N* πεδ. Nⁱ παιδ. N^a A
 (ε)ξολοθρευθήτε] εξολοθρευθήται N* εξολοθρευθῇ N^{c.b} 228 εξολοθρευθήτε A QΓ (δια)]
 om BNA Q* (hab Q^b) Γ 48 153 228 233 ὀρθρισον] ὀρθριζε 62 147 διέφθαρται
 ἐφθαρται BΓ 22 48 95 185 (ε)πιφυλλίς] επιφυλλίς Γ* 8. δια τουτο—θυμου μου]
 OL^c = Υ εχς : om δια τουτο : iram meam pro pasan την [12 litt!] σαν ὀργην θυμου
 μου εἰς ἡμεραν—μαρτυριον] εγερεσως μου αιωνιας Σ διوتي] διο 48 153 pasan
 την [12 litt!] σαν ὀργην θυμου] pasan ὀργην θυμου μου B (pr vid την ὀργην μου
 N^{c.b} (vid) postea ras) A QΓ 48 153 233 την ὀργην μου pasan ὀργην θυμου μου 22 36 51
 95 185 228 την ὀργην μου και pasan ὀργην θυμου μου 62 86 147 την ὀργην μου
 pasan θυμου μου 97 ܐܢܝ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ Syro-Hex
 διο(τι) 2^o οτι A διο(τι) 2^o ad fin com] om 153 ζήλου] ζήλους B (του ζήλου
 B^{ab}) Q του ζήλου A 9. οτι τοτε—εις γενεας αυτων] τοτε στρεψω προς παντας
 τους λαους χειλος εξειλεγμενον Aq θ τοτε μεταστρεψω (s. μεταναστρεψω) εν τοις λαοις
 χειλος καθαρον Σ μεταστρεψω] μεταστρεψω (sic) N (ω rescr Nⁱ) (γλωσσαν)]
 γλωσσαν N* (-σσαν N^{c.a}) γενεας αυτων] γενεαν αυτης BNA QΓ 48 153 228 233
 του 1^o] + μη 95 185 (παν)τας παν| . . Γ κῶ] pr του 36 του (δουλευειν αυτω
 υ]πο ζυγον ενα] και δουλευουσιν αυτω υπο ζυγον ενα Chrys ζυγον] ζυγον Q*
 (ζυγον Q^a) 10. (εκ περατων ποταμων ad fin com] περαθεν ποταμων αιθιοπιας
 ικετευοντα με τεκνα των διεσκορπισμενων υπ εμου ενεγκωσι δωρον εμοι Σ αιθιοπιας]
 εθιοπ. N* (αιθιοπ. N^{c.a}, N^{c.b}) (προσδεχομαι—των διεσπαρμενων)] προσδεχομαι εν διεσ-
 παρμενοις μου B 48 προσδεχομαι τους ικετευοντας με των εσπαρμενων N^{c.a} (vid) (postea
 ras) προσδεχομαι τους ικετευοντας με των διεσπαρμενων (22 97 sub X) 36 (51 corr μετα
 των) 228 sic nisi προσδεχομαι 62 86 147 sic nisi μετα των 95 185 om A Q 153 233
 Syro-Hex ܐܢܝ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ X Syro-Hex^{ms} (οισουσι)] -σιν BNA Q
 (-σι Q^a) pr οι 22 (μοι)] μου incep N* (μοι Nⁱ et postea) εμοι 62 147 μου 97
 11. επιτηδευ(ματων)] βδελυγματων Q ησεβησας] -σαν 228 ου μη] ουκετι μη
 BNA Q ܐܠܝ (εχς ουκετι ου μη 36 51 62 97 147) (μεγ)αλυνεσθαι] μεγαλυνησας

12 νεσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος τὸ ἅγιον . . . ¹² [καὶ ὁ] πολέψομαι ἐν σοὶ λαὸν πρῶτον . .
 13 καὶ εὐλαβηθήσονται ἀπὸ . . . ¹³ $\overline{\kappa\upsilon}$ οἱ κατάλοιποι τοῦ ἡλ [καὶ οὐ ποιή-
 σου]σιν ἀδικίαν καὶ οὐ λαλή . . καὶ οὐ μὴ εὐρεθῇ ἐν τῷ . . γλώσσα δολία
 14 διότι αὐτοὶ . . [καὶ] κοιτασθήσονται καὶ οὐκ . . . αὐτούς· ¹⁴ χαίρε θύγα[τερ
 σίων] κήρυσσε θύγατερ ἡλμ . . . [κατα]τέρπου ἐξ ὅλης τῆς [καρδίας σου
 15 θύγατε]ρ ἡλμ . . ¹⁵ περιεῖλε . . σου λελύτρωταί σε [ἐκ χειρὸς ἐχθρῶν] σου
 16,17 βασιλεύσει $\overline{\kappa\sigma}$ ἐν . . . ¹⁶ ἐν τῷ . . . θάρσει . . [χείρ]ες· ¹⁷ $\overline{\kappa\sigma}$ ὁ $\overline{\theta\sigma}$ σου ἐν
 σοὶ δυνατὸς σώσει σε ἐπ[άξει ἐ]πὶ σὲ εὐφροσύνην καὶ καινιῇ σε ἐν [τῇ
 ἀγα]πήσει αὐτοῦ καὶ εὐφρανθήσεται ἐπὶ [σὲ ἐν] τέρψει ὡς ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἑορτῆς·
 18 ¹⁸ καὶ [συνάξει] τοὺς συντετριμμένους οὐαὶ . . ἐπ' αὐτὴν ὀνειδισμόν·
 19 ¹⁹ ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ . . [ἐ]νεκεν ἐμοῦ λέγει $\overline{\kappa\sigma}$ ἐν τῷ καιρῷ*****σώσω τὴν
 ἐκπεπιασμένην [καὶ τὴν ἀπώ]σμένην εἰσδέξομαι καὶ θήσομαι*****
 20 καὶ χημα καὶ ὀνομαστοὺς ἐν [πάσῃ τῇ γῇ] ²⁰ καὶ οὐ κατασχυνθήσονται . .
 καιρῷ ***** ὅταν εἰσδέξοι [circa 20 litt. (1)] πᾶσι τοῖς λαοῖς τῆς
 [circa 24 litt. (1)] φείν με τὴν αἰχ . . . αὐτῶν . .

... φ ...

W. O. E. OESTERLEY.

ΒΝΑ Q 2L (exc 22 36 97) 12. (υπο)λειψομαι] υπολαψομαι N* (-ψομαι N^{c,b}) υποληψ. 2L
 (exc 36 97) πρᾶν] πρᾶν ΒΝ Q 48 62 147 153 228 233 εὐλαβηθήσονται] -σεται
 153 $\overline{\kappa\upsilon}$ $\overline{\rho\tau}$ του Α 13. (ου ποιήσου)σιν] ου μη ποιήσ. 36 233 και ου 2^o ουδε μη
 Α Q και ου μη 36 ουδ ου μη 153 και ουδε μη 233 τῶ] οη Α (και) κοιτασθήσονται]
 οη 22 95 185 14. θυγα(τερ)] θυγατηρ N* (-τερ N^{c,b}) ter : item Q 1^o et 2^o
 (σιων)] σιων Β* Q* (σιων Β^b Q*) + σφοδρα 22 51 62 86 95 97 185 κήρυσσε] $\overline{\rho\tau}$ και 153
 ἡλμ] ισραηλ 62 (κατα)τερπου] τέρπου N* (κατατ. N^{c,a,e,b}) της] οη 153 15.
 περιεῖλε] -λεν ΒΝΑ Q (-λε Q*) λελυτρωται σε] λελυτρωσε N* (-ται σε N^{c,a}) λελυ-
 τρωκε σε 153 λελυτρωται (sine σε) 233 + κυριος 22 36 51 95 97 185 σου 2^o οη 153
 βασιλευσει] βασιλευς ισραηλ ΒΝ* (βασιλευς N^{c,a} (τιδ), c,b) Α 48 233 βασιλευση 147 οη
 βασιλευσει 153 $\overline{\kappa\sigma}$ $\overline{\rho\tau}$ ο Α Q 233 16. (χείρ)ες] + σου ΒΝΑ Q 2L $\overline{\kappa\sigma}$ 2.
 Syro-Hex 17. σου] οη 153 228 (hab 228^a) δυνατος] $\overline{\rho\tau}$ ο ΒΝ* (οη N^{c,b}) 48
 86 (αγα)πησει] ευφροσυνη N* (αγαπησι N^{c,a,e,b}) ευφρανθησεται] ευφρανι σε N*
 (-θησεται N^{c,a}) σε 4^o σοι Α 2L (exc 22 48 233) ως] οη 228 (hab 228^a) 18.
 (συναξει)] συναξω ΒΝΑ Q 48 86 153 228 (-ξει 228^a) 233 συντετριμμενους] + σου
 Α Q 2L (exc 22 36 51 95 97 185) οη] οι Α q επ αυτην ονειδισμον] ονειδ. επ
 αυτην N^c. (postea επ αυτ. ον.) Α Q 153 233 19. (ε)νεκεν εμου] ενεκεν σου ΒΝ 48
 233 ενεκα σου Α Q 36^a (ενεκεν εμου 36) 153 λεγει $\overline{\kappa\sigma}$ pon post εν τω καιρω *****
 ΒΝΑ Q 48 228 οη 153 233 hab sub ✕ Syro-Hex εν τω καιρω *****] οη 95 185
 ***σώσω] οη *** 95 185 εκπεπιασμενην] εκπερ incerp N* (εκπεπ. N¹) -πεπιαμενην
 233 και θησομ**] οη ΒΝ (hab N^{c,a}) 20. ου κατασχυνθησονται] οη ου ΒΝΑ Q
 2L (exc 22 51 97) κατασχυνθησεται 153 οη] οη 62 εισδεχομ . .] εισδεξομαι
 Β^{a,1b} εισδεχωμαι Α Q εισδεχομαι 62 147 153 αυταν] υμων ΒΝΑ Q 2L (exc 22
 51 97)

Subscr σοφονias θ ΒΝΑ Q σοφονias ^{xx}στι ρθ 22

A COPTIC FRAGMENT ATTRIBUTED TO JAMES THE BROTHER OF THE LORD.

IN one of the volumes of Coptic leaves from the White Monastery, in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, there lie hidden under the title of 'A Sermon on John the Baptist' four leaves, of which three at least appear to be part of an apocryphal Gospel on John attributed to James the brother of the Lord. The title is not preserved, but its professed authorship is apparently stated in the words 'I, James, the brother of the Lord, who am relating these things'. It is therefore not impossible that the fragment may be part of, or at any rate may be based on, the book containing the secret teaching of Christ as transmitted to Mariamne, sister of Philip, by James the brother of our Lord, which, according to Hippolytus¹, the Naassene Gnostics professed to possess.

The fragment consists of four leaves (*Par. Copte* 129¹⁸, 116-120²), identical in handwriting³ but not consecutive. The first leaf has lost the original page numbers, but from its contents it would seem to precede the next fragment. It begins with a mention of the feeding of the five thousand, represented apparently as an ἀγάπη or εὐχαριστία in honour of John the Baptist. Then Matt. xi 7-11, 'What went ye out into the wilderness to behold' etc., is quoted, and the 'reed shaken by the wind' is explained as 'a reed-pipe sounding in the wilderness'. The first leaf ends here, and the second and third transfer us to the third heaven. The apostles request to be shewn that particular heaven which was given or was to be given to John; and after being shewn through the entire seven heavens they are brought back to the third, which is then formally made over to John, his family, and any one under his peculiar patronage. At the same time he is given a golden boat to ferry them over the stream of fire. These two leaves bear the page numbers 11 to 14 (11A to 11D). The fourth and last page comes considerably later—its numbers are 22E and 22F—and I think it can hardly belong to the same work. It is concerned with the levitation and punishment at the hands of the martyred John of a blasphemous officer of police. Probably it is part of a book of the miracles of John, bound up in the same volume as the other text.

¹ *Philosophumena* 7; cf. Harnack *Alt-chr. Lit.-Geschichte* i 168.

² 118^r is numbered 119.

³ From the same MS, or at least in the same handwriting, according to Mr Crum's identification, are various other interesting fragments: Cairo 8108, Par. 131^r, 20, Zoega CXXIII Acts of St Stephen, Par. 131^r, 81-85, a sermon of Peter of Alexandria, and Par. 131^s, 43, most of which I have copied and hope to publish soon.

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But when Jesus the merciful and compassionate and the Son of the
 Compassionate *saw* (this), *he took compassion* in his heart *on the multitude*,
 as being the good shepherd of every one. The disciples said: 'Let the
 multitudes go that they may go to the towns and buy something to eat' [cf.
 Mk. vi 34-36]. Said the Saviour: 'Nay'; thinking, 'What *εὐχαριστία*¹
 is it which I shall take before my kinsman², to hold feast with those
 who trouble (*σκόλλειν*) Me for it, if they go fasting thus?' Even as
 Joseph, the patriarch, made the *ἀγάπη*³ at the death of his father Jacob
 even so did Christ distribute the *ἀγάπη* for his kinsman John. Moreover
 (*λοπὸν*) this thing and this custom was with every one for ever, that

¹ The meaning here is not very clear to me, so I have left the Greek words
 which occur in the Coptic. *εὐχαριστία* and *ἀγάπη* are apparently used as synonyms,
 and, if so, probably mean 'love-feast'.

² 'My kinsman' (*συγγενής*) = John the Baptist. The next words could be taken
 in the sense of 'if (reading *εἰς* as one word) those who trouble me' instead
 of 'to hold festival with those' etc.; but in that case the following 'if' must be
 taken as a mere repetition.

kinsfolk should distribute the ἀγάπη with their kin (γένος) when they die.¹

I wish too to tell you this other deep thought . . . *Jesus began to say to the multitudes concerning John: 'What went ye out into the wilderness to behold? a reed shaken with the wind? But what went ye out for to see? Was it not a man clothed in soft raiment? Behold they that wear soft raiment are in kings' houses. But what went ye out for to see? A prophet? Yea, I say unto you, and more than a prophet. This is he of whom it is written, Behold I send my messenger before thy face, who shall prepare thy way before thee. Verily I say unto you, Among them that are born of women there hath not arisen a greater than John the Baptist: yet he that is lesser than he is great in the kingdom of heaven'*² [Matt. xi 7-11].

It is necessary that I teach you the word (ῥητόν): for many that are not confirmed in the scriptures³ (γραφή pl.) think this, that the Saviour said this of the real reed stirred by the wind. Nay, for all the trees that grow upon the earth, be it palm or sycamore or fig or *persea* or thorn or . . .⁴ even to the seed plants⁵ of the field, when it grows or when the wind blows upon them⁶, are moved from one side to another, and no soul regards⁷ them, much less (μάλιστα)⁸ wise men. But the Saviour was speaking of the reed-flute in a waste place, where nothing is. Its voice sounds, and those that hear it from afar say, 'What has happened? The reed-flute sounded but now'. And when they have gathered together to see what has happened, they . . .

. . . 'the third heaven as a gift (δωρεαστικόν) in place of his blood, and the good things (ἀγαθόν) that are in it: and teach us it. And now, Lord and Saviour, teach us that heaven which Thou hast given to Thy comrade John and the good things that are in it; and teach us John to do, and all the honours and glory Thou hast given him.' And in that

¹ Lit. 'when he dies'. γένος apparently = συγγενής. The preceding 'kinsfolk' lit. 'those of the γένος (pl.)'.

² The only noticeable variants from the text of Balestri (*Sacr. Bibl. Frag. Copto-sah.* p. 25) are the insertion of **η αμμο** 'was it not' (v. 8), **δατεκρη** for **ηπεκρητο εδολ** (v. 10), **πεκρη** lit. 'him that is born', for **πεκρη** 'them that are born' (v. 11), and **πισση** 'is great' for **πισ εροση** 'is greater than him' (v. 11).

³ It is to be noticed that, though professing to be James, the writer recognizes the existence of the canonical gospels.

⁴ This word **ταερε** does not occur in Peyron.

⁵ Cp. *Zoega Cat.* p. 471 **ερος ηχο** 'germen quod plantari potest'. It seems a vague phrase for small plants or grass.

⁶ I have retained the bad grammar of the original, 'it grows', followed by pl.

⁷ Lit. 'knows'.

⁸ The sense I have given to **μάλιστα** may be unusual, but seems necessary.

hour the Saviour commanded and a cloud of light came down : and the Saviour mounted upon it first. Afterwards he commanded us too, the Apostles, to mount with Him upon the cloud, and brought us in first to the first heaven and the second. Then He ascended through the second, then He ascended through the third heaven, and did not let us enter in yet (τέως)¹, but took us to the fourth, then to the fifth, afterwards to the sixth, then to the seventh, and did not let us enter in yet. Afterwards He let us see all these. Again He brought us down and took us in to the third heaven : and we marvelled at its beauty and its fairness (εὐπρέπεια). And we saw John the Baptist and Zacharias his father and Elisabeth his mother. They were decked (στολίζειν) with stones of . . .² and stones of every hue. The Saviour bade them stand in our presence. John He made stand in the midst, and Zacharias his father on the right, Elisabeth his mother on the left. And He bade us, the Apostles, stand in order from our father Peter to Matthias. The Saviour walked before us, and we went round the whole of the third heaven, and He taught us the good things and the enjoyments (ἀπόλαυσις pl.) which are in the third heaven, these which He gave to John as a gift (δωρεαστικόν) for those that keep and those that shall keep the memorial of John on the earth. I swear to you, I James the brother of the Lord who am relating (ἱστορίζειν) these things, that we did not see in all these six heavens a like the third heaven in beauty and fairness and good things and enjoyments. Then there were Paul and Luke and Mark with us. Afterwards the good Saviour rose up on His throne and stood in the midst of us and called to seven Archangels, from Michael the archangel and chief commander (ἀρχιστρατηγός) of the powers of the heavens to Zadkiel. And again He called to us, the Apostles, in order and by name, from our father Peter to Mark, saying : ' Even as ye, My ministers (λειτουργός) My archangels and My holy apostles, are witnesses from the beginning to My birth and all My sorrows and My crucifixion, I give you a testimony. Behold I present and give the third heaven as a gift to John, My comrade and kinsman. But (λοιπόν) any man that shall make thy memorial on earth, be it oblation (προσφορά) or alms to the poor and needy, or writing a book of thy praise in thy name and giving it to the church, do thou take him in to the third heaven which I have presented

¹ In the margin about here is found a note in another hand ταποκραφον γραμμα (= the copy up to this place). Probably a reviser added it.

² The word **τασο** is no doubt the same as the mysterious **κακο** in the phrase **ζως ηκακο** Ezek. xvi 11, which Zoega translates 'monile squamatum'. Peyron prefers to take **κακο** as a corruption of the Greek word **κόκκος** (red colour) which is found in the Bohairic version of that passage. The form used in our text rather invalidates that suggestion as it is difficult to see how **κόκκος** could become **τασο**. Can it be a corruption for **γαγάτης** (jet) ?

to thee as a gift. If any one again clothe the naked to make memorial of thy name, or feed the hungry, or give drink to the thirsty in thy name, thou shalt take him to life everlasting and unfailing. My Father blesses thy right hand which thou didst place on my head. My tongue blesses thy tongue with which thou didst say, *Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the whole world* [John i 29]. Verily I am he. And any man that keepeth thy memory on earth, verily I say unto you, My comrade John, I will not shew him hell and its punishments down to the stream of fire,¹ through which all My saints and righteous men pass, all without exception, be they righteous or sinners. Behold again another gift I give you, My beloved John, a golden boat I give you as the ferry of that stream. All those who keep thy memorial shalt thou ferry over the stream of fire.' Then we the Apostles said to him: 'Lord, what is the expanse (στάδιον) of the sea (πέλαγος) of that stream of fire? And teach us that we may tell men its terror.' Said the Saviour to us: 'I will teach you its size, and the size of the golden boat which I have given to My beloved John. The sea of the stream of fire is thirty waves from one bank to the other, and from wave to wave is thirty *stadia* for each wave. And I give this boat to My beloved John to ferry over the stream of fire, that he may carry across (διαπερᾶν) those who keep thy memory.'

... a safe place. The crowds will slay him wishing to see him. And there was a crowd there possessed with unclean spirits, that cried aloud in a great and fearful voice, differing as they were tortured with demons.² And many of them were purified, of whom we cannot speak severally. And there was one among them bold (τολμηρός), stubborn (αὐθάδης), hard (σκληρός), and brazen (θρασύς). He was a wicked officer of police (δεκανός)³. He cried aloud with a loud voice: 'I care not for thee, John. Who art thou that thou shouldst judge me? For I am wont to judge others. I am not vexed by thee: for I come from heaven. I repeat that I care not for thee, thou headless man. For I am an archangel: I entered into the court of all the saints and they could not judge

¹ This river of fire is frequently spoken of in the apocryphal writings: cp. Steindorff *Apoc. des Elias* (Harnack *T. und U. N.F.* 2) p. 46, and Forbes Robinson *passim* (note on p. 205): ib. p. 38, 'the river of fire, wherein are proved the two portions, the righteous and the sinners', tells us its object. We should surely read πνευματισμᾶ and αἰμοσφ.

² He would seem to mean 'differing according to the demons that possessed them'.

³ For the word δεκανός see Sophocles and Stephanus-Hase. It occurs also in the *Tebtunis Papyri* (Grenfell, Hunt, & Smyly no. 27, l. 31 κοινὸν συνέδριον τῶν κατὰ κώμην δεκανῶν τῶν φυλακῶν, a document of the second century B. C., and in no. 251).

me. For I suffer not for thee, thou headless man; and thou canst do nothing to me because we accomplish many things (??).¹

And he abode and continued blaspheming thus: and after this he was hanged up by his two fingers between heaven and earth, so as (almost) to burst in the middle as he was stretched for a long time. And straightway he cried aloud in a weak voice: 'I know thy strength. John the Baptist and forerunner of Christ: I know thy strength, thou who art greater than all the saints. Thou art the general of the great king Jesus. Take pity on me. For great is thy furnace of blazing fire, and I have not strength to bear thy penalties (τιμωρία pl.). Take pity on me, thou the just of all the just, thou the comrade of the true Bridegroom. Take pity on me, thou the forerunner of Christ. I adjure thee² by Him whom thou didst baptize in the Jordan to take pity on me. I adjure thee by Him who was crucified, let me down.' And straightway he fell down upon his face on the earth at the sixth hour. This was the first trial (ἐξέτασις). And afterwards at the ninth hour they heard in short: 'Come forth from him.' And the demons were interpreting to the crowd what the martyr said to him. And he cried aloud, saying: 'I have not power to be in the desert: I have not power to be on the steep places of the sea³: I have not power to abide before thy voice. But grant me Persia (περσις)⁴ that I may go thither. Who is he that will leave his house and dwell in the desert? For behold I dwell there thirty-seven years⁵.'

E. O. WINSTEDT.

¹ Here the text appears to be faulty.

² ⲫⲱⲣⲕ ⲉⲣⲟⲕ seems to be used instead of the ordinary ⲫⲧⲁⲣⲕⲟ ⲡⲓⲙⲟ for 'I adjure thee'. This sense of ⲱⲣⲕ is not noticed by Peyron; but I have noticed other examples, e.g. *Par. Copte* 129¹⁵, p. 28 ⲫⲱⲣⲕ ⲉⲣⲱⲧⲏ ⲡⲓⲛⲉ ⲧⲁⲧⲥⲧⲁⲣⲟⲩ ⲡⲓⲙⲟⲩ ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲥ ⲡⲓⲛⲉⲧⲏⲧⲁⲕⲟⲓ ⲓⲁⲟⲛ ⲡⲓⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩⲱ ⲓⲁⲩⲱⲧⲏ ⲉⲣⲱⲧⲏ ⲉⲱⲭⲉ ⲡⲓⲧⲉⲧⲏ ⲓⲉⲛⲣⲓⲡⲓⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲭⲓⲧⲏⲱⲧⲱⲣⲉ ⲡⲧⲟⲟ ⲡⲓⲛⲁⲛⲁⲧⲟⲩⲉⲩ ⲡⲓⲕⲁⲁⲧ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ.

³ 'The steep places of the sea' is hardly an intelligible phrase unless it be taken as an incorrect reference to Matt. viii 32, where the Gadarene swine are said to run down a steep place into the sea.

⁴ The mention of Persia—if that is the meaning of 'the περσις'—is a little surprising. Can it be taken to fix the date of the book to a time when the Persians were oppressing Egypt? It might perhaps mean 'desolation', though that would rather contradict the preceding words.

⁵ The demons do not seem to have been expert interpreters. It must surely be John who dwelt in the desert, not the *decanus* who has just asserted that he could not and would not; unless he means 'I shall have to dwell there'.

NOTES AND STUDIES

THE ORIGINAL LANGUAGE OF THE SYRIAC ACTS OF JOHN.

The History of John the Son of Zebedee is the first of the Syriac pieces published by Wright in his *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles*.¹ In his preface Dr Wright wrote: 'These Acts, which are obviously translated from the Greek, being of comparatively late date, and to all appearance destitute of any historical basis, are chiefly valuable from the linguistic point of view' (p. ix). This pronouncement, combined with the fact that the older MS states in the title that the work was translated from the Greek, seems to have warned off scholars from asking any further questions about the origin of the Acts. Considering the number and, in many cases, the peculiar character of the Gospel citations they contain, it is not a little strange that this should have been so; and in spite of the great authority of Dr Wright I am about to maintain that the piece was in reality composed in Syriac, and further, that the Gospel text used by the author was the Diatessaron.

I must begin by noticing the objection which is raised against this view by the title of the older MS (*A*). It runs: 'The history of John, the son of Zebedee, who lay upon the breast of our Lord Jesus at the supper, and said, "Lord, who betrayeth Thee?" This history was composed by Eusebius of Caesarea concerning St John, who found it in a Greek book, and it was translated into Syriac, when he had learned concerning his way of life and his birth and his dwelling in the city of Ephesus, after the ascension of our Lord into heaven.'²

In the other MS, *B*, the title has nothing about either Eusebius or Greek original. It runs: 'The history of the holy and beloved Mār John the Evangelist, who spoke and taught and baptized, by the help of our Lord Jesus the Messiah, in the city of Ephesus.'

Now if we turn to the colophon we shall find reason to believe that the title of *B* is the more ancient. *A* reads: 'Here ends the doctrine of John, the son of Zebedee, who (leaned on the breast of our Lord at the supper, and) instructed and taught and baptized in the city of Ephesus.' *B* omits the bracketed words.

Thus in *B* the title is taken up quite naturally by the colophon;

¹ The text printed is that of a St Petersburg MS of the sixth cent. (*A*). Variants are given from a British Museum MS of the ninth cent. (*B*).

² Wright's rendering.

while the chief point of connexion between the title of *A* and the colophon lies in the words omitted by *B*.

If then there is any question of either of the MSS having preserved the original title of the piece the probabilities are on the side of *B* rather than of *A*.

In what follows I have to try and establish two points: (1) that the *Acts of John* is a Syriac composition, (2) that the author used the Diatessaron.

With regard to the latter it must be said at once that the existing text of the Gospel citations agrees for the most part with the Peshitta, especially in passages with a theological bearing. But there remain a considerable number of readings which could not have come from the use of the Peshitta, and several of these agree with known readings of the Old Syriac and the Diatessaron. We must be prepared, then, for a large amount of assimilation to the Vulgate text even in a MS of the sixth century. This process is several times betrayed by the variants of the later MS, *B* sometimes bringing expressions into line with later theological language, sometimes preserving a reading which implies the use of one of the older versions, i.e. either of syr. vt. or of the Diatessaron.

But it was not the character of the Gospel quotations that first led me to question Dr Wright's verdict that the *Acts* were translated from the Greek.¹ There are certain ideas, theological conceptions, and modes of expression, which are extremely characteristic of Syriac writers; and there are far too many of these crowded into the *Acts of John* to allow us to think of the work as a translation from Greek. In giving some examples of these Syriac characteristics I shall, with Professor Burkitt, count the *Acts of Judas Thomas* and also the Syriac *Acts of Philip*² as original Syriac documents. That the former work was composed in Syriac is now recognized, and I am personally convinced that the same must be said of the latter also.

Evidence of Syriac authorship.

1. On p. 4 (transl.) the demons are called 'the sons of the left hand' and on p. 11 the Apostle prays that the Lord would direct his path 'to the right hand'. The expressions 'sons of the right hand', 'sons of the left hand', or simply 'the right hand', 'the left hand', are found over and over again in Syriac writings to denote the good and the bad, without any attempt to explain the allusion to Mt. xxv 31 ff. A good example of the bald manner in which the allusion is sometimes made is to be found in St Ephraim's tract against Julian: 'For all of them were

¹ Of the supposed Greek original nothing is known.

² See *Evangelion Da-Mepharreshe* ii p. 106 note 3.

depending upon the head of the left hand (i.e. Julian); for while the right hand was in sorrow over sinners, the sons of the left hand were greatly rejoicing.' Again: 'All the apostates rejoiced in the Apostate, and the sons of the left hand in the head of the left hand.'¹ In *Acts of Philip* we read: 'Quit the destroying left hand, and the unconquered right hand shall receive you' (Wright p. 80). Aphraates (Wright p. 285) speaks of 'sons of the left hand, heirs of darkness'; again p. 287, 'sons of the right hand, who travel by the strait and narrow way'.² This Syriac use of 'right' and 'left' may be paralleled by modern political use of the words—from the conservative point of view.

2. On pp. 7, 14, 26, and 33 it is said that at the incarnation the Word 'entered by the ear' of the Virgin. This is a favourite idea with Syriac writers. St Ephraim in his commentary on the Diatessaron (Moesinger p. 249) writes: 'Quia mors per aurem Evae intravit, per aurem Mariae intra intravit.' Isaac of Antioch (Bedjan i p. 715) makes it clear that it was the accepted notion among the Syrians, and bases upon it an argument for Christ's divinity: 'If He was not God, how did He enter the ear?' Again (*ibid.* p. 716): 'By the ear Spirit entered, and from the womb flesh came forth.'³

3. The phrase 'put on a body', which occurs so frequently in Aphraates, *Acts of Thomas*, and other early Syriac writings (cf. *Acts of Thomas* p. 210; Aphr. pp. 144, 403, 414, 421, and 472; *Addai* p. 9, 18), and is used almost invariably by St Ephraim to describe the incarnation, is found in our Acts on pp. 33 and 52. It fell into disrepute in later times, and so it is not surprising to find that in the later MS, *B*, other expressions have been substituted, viz. 'became flesh' on p. 33, and 'became man' on p. 52.

4. The expressions 'the sign' (*rûshmâ*, or *nîshâ*), 'the sign of baptism', 'the sign of life', and the like, to signify 'baptism', are so common in early Syriac writings as to be almost the rule. One or other of them occurs on pp. 25, 36, 48, 49 (*bis*) and 52. 'Baptism' simply occurs only three times, and in one of these cases it is the baptism of Christ that is meant; it is scarcely, if at all, to be found in the *Acts of Thomas*, but the use of *rûshmâ* as a synonym is frequent (cf. Wright, transl., pp. 166, 191, 256, 257, 259, 283).

5. The ritual of Baptism, described in detail on pp. 38–40, 42, and

¹ Overbeck *S. Ephr. aliorumque op. select.* pp. 4–5.

² For further examples see Lamy i 41 (Ephr.); Overbeck p. 3 l. 14, p. 8 l. 24 (Ephr.); p. 335 ll. 11–13 (Balai); *Carm. Nisib.* xxxvi 18 (*fin.*), and Ed. Rom. 103 A (Ephr.).

³ Other examples of this view may be seen in Lamy ii 515 (author?), ii 569 (author?), ii 801 (Ephr.), iii 979 and 981 (author?).

54-55, is practically identical with that which we find in the *Acts of Thomas* on pp. 166, 258, and 267-268, sharing with the latter a very remarkable feature as compared with Greek and Latin rites: there is no chrism after the immersion. First in each case comes a solemn unction, or signing (*rúshmā*), accompanied by the anointing of the whole body, and followed immediately by baptism in the threefold Name. Then comes the reception of Holy Communion, without any further anointing. Now this is in perfect agreement with what we find in St Ephraim's Hymns *On the Epiphany*.¹ These Hymns deal for the most part with Baptism; and here again the only anointing alluded to is that which comes before the immersion. Both the order of treatment and the language used make this quite clear. Hymn iii treats of the unction and Hymn iv of the laver. 'Christ', says St Ephraim, in the first verse of Hymn iii, 'and chrism are conjoined . . . the chrism anoints visibly, Christ signs secretly, the lambs newborn and spiritual, the flock of His twofold victory; for He engendered it of the chrism, He gave it birth of the water.' And further on he writes: 'When the leper of old was cleansed, the priest used to sign him with oil, and lead him to the waterspring. The type has passed and the truth is come; lo, with chrism have ye been signed, in baptism ye are perfected, in the flock ye are intermixed, from the Body ye are nourished.' In Hymn iv he passes on to the baptism: 'Descend, my signed brethren, put ye our Lord.' The evidence from Aphraates points in the same direction: he puts the *rúshmā* before the water. Speaking of the celebration of Easter (p. 229), he says there must be fasting and prayer, and the chanting of psalms, 'and the giving of the sign (*rúshmā*), and baptism after its due observance' (ܚܪܡܐ). He, like St Ephraim, speaks of this pre-baptismal 'sign' in the most solemn manner. He speaks of 'the olive wherein is the sign of the Mystery of Life, whereby (men) are constituted Christians and priests and kings', and 'which makes light them that are dark' (p. 449). I repeat, I have been unable to discover any trace of a post-baptismal unction in Syriac writings of the fourth century.

Now in the Greek and Latin Churches the baptism seems always to have been followed by the chrism of confirmation, the variable element being the preliminary anointing.²

¹ Lamy i 5 ff. These Hymns may be read in Dr Gwynn's translation in *Post-Nicene Fathers* vol. xiii. Especially important for the study of the subject in hand are iii, iv, v, and vi.

² Mr Brightman, in *J. T. S.* i pp. 247 ff. The use of oil at Baptism, as described in the *Acts of Thomas*, met with the strongest disapproval of Turribius, a Spanish bishop contemporary with Leo the Great. He goes so far as to say that the *Acts of Thomas*, which he tells us was one of the apocryphal books in vogue amongst the Priscillianists, contained a command to baptize with oil instead of water (Mr C. H. Turner, in *J. T. S.* vii p. 604). Mr Turner observes on this: 'Of the

6. There are indications that the author of these Acts was acquainted with the writings of St Ephraim, or, *vice versa*, that Ephraim knew the Acts. On p. 33 (transl.) we read: 'And . . . he was narrating from the Torah and the Prophets, how God . . . sent His only Son, and He came, and entered by the ear of the Virgin Mary . . . and put on a body from her, whilst the height and the depth were full of Him, and there was no place in which He was not; and whilst forming children in the wombs¹, He was with His Father.' A similar passage occurs on p. 14: 'And he entered by the ear of the woman . . . without quitting Him who sent Him; and the heights and depths were full of Him, and were ruled by Him by the will of His Father.'

Compare the following from St Ephraim's third Hymn *On the Nativity*²: 'He was wholly in the depths and wholly in the highest. He was wholly with all things and wholly with each. While His body was forming in the womb, His power was fashioning all members. While the conception of the Son was fashioning in the womb, He was fashioning babes in the womb.' And again, in the sixteenth Hymn: 'Heaven was filled with Him, and every creature. The Sun entered the womb, and in the height and depth His splendour abode.'

7. Minor indications of Syriac composition might be multiplied. I will content myself with quoting only a few.

(1) Play upon Syriac words.

(α) On p. 10: ܡܥܕܐ ܕܡܥܕܐ ܕܡܥܕܐ ܕܡܥܕܐ, 'and he took upon him to be taking the incomings of the bath'. For the idiom 'to take upon' oneself cf. *Vita Rabbulae*, Overbeck p. 177 l. 27, and Isaac of Antioch, *Bedjan* i p. 718 l. 11.

(β) On p. 11: ܐܢܝ ܥܒܕܐ ܕܥܒܕܐ, 'for I am a slave (*abhdā*), a made (*ābhīdhā*) and created one'.

(γ) On p. 12: ܡܥܕܐ ܕܡܥܕܐ ܕܡܥܕܐ ܕܡܥܕܐ, 'there is no (cause for) despair (*lit.* "cutting off of hope", as regularly), hope has been given to men . . . We are your members, and are formed of the (same) lump of which ye are formed'. Here, by changing the sense a little, we may represent the word-play thus: 'and in the fashion wherein ye are fashioned we are fashioned.'

use of oil for baptism, with which [Turribius] reproaches the Acts, mention is made in the extant text . . . on at least half a dozen occasions, and it is exactly the sort of feature, in that strange and weirdly fascinating story, which would arrest the attention of an orthodox reader in the fifth century.'

¹ Dr Rendel Harris has suggested (*Apology of Aristides* p. 37) that 'we should correct the text so as to read "and when formed as a child in the womb He was with His Father"'.
² Ed. Rom. v p. 411. An English translation of the passage may be seen in *Post-Nicene Fathers* xiii p. 232.

Evidence of the use of the Diatessaron.

instances of **ܠܐ** in the metaphorical sense of 'sovereignty' or 'majesty' cf. *Julian* pp. 112 l. 14, 113 l. 13; Overbeck p. 13 l. 6 (Ephr.); and Isaac of Antioch i p. 790 *ad fin.* (ed. Bedjan).

resounded over Jordan and pointed out our Lord Jesus with the finger (saying): This is My beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased, hear ye him. Thou art here who wast at Jordan. Yea, I beseech Thee, Lord, manifest Thyself here before this assemblage who have believed in Thee with simplicity. And in that hour fire blazed forth over the oil, and the wings of angels were spread over the oil' (*B*, rightly, 'water').

Now Isho'dad, a ninth-century writer, professes to quote the text of the Diatessaron for an account of the appearance of a bright light and angels over Jordan at the time of Christ's baptism: 'And straightway, as the Diatessaron testifies, light shone forth (☩), and over Jordan was spread a veil of white clouds, and there appeared many hosts of spiritual beings who were praising God in the air.'¹ Jacob Barsalibi, a later writer, cites the Diatessaron for the same statement: 'A mighty light flashed upon Jordan, and the river was girded with white clouds, and there appeared many hosts that were uttering praise in the air.'²

St Ephraim (Hymn x *In Epiph.*) writes: 'When He was baptized light flashed from the water.'³ In Hymn xv he makes repeated allusion to a light, or fire, on Jordan at the Baptism, and to hosts of 'watchers', i. e. angels.

Now in our last passage from the *Acts of John* the Apostle prays in effect that God would manifest Himself as He did over Jordan; and straightway fire blazes forth over the oil, and angels appear over the water. An allusion to the incident cited by Isho'dad and Barsalibi from the Diatessaron can scarcely be doubted. Some copies of the Harmony may have read 'fire', *nûrâ*, for 'light', *nûhrâ*. The finger of God pointing to our Lord is perhaps the ray of light flashed over Him.

2. On p. 34 (34) we have an account of the baptism of Christ, which begins thus: 'And He grew up as a man . . . And when thirty years were fulfilled (Lk. iii 23), He came to Jordan for baptism (cp. Mt. iii 13), and was baptized by John' (Mk. i 9). Compare with this Aphraates, p. 405: 'Jesus about thirty years old (Lk.) came to Jordan that He might be baptized'; also Ephraim's Commentary on the Diatessaron, p. 41: 'And Jesus Himself was about thirty years of age (Lk.) at the time when He came to be baptized of John' (Mt.). In the Gospel of St Luke (iii 23) the statement of our Lord's age comes after the baptism, and is made in connexion with the commencement of His teaching. It is evident from Aphraates and Ephraim that Lk. iii 23 was brought into connexion with Christ's coming to Jordan for baptism, as we find it in the *Acts of John*. We find this in the Arabic Harmony also, but there Mt. iii 13 precedes Lk. iii 23.

¹ Cf. Rendel Harris *Ephrem on the Gospel* p. 43.

² Burkitt *S. Ephraim's Quotations from the Gospel* p. 68.

³ Lamy i 97. The incident is also alluded to in Ephraim's Commentary p. 43.

3. On p. 4 (4) we read: 'For He said to us, when He was going up into heaven from beside us, as He was blessing us (Lk. xxiv 51): Go forth, teach, and baptize in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit (Mt. xxviii 19); every one that believes and is baptized liveth (Mk. xvi 16).'

The passage in the Arabic Diatessaron which deals with the ascension is thus composed: (Mt. xxviii 18^b, Jn. xx 21^b, Mk. xvi 15^b), Mt. xxviii 19^b-20, Mk. xvi 16 (-18, Lk. xxiv 49, Mk. xvi 19^a, Lk. xxiv 50), Lk. xxiv 51, Mk. xvi 19^c (Lk. xxiv 52-53). The bracketed passages do not concern us here. Thus we find in the *Acts of John* the command to baptize in Mt. xxviii 19 coupled with Mk. xvi 16 and connected with the ascension as in the Arabic copy. As in the latter, too, the Acts introduce a portion of the Lucan account of the ascension—the blessing of the disciples. In the Arabic this is followed by Mk. xvi 19^c. Now on p. 16 (16) of the Acts we read: 'And He ascended into Heaven, and sat at the right hand of His Father (cf. Mk. xvi 19^c) . . . And He said to us: Go forth, teach,' &c. (Mt. xxviii 19, Mk. xvi 16), as above.¹ We may conclude that Lk. xxiv 51 and Mk. xvi 19^c both came into the account of the ascension in the Gospel text used by the author. We may compare Aphraates (Wright p. 21): 'And when again our Lord gave the mystery of baptism (Mt. xxviii 19),² thus He said to them: He that believeth and is baptized shall live, and he that believeth not is judged' (Mk. xvi 16).

4. On p. 16 (16), in the course of a highly interesting harmonized account of the passion it is said that our Lord was given 'vinegar and gall' to drink on the cross. That 'vinegar and gall' was read in the Diatessaron is shewn by St Ephraim's Commentary (Moesinger p. 245): 'and they gave Him to drink vinegar and gall.'

5. On pp. 40 (40) and 47 (47) our author speaks of 'ravening wolves' (Mt. vii 15) as ܐܠܦܐ ܡܥܪܥܐ. But Pesh. and C represent 'ravening wolves' by ܐܠܦܐ ܡܥܪܥܐ; so *Acts of Thomas*.³ S is wanting.⁴ It is surely improbable that a Syriac writer, or even translator, who was accustomed to use only the Peshitta or the Old Syriac version, would have referred to the wolves in Mt. vii 15 as anything but ܐܠܦܐ ܡܥܪܥܐ.

¹ These words—'go forth', &c.—occur three times in all in *Acts of John*, viz. on pp. 4, 16, and 20.

² We know from the *Doctrine of Addai* (Phillips p. 20) that the command to baptize in the threefold Name stood in the Diatessaron.

³ A document in which the Old Syriac version was used; cf. Burkitt *Evangel. da-Meph.* ii pp. 101 ff.

⁴ I use C and S to denote respectively the Curetonian and Sinaitic MSS of Syr. Vt.

(3) In the harmonized passage on the passion, referred to above, we find, in addition to the reading 'vinegar and gall' already noticed, the following: 'And He cried out with His *mighty* voice (جمله قويا) on the cross.' *S* reads, 'with a *mighty* voice' in Mt. xxvii 46 and Mk. xv 34, 37, but 'with a *loud* voice' (جمله قويا) in Mt. xxvii 50 and Lk. xxiii 46. *Pesh.* has 'with a *loud* voice' in all five places. *C* is wanting.

(4) The following readings, which occur in the second of the harmonized passages (pp. ١٢-١٣) to which I have alluded, differ from *Pesh.* :—

(a) 'And the lame walked, and the blind were opened.'¹

The idiom 'to open the blind', which occurs also on p. ١ of these Acts is found in *S* in Jn. ix 32 and x 21, and Ephraim (Lamy i 597) writes: 'He made clay of spittle, and opened the blind.' In both the passages in St John's Gospel *Pesh.* supplies 'the eyes of',

(β) 'And the day inclined to dip' (يوم يميل).

The somewhat unusual word (in this sense) 'to dip' occurs in *C* in Lk. ix 12. *S* has there 'to set' (اجعل), and *Pesh.* 'to decline' (انحدر).

(γ) When Peter walks on the water it is said that he 'walked and *was coming* (*B, went*) to Him' (Mt. xiv 29).

S and *C* have 'and he came to Jesus'. *Pesh.* has 'that he might come to Jesus'.

(δ) 'And our Lord Jesus came and entered the ship' (Mt. xiv 32).

Pesh. reads: 'and when *they* went up into the ship the wind ceased.'

S: 'and when *they* went up into the boat the wind abated.'

C: 'and when *He* went up into the ship the wind ceased.'

Diat. Arab. (xix 9) implies a reading different from *Pesh.* and *S*, and approaching to that in *Acts of John*: 'and when Jesus had come near, He went up into the boat, Himself and Simon.' Cf. Ephraim's Commentary (Moes. p. 136): 'When our Lord came and went up into the ship with Simon, and the winds rested and ceased.'

(ε) 'Who then is this, that the winds and sea He commandeth and they obey Him?' (Lk. viii 25).²

¹ The healings referred to introduce an account of one of the miracles of feeding the multitudes; cf. Mt. xv 30 ff, which precedes the feeding of the *four* thousand. The number fed in our Acts is also *four* thousand, but nearly all the details belong to the account of the *five* thousand. The loaves are said to have been 'barley loaves', as in Jn.

² The writer has introduced this saying here, after the miracle of walking on the water, by a confusion. It is Luke's version of the saying which comes after the earlier miracle of stilling the storm. Ephraim's Commentary and the Arabic Harmony bear witness to the fact that both miracles were given by Tatian. The Arabic copy gives Luke's version of the saying after the earlier miracle; and there it is preceded by Mk. iv 39. Now in *Acts of John* the saying is immediately

S and C: 'Who then is this, that even the winds and the sea He commandeth and they obey Him?'

Pesh.: 'Who then is this, that even the winds he commandeth, and the floods and the sea, and they obey Him?'

Acts of John agrees with S C against Pesh. both in the order of words and in the omission of 'and the floods'.

(2) 'And they brought to Him all those that were ill with divers (B, *stubborn*, ܫܬܝܪܐ) infirmities, and demoniacs and the paralysed and lunatics and the lame, and He healed them all' (Mt. iv 24).

There is a good deal of discrepancy between the texts of S, C, and Pesh. in this passage. Our Acts most resemble Pesh. in general character. But that the original text has been tampered with is proved by the peculiar reading 'stubborn', preserved by B, which is found here in both S and C, while Pesh. has 'divers' (ܡܚܬܪܐ). The Acts further agree with S and C in reading 'and He healed them all' (Pesh. omits 'all'), and with C in reading 'and they brought', while Pesh. has 'and they brought-near': the words are from different roots in Syriac.

(5) On pp. ٥٥-٥٦ (23-24) a youth who has been raised from the dead tells what he saw:—

'And I saw twelve men in one band, and in another seventy-two . . . And I drew near to the great troop of seventy-two.'

In Lk. x 1 'seventy-two' is read by S, C, *Acts of Thomas*, *Addai*, Ephraim's *Com. on the Diat. (bis)*, and *Doctrine of the Apostles*. Pesh. alone has 'seventy'.

(6) On p. ٤٦ (46) we read: 'And the multitudes were straightway crying out: We renounce Artemis . . . And they were beating upon the faces and saying: Woe, what has happened to us?'

Now in Lk. xxiii 48 S and C add, after the words 'beating their breasts' in the ordinary text, a cry of woe uttered by the multitudes thus: 'and saying: Woe to us! What hath befallen us? Woe to us from our sins!' The Diatessaron, as attested by Ephraim (Moes. pp. 245-246), had the further addition, 'Lo! the judgements of the desolation of Jerusalem are come.'¹ That the passage in *Acts of John* starts from Lk. xxiii 48 can scarcely be doubted. The words 'they were beating upon their faces' are in the Syriac identical with those read in the Gospel by S, C, and Pesh., except that 'faces' is substituted for 'breasts', thus:

S, C, Pesh.: ܬܒܥܝܢ ܥܠ ܫܪܝܪܝܗܢ ܡܢ ܚܝܬܝܗܢ

Acts of John: ܬܒܥܝܢ ܥܠ ܫܪܝܪܝܗܢ ܡܢ ܚܝܬܝܗܢ

preceded by the words 'and there was a great quiet' (ܡܠܬܐ). This is the reading of Pesh. in Mk. iv 39. S and C are wanting there, but in Mt. viii 26 and Lk. viii 25 all authorities read 'calm' (ܡܠܬܐ).

¹ For other references see Burkitt *op. cit.* i 413.

Then, in *S*, *C*, and the Acts, follows immediately the woe, not found in Pesh. The Acts omit 'to us' after 'woe', and read 'hath happened to us' for 'hath befallen us', thus:

Acts of John: ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܪܝܡ ܕܡܪܝܡ ܕܡܪܝܡ ܕܡܪܝܡ
S, C: ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܪܝܡ ܕܡܪܝܡ ܕܡܪܝܡ ܕܡܪܝܡ

If we allow that the passage starts from a reminiscence of Lk. xxiii 48, we can scarcely refuse to admit that it implies the use of a text which contained the addition found in *S* and *C*; and as we have independent evidence for the use of the Diatessaron, the probability is that it also lies behind this passage.

The words 'woe unto me, what hath befallen me?' which occur in the *Acts of Philip* (Wright p. ٢٩), are cited by Prof. Burkitt as evidence that those Acts were composed in Syriac, and that the author used the Diatessaron.¹

The above is not by any means an exhaustive examination of the evidence for the Syriac authorship of the *Acts of John*, or for the use therein of the Diatessaron; but I have hopes that it will suffice to establish both these contentions. If the Acts be accepted for what I take them to be, then they must rank as a work of considerable importance, not only for the study of the Diatessaron, but also for that of the Syrian Creed and baptismal liturgy. In date they can scarcely be much later than the end of the fourth century, and may be earlier. It may be well to mention here that the Syriac Acts appear to have nothing in common with the Leucian Greek *Acts of John*. There are points of contact with the Acts attributed to Prochorus²; but these are few, and mainly confined to a single incident, viz. John's connexion with the bath. Even where it seems clear that the author of one set of Acts was acquainted with the other set, it is equally clear that the later story (whichever be the later) has been rewritten on quite independent lines. A feature peculiar to the Syriac Acts is that the whole story is placed in the reign of Nero.

R. H. CONNOLLY.

¹ *Op. cit.* ii p. 106 note 3.

² Cf. Dr Budge's translation of the *Ethiopic Contendings of the Apostles* pp. 222 ff.

THE GREEK TRANSLATORS OF THE FOUR BOOKS OF KINGS.*

THE study of the Septuagint from a linguistic point of view has a fascination of its own, and now and again rewards the investigator with some surprising results. It has been my task for some years to try to disentangle the various strata in the Greek Bible and to discover the joints in single books or in groups of books where the work of one translator is taken up by another. Having begun with little prospect of success in such an undertaking, considering the corrupt state in which the text has come down to us, I have become more and more convinced that, if the investigation is conducted on broad lines, we do possess the materials for the work of disintegration and for assigning to the original translators the portions for which they are severally responsible. In one of the lines of demarcation to which I propose to call attention in this article, the linguistic evidence is corroborated by very ancient MS evidence. This very welcome confirmation gives me greater confidence in believing that in other cases, where MS evidence is lacking, the results arrived at are not purely chimerical.

The subjects with which I propose to deal are as follows:—

(1) I shall endeavour to shew that the earliest line of division between the books of Samuel and the books of Kings was not where the M. places it at the end of the second book of Samuel, but at the end of verse 11 of the second chapter of 1 Kings (or 3 Kingdoms, to use the title by which the book is known in the Greek Bible). In other words the break comes at the death of David and the accession of Solomon.

(2) I shall attempt to prove that this second Book of Kingdoms, which has now been slightly extended by the addition of sixty-four verses commonly attached to the third Book, must be divided into two parts, the break occurring after 11¹, i.e. just before the story of David and Bathsheba.

(3) It will be shewn that the translator of the second portion of 2 Kingdoms is identical with the translator of 4 Kingdoms.

(4) A few observations will be offered on some peculiarities in the language of this last-named translator.

(5) The characteristics of the other portions will be briefly discussed.

(6) Some tentative suggestions will be made as to place and date of the translator referred to in (3).

* The greater part of this paper was read before the Cambridge Theological Society on Nov. 28, 1906. Since reading it I have modified the concluding paragraphs as to place and dates.

THE FIVE DIVISIONS AND THE FOUR TRANSLATORS.

For convenience I shall refer to the five divisions into which the Books of Kingdoms fall as follows:—

α = 1 Kingdoms.

$\beta\beta$ = 2 Kin. 1¹–11¹.

$\beta\gamma$ = 2 Kin. 11²–3 Kin. 2¹¹.

$\gamma\gamma$ = 3 Kin. 2¹²–21¹³.

$\gamma\delta$ = 3 Kin. 22 and 4 Kin.

The portions $\beta\gamma$ and $\gamma\delta$ will be referred to collectively as $\beta\delta$.

Attention will mainly be concentrated on the translator of the two portions $\beta\gamma$ and $\gamma\delta$, the other three portions (α , $\beta\beta$, and $\gamma\gamma$) being treated more cursorily.

The contents of these five portions are as follows (the two, which I shall endeavour to shew are the latest, being relegated to the end):—

α . The Reign^a of Saul, with the events that led up to it.

$\beta\beta$. The Reign of David in his prime; his early victories.

$\gamma\gamma$. The Reign of Solomon and the early history of the divided Monarchy.

Two later additions by a single hand, which might be entitled 'The Decline and Fall of the Monarchy', viz.:—

$\beta\gamma$. The story of David's sin and the subsequent disasters of his Reign.

$\gamma\delta$. The later Monarchy and the Captivity.

The work of this last translator, who is responsible for about two-fifths of the Greek narrative of the Reigns or Kingdoms, bears unmistakeable marks of a late date. He set himself to fill up the gaps which his predecessors had left by rendering into Greek the story of David's transgression and its outcome, which appears to have been previously passed over as unedifying, together with the story of growing degeneracy under the later Monarchy culminating in the captivity. It is not difficult to see the reason for the unwillingness of the earlier translators to bring such a story of disasters before the notice of heathen readers.

The three remaining portions, so far as my investigations have gone, appear to be homogeneous wholes, that is to say, they are the work of three distinct translators. Possibly an exception should be made in the case of $\gamma\gamma$, where two hands may have been at work. The portion α is undoubtedly the work of a single hand: $\beta\beta$ has considerable affinity with it, but there is enough, I think, to shew that a fresh hand has produced it. As to $\gamma\gamma$, it is impossible to speak very definitely. The text has been so much interpolated that it is difficult to tell what the original version was like. It was probably considerably shorter than our First

* This, rather than 'kingdom', was the meaning of *βασιλεία* in Hellenistic times.

Book of Kings, while, on the other hand, the translator was not unwilling to paraphrase and to amplify the narrative (especially when dealing with the story of Solomon in all his glory) by information derived from other sources. Such liberties seem to indicate that the translation was made at a time when the Book had not yet been universally recognized as canonical: the freedom of treatment offers a marked contrast to the literalism of the portions $\beta\gamma$ and $\gamma\delta$.

One word of precaution seems necessary. It must of course be understood that in no existing MS or version of the Books of Kingdoms have we the earliest form of the Greek text intact. In our oldest uncials, B as well as A, the original version has suffered considerably owing to the intrusion of phrases, or even sections of some length, from the three later versions which stood beside it in the Hexapla, and upon which Origen drew to supplement the LXX text of his day and to bring it into conformity with the 'Hebraica veritas'. These Hexaplaric accretions, however, usually betray themselves. Doublets, of which there are so many in these books, are patent instances of interpolation, and it is sometimes possible to determine which of the two words or phrases is the intruder. Again, the peculiar style of Aquila, whose version is constantly utilized by the 'A text' (in 3 Kin. especially) to supplement the shorter 'B text', is quite unmistakeable. It is thus possible, especially with the help of the Old Latin version, where available, to trace in general outlines the original version lying behind the interpolated text of the uncials; and if it is found, as is the case in the books under consideration, that certain large portions of the translation are characterized by peculiarities of rendering or grammatical usage which are absent from other portions, it is, I submit, a legitimate inference that different translators have been at work.

THE DIVIDING LINE AT DAVID'S DEATH.

Before proceeding to state the linguistic evidence, I propose to consider the two points in the narrative which mark the beginning and ending of the portion here designated $\beta\gamma$. What evidence have we to shew that the story was ever broken at these points? and what reasons are there why it should be so broken?

As a matter of fact the group of MSS (19, 82, 93, 108, 245) from which de Lagarde reconstructed the 'Lucianic text' brings the second Book of Kingdoms down to the death of David, i. e. includes in that book the first chapter and the first eleven verses of the second chapter of what is commonly called 3 Kingdoms. A Scholiast's note in Cod. 243, transcribed in Field's Hexapla, adds two more authorities for this arrangement, viz. Diodorus and Theodoret, the Scholiast warning the reader as to the other division, which is to be found (he says) in the

Hexapla and in 'the more accurate copies'. 'Εν τῷ ἑξαπλῷ καὶ τοῖς ἀκριβετέροις τῶν ἀντιγράφων ἡ μὲν δευτέρα τῶν Βασιλειῶν πληροῦται ἐν τῇ κατὰ τὴν θραῦσιν τοῦ λαοῦ διηγήσει, καὶ τῇ τῆς ἄλλω τοῦ Ὁρνᾶ διαπράσει· ἡ δὲ τρίτη τῶν Βασιλειῶν ἄρχεται ἐκ τε τῆς κατὰ τὴν Ἀβισὰγ τὴν Σουμανῖτιν ἱστορίας, καὶ ἐκ τῶν κατὰ τὸν Ἀδωνία καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ τυραννίδα. Διόδωρος δὲ τῇ δευτέρᾳ τῶν Βασιλειῶν συνάπτει καὶ ταῦτα ἕως τῆς τοῦ Δαυὶδ τελευτῆς, ὁμοίως Θεοδωρήτῳ.

It is this latter division which the internal evidence comes in to support, shewing that 'the more accurate copies' of the scholiast in reality contain a later arrangement of books. It is not easy to conjecture the reason for the division of books in the M. T.; why, that is to say, the closing scenes of David's reign should be placed at the opening rather than at the close of a book. The Lucianic text which opens 3 Kingdoms with καὶ Σολομῶν ἐκάθισεν ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου Δαυὶδ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ, as 2 Kin. opens with καὶ ἐγένετο μετὰ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν Σαοὺλ, is far the more natural arrangement, assigning as it does one book apiece to the reigns of Saul, David, and Solomon (with his immediate successors). Moreover, Hebrew scholars are agreed that the first two chapters of 3 Kin. are closely connected with chaps. 9-20 of the preceding book and probably come from the same hand. It will be sufficient to quote Driver's words^a: '1 Ki. 1-11. *Solomon*.—Here c. 1-2 are the continuation of 2 Sa. 9-20 . . . forming at once the close of the history of David and the introduction to that of Solomon.' He adds that, with the exception of a few verses, the narrative in chaps. 1 and 2 is 'entirely in the style of 2 Sa. 9-20, and appears to be the work of the same author'.

Not only does the Lucianic arrangement give us a more natural division of subject-matter, but it also exhibits the first two Books of Kingdoms in the form of two volumes of exactly equal bulk (for this purpose ββ and βγ are treated as a single volume: the separation of ββ was due to subjective considerations on the part of the translator and does not seem to go back to the original Hebrew). With the Lucianic arrangement, α occupies in Cod. Vaticanus 44 pages, 1 column, 1½ lines, ββ and βγ together occupy 44 pages, 1 column, 3 lines. It is certainly a remarkable fact that there is a difference of only 1½ lines, or barely half a dozen words, between the two books. The difference in bulk in the M. T., if the Lucianic arrangement is adopted, is greater, amounting to some four pages in an ordinary printed Hebrew Bible: this is chiefly due to the interpolation in the M. T. of sections concerning the early history of David which are absent from Cod. B.^b

^a *Introd. to the Lit. of the O. T.* p. 179.

^b It may be added that Josephus brings the seventh book of his *Jewish Antiquities* down to the death of David.

One other interesting fact must be mentioned with regard to the Lucianic text. Lucian has removed from the text of 3 Kin. 1-2¹¹, presumably as monstrosities, practically all the characteristic marks of the translator of $\beta\gamma$, which in the text of the two oldest uncials serve to link that chapter and a half to the preceding narrative in 2 Kin. If Lucian has preserved the oldest tradition as to the division of books, it is the text of B and A that enables us to check him and to pronounce that that division is correct. Needless to say, this fact enhances very greatly the value of the uncials, particularly of the text as furnished by a consensus of Codd. B and A.

It will probably not fall within the scope of the larger Cambridge Septuagint to depart from the arrangement of books in the Codex Vaticanus, but I venture to think that in the Septuagint of the future the second of the four Kingdom Books should and will end with the death of David.

THE BIPARTITION OF DAVID'S REIGN.

I turn to the other main line of demarcation, that which must be placed after 2 Kin. 11¹. As has been said, the reason is not far to seek which induced the translator of the earlier portion of 2 Kin. to lay down his pen on reaching the following passage: 'And it came to pass at eventide, that David arose from off his bed, and walked upon the roof of the king's house: and from the roof he saw a woman bathing; and the woman was very beautiful to look upon,' with the subsequent narrative. And as he read on to the story of Amnon and Tamar, of the rebellion of Absalom and Sheba and the various calamities that crowded round his hero at the close of his life, it is not surprising that he decided to limit his work to the earlier and happier years of David's reign.

Although we have, to my knowledge, no MS evidence to indicate a break at this point (nor was any indication likely to survive when the translation of the book was subsequently completed), yet we have an exact parallel in the O.T. for the reserve, call it scrupulousness or patriotism if you will, of this translator. He had a precedent to support him. The Chronicler, writing perhaps a century and a half before our translator,^a had acted in a precisely similar way. After the genealogies which occupy the first nine chapters of 1 Chron., the narrative at 10¹ begins with the death of Saul on Gilboa, repeating the story that had been told in the last chapter of 1 Kin. (31); the first four chapters of 2 Kin. find no equivalent in Chron., but from 1 Kin. 5¹ to 11¹ the two narratives run parallel with each other, except that the short

^a About 300 B.C. is the date of Chronicles adopted by Driver with most critics. The two narratives are conveniently placed side by side in *The Parallel History of the Jewish Monarchy* (Camb. Univ. Press, 1897).

story of Mephibosheth is omitted. 1 Chron. 20¹ corresponds to the concluding verse of the translator $\beta\beta$: 'And it came to pass at the time of the return of the year, at the time when kings go out to battle, that Joab led forth the power of the army, and wasted the country of the children of Ammon, and came and besieged Rabbah. But David tarried at Jerusalem.' Then the narrative is condensed. The story of Bathsheba and the birth of Solomon is omitted, together with the whole history of the rebellions of Absalom and Sheba. After stating the bare fact that 'Joab smote Rabbah and took it', and narrating how David took the king's crown and punished the Ammonites, the Chronicler proceeds (in 20⁴) 'And it came to pass after this that there arose war at Gezer with the Philistines', a passage which corresponds to 2 Sam. 21¹⁸, in other words he passes over nearly eleven chapters of the earlier narrative.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE TWO LATEST PORTIONS.

I now proceed to give a list of ten instances including the chief characteristics of the translator of the portions $\beta\gamma$ and $\gamma\delta$. The instances selected are those that shew most clearly the beginning and ending of the portion $\beta\gamma$ (2 Kin. 11², 3 Kin. 2¹¹). They also serve to shew the striking agreement between $\beta\gamma$ and $\gamma\delta$ and the almost complete absence of the phrases distinctive of this translator from the other sections α , $\beta\beta$, and $\gamma\gamma$. The instances of similarity of style in the latter half of 2 Kin. and in 4 Kin. might easily be multiplied: the instances proving that this style extends to the first sixty-four verses of 3 Kin. are of course fewer. I think, however, that these ten examples are sufficient by themselves to fix the bounds of the portion $\beta\gamma$. Three of them, at any rate (Nos. 5, 9, and 10) concern the use or disuse of phrases and modes of speech which offer ample opportunities for testing the practice of the Kingdom Books as a whole. (See table on p. 268.)

Several of the words in this list will repay study.

(1) The use of *οἱ ἄδρῳ* for 'the great men' (Heb. גִּבּוֹרִים, שָׂרִים, &c.) is limited elsewhere in LXX to two passages in Job (not in the Θ portions), one in Isa., and one in Jer. *a*. It is not attested in the other versions known to Origen and is foreign to classical Greek.

(2) The use of the adj. *κερατίνη* (sc. *σάλπιγξ*) as the rendering of *shophar* occurs also in Jd. (ten times, B and A text), 2 Es. 14¹⁸ (12), 20¹⁴, and in interpolations (? Hexaplaric) in Jos. 6^{3 ff} and 2 Chron. 15¹⁴ (A). It occurs also in four of the later (Hexaplaric) versions. A passage in Ψ (97⁶) explains the rendering, where the *σάλπιγξ κερατίνη* (= שׁוֹפָר) is distinguished from the *σάλπιγξ ἐλατή* (= חֲצוצֶרֶת). The *shophar* was synonymous with the *keren* and consisted in primitive times of a ram's horn: the *hašōserah* was the straight trumpet of beaten metal. Most of the LXX books use *σάλπιγξ* to render both Hebrew words: the

	^a (1 K.)	^{ββ} (2 K. 1 ¹ - 11 ¹)	^{βγ} (2 K. 11 ² - 3 K. 2 ¹¹)	^{γγ} (3 K. 2 ¹² - 21 ¹²)	^{γδ} (3 K. 22, 4 ¹)
<i>Adjectives.</i>					
(1) ἄδρός = ἡγν, ψν	—	—	{ 2 K. 15 ¹⁸ B 3 K. 1 ⁹ B	—	4 K. 10 ⁶ , 11
(2) { κερατίνη = ρεω = σάλπιγξ	— — 13 ³	— — 2 ²⁸ 6 ¹⁵	{ 2 K. 15 ¹⁰ , 18 ¹⁶ , 20 ¹ , 22 ¹ 3 K. 1 ³⁴ , 30, 41	— — —	4 K. 9 ¹² — —
(3) { μονόζωνος = πιν also rendered by γεδδούρ ἐξοδία σύστρεμμα	— — 30 ⁸ , 15 bis, 23 — —	— — — 3 ²² 4 ³	2 K. 22 ³⁰ — — —	— — — — 11 ¹⁴	4 K. 5 ³ , 6 13 ³⁰ , 21, 2 quater — — —
<i>Prepositions and particles.</i>					
(4) { ἀπάνωθεν cf. ἐπάνωθεν	— — —	— — —	{ 2 K. 11 ²⁰ , 24 3 K. 1 ⁵³ 2 K. 11 ²¹ , 13 ⁹ bis, 24 ²⁵ 3 K. 2 ⁴	— — 7 ⁹ , 12, 16, 48, 8 ⁷	4 K. 2 ³ B ^a 10 times (including in 2 ⁵ , 5)
(5) καί γε = κα	— ^a	2 ⁷ BA ^b	{ 29 exx. in B 24 " A from 2 K. 11 ¹² to 21 ²⁰ , and 3 K. 1 ⁶ , 10, 2 ⁵	— ^c	{ 17 exx. in 15 " A 3 K. 22 ²² , 4 K. 2 ⁵ only
(6) καὶ μάλα = ἡμ	—	—	{ 2 K. 14 ⁸ 3 K. 1 ⁴³	—	4 K. 4 ¹⁴
(7) { ἀνθ' ὧν ὅτι cf. ἀνθ' ὧν ὅσα	— — —	— — —	2 K. 12 ⁶ , 10 —	— —	4 K. 18 ¹⁹ B, 4 K. 10 ³⁰ , 2
(8) ἡνίκα	— ^d	—	2 K. 12 ²¹ , 13 ³⁶ , 16 ¹⁶ , 17 ²⁷ , 20 ¹²	—	4 K. 4 ¹⁸ , 1
(9) <i>Syntax.</i> ἐγὼ εἰμι as subject of finite vb. (e.g. ἐγὼ εἰμι ἐν γαστρὶ ἐχῶ)	—	— ^e	{ 2 K. 11 ⁵ , 12 ⁷ , 15 ²⁰ , 18 ¹² , 20 ¹⁷ , 24 ¹⁹ , 11 ⁷ 3 K. 2 ³	— (contrast e.g. ἐγὼ αἰτοῦμαι &c. 2 ¹⁶ , 18, 20)	4 K. 4 ¹² , 1 22 ³⁰
(10) Historic present	145 exx.	28 exx. (2 ⁴ -9 ⁵)	Once ^f (11 ⁷ παραγίνεται)	47 exx. (3 ¹⁵ -21 ⁴³)	Twice ^g (7 ⁵ -10 ¹⁰ ἐστίν)

^a Occurs in three Hexaplaric interpolations in A: 1 Kin. 18⁵, 19³⁰, 24.^b Also in the preceding verse in A, where the text of B has been cut away in an interpolation of A in 3¹⁹.^c In a Hexaplaric interpolation of A after 7¹⁷ (20).^d A has it in 1²⁴ (B omits clause).^e But cf. 2 Kin. 7²⁰ οὐ εἶ, κύριέ μου Κύριε, ἐλάλησας.^f The clause is omitted in Codd. 71, 245. The passage 14^{27b}, not in M. shewn by the two presents to be a gloss.^g These exx. disappear in the Lucianic text, which reads ἦν. Ποιοῦσιν in due to the Heb. participle: the Lucianic text, with some VSS., reads ἐποιοῦν. 1^{18a-4}, where B has βασιλεύει, is not in M. T., and the hist. pres. indic. is not part of the original version.

translator now under consideration, in common with two late books of the Greek Bible and the later versions, indicates the distinction in the original by using the adj. meaning 'horn' of the *shophar*, and restricting the use of *σάλπιγξ* to the *hasozerah*.^a

(3) *Μονόζωνος* is an interesting and puzzling word. The Hebrew מן, which it renders, is from a root signifying 'to cut' or 'penetrate': the noun is used of 'a band' or 'troop', (1) usually a marauding band, (2) in later Hebrew 'a division' or 'troop' in a regular army, (3) once (2 Sam. 3²²) 'a raid' or 'foray'. The Oxford Hebrew Lexicon offers two alternative methods of connecting the meaning of the noun with the root-meaning: either the troop got its name 'as making inroads', or as 'a division, detachment (as severed)', a meaning, however, which is restricted to later Hebrew.

The word is rendered in a variety of ways in the LXX, its meaning being generally well understood (except that it is used of a single marauder as well as a troop), while one translator (Kin. ββ) correctly discriminates between two differing senses. Transliteration^b only takes place in Kin. α, as quoted above, and in 1 Chron. 12²¹. Elsewhere we have *πειρατήριον* (Gen. 49¹⁰, Job 19¹², Ψ 17⁸⁰), *πειρατής* (Job 25³, Hos. 6⁸), *ληστήριον* (2 Chron. 22¹), *ληστής* (Hos. 7¹, Jer. 18²²), *δύναμις* (1 Chron. 12¹⁸, 2 Chron. 25^{9, 10, 13}), *ισχυρός* (1 Chron. 7¹), *ἐμφραγμός* (apparently meaning 'blockade', if the text is right, Mic. 5¹ (4¹⁴)). In 2 Chron. 26¹¹ the word is omitted in the Greek.

Turning to the later versions, the usual rendering of Symmachus (attested in five passages) is *λόχος*, which is well chosen as practically coextensive in meaning with the Hebrew word. Aquila's rendering (attested eight times) is *εὐζωνος*, a word specially used of light-armed troops.

Aquila's rendering brings us back to the similar *μονόζωνος* now under consideration. In 4 Kin. the word is used in the plural (once only in the singular, 13²¹ ἴδον τὸν μ.) of predatory bands from Syria, Moab, Ammon, and Chaldaea: possibly, as in the case of *κερατίνη*, a substantive (e.g. *στρατιῶται* or *λόχοι*) should be supplied. In 2 Kin. 22³⁰ ἐν σοὶ δραμοῦμαι *μονόζωνος* (מִן מִן רָץ, R. V. 'run upon a troop') it is used adjectivally and appears to be equivalent to *εὐζωνος*, 'under Thy protection no heavy armour need impede my steps': the parallel passage in Ψ 17 (18)⁸⁰ runs ἐν σοὶ ῥυσθήσομαι ἀπὸ πειρατηρίου.^c Apart from these passages in 2 and 4 Kin. the word is confined^d in 'Biblical Greek' to two instances in Theodo-

^a *Σάλπιγξ* in 4 Kin. 11^{14b4}, 12¹³: *hasozerah* does not occur in the βγ portion.

^b Incorrect, the final γ being read as λ.

^c The verb used in Ψ is probably chosen on account of its similarity to the Heb. (רָץ)—a common phenomenon in the LXX.

^d The version of *Quinta* in Ψ 67⁷ should be read as *μονοζώνους*. In 2 Kin. 3²² Aquila is cited in favour of both *εὐζάνου* and *μονοζάνου*; the former is, no doubt, what he wrote.

tion's version of Job, viz. 19¹³ (of the troops of God that beset him = τὰ πειρατήρια αὐτοῦ of LXX) and 29²⁸, where the patriarch describes his former prosperity when he 'dwelt as a king in the army', κατεσκήνον ὡσεὶ βασιλεὺς ἐν μονόζωνοις. This last passage is one of many interpolations from Θ which now form a part of our Septuagint text.

What is the origin of the word? Does it mean 'a man with only a belt', or (like similarly formed words) 'a man with only *one* belt' or 'a lonely man with a belt'? The last is the meaning given to what is practically the same word, οἰόζωνος, in the only classical parallel of which I am aware. In Soph. *O. T.* 842 ff Oedipus, who has just heard from Jocasta the rumour that Laius was killed by robbers, and is anxiously awaiting confirmation from the sole survivor, finds some consolation in the fact that the informant spoke of robbers (λησταί) in the plural, 'but' he adds,

εἰ δ' ἄνδρ' ἐν' οἰόζωνον αὐδήσει, σαφῶς
τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἤδη τοῦργον εἰς ἐμὲ ῥέπον.

This is translated in the standard edition, 'But if he names *one lone* wayfarer, then beyond doubt this guilt leans to me': and the eminent editor^a quotes parallels from the poets for instances where the second part of the compound is equivalent to a second epithet for the noun. It would be hazardous in the extreme to question this translation, but the juxtaposition of οἰόζωνος and λησταί, in the light of the later use of μονόζωνος, makes it hard to resist the suspicion that the former word or its prosaic equivalent already in the fifth century B.C. denoted in common parlance a highwayman or bandit.

Later writers, as quoted in the Lexicons, give various definitions, but the exact meaning of the word still remains uncertain, and some of the definitions may be mere guesses of commentators who knew how the word was used in the LXX. There is included in the works of Ephrem Syrus^b a sort of catechism on difficulties in the Old and New Testaments. The last of the questions and answers runs: (ἐρώτησις) τίνας λέγονται μονόζωνοι; (ἀπόκρισις) οἱ φονεῖς καὶ λησταί καὶ πᾶς κακοῦργος καὶ πόρνος μονόζωνος λέγεται. This rather vague definition is repeated by others. Suidas quotes several definitions, the first two being taken from the commentary on Job written by Olympiodorus of Alexandria in the sixth century: (1) οἱ τίμοι τῶν στρατιωτῶν, οἱ μὴ ταῦτὸν τοῖς ἄλλοις ζωστήρα φοροῦντες (this looks less like guessing, but the date is late), (2) ἀσύντακτοι (undisciplined) καὶ ὥσανεὶ λησταί, (3) οἱ ἐφοδοὶ βάρβαροι ἢ ἀπελάται μάχιμοι (cattle-stealers). Hesychius gives οἱ τῶν πολεμίων κατάσκοποι ἢ

^a The late Sir Richard Jebb.

^b Roman edition (1732-1746), tom. III (græce et latine) p. 478 B. Of course Ephrem, who did not write in Greek, is not the author: but the inclusion of the catechism in his works suggests that it may be Syrian in origin.

μάχιμοι οὗς ἡμεῖς μονομάχους. Theophanes, the ninth-century Byzantine historian who continued the Chronicon of Syncellus, uses *μονόζωνοι* (sometimes with *στρατιῶται*) apparently for light-armed soldiers.^a Lastly, the explanation given in a modern Greek Lexicon^b is ὁ φορῶν μόνον τὴν ζώνην (*χωρὶς τοῦ σπαθί*), i.e. without a broad-sword.

Whatever the original meaning, the points to note in connexion with the LXX are that the word is confined to one of the translators of Kin. and to Theodotion; that it is unknown (so far as I am aware) to the Egyptian papyri, whereas it seems to be more familiar in Syria^c; and that the latest translator of the Kingdom books, in selecting this word, perhaps had regard to the Heb. root meaning 'to cut' or 'sever', and intended by it a detachment of light-armed men who carried on guerilla warfare on their own account under no regular leader.

(4)-(8) Of the prepositions and particles in the above list not much need be said. *Ἀπάνωθεν* (unexampled outside LXX and Hexapla) is confined elsewhere in the LXX to Jd. 16²⁰ B, and to vll. in Am. 2⁹ (A), Job 9 31² (N C. a): Symmachus has it in Prov. 24¹⁹. *Ἐπάνωθεν* is more common: it may be noted that in the Hexateuch it is limited to the latter half of Exodus (25¹⁹, 26¹⁴, 38⁵). Compound prepositional forms are characteristic of the later books: such are *ἐξόπισθεν*, *κατόπισθεν*, *πίρεξ*, *περικύκλῳ* (distinctive of Ez. β), *ὑποκάτωθεν*. Under the same category come compound conjunctions such as *ἀνθ' ὧν ὅτι*, *ἀνθ' ὧν ὅσα*; apart from the examples quoted from βδ in the list, the former is confined in LXX to Dt. 28⁹² and Ez. 36³⁴ (in a section recalling the style of Θ), the latter to Jd. 2²⁰ B A: *ἀνθ' οὗ ὅσον* in the A text of 3 Kin. 14⁷.¹⁸ is from Aquila: elsewhere the translators use *ἀνθ' ὧν* alone.

Καί γε as the rendering of כִּי is one of numerous instances of a Greek word being selected from its resemblance to the Hebrew: it is common to α'σ'θ', but seems to have come into use before their time.

Καὶ μάλα, which is good classical Greek for 'indeed', 'certainly', in the LXX recurs only in Dan. O 10²¹ (= לְבַר) and twice in the N text of Tobit. It is true that לְבַר which it renders is absent from Kingdoms α, ββ, and γγ: the word, which in older Hebrew is asseverative and in later Hebrew adversative, is elsewhere rendered by *ναί* (Gen.), *ἀλλά* (2 Chron., 1 and 2 Es.), *ἀλλ' ἢ* (2 Chron., Dan. Θ), and *πλήν* (2 Chron.).

Ἡνίκα, which is limited in Kingdoms to βδ, is not uncommon elsewhere in LXX: it is a distinguishing mark of Ez. β.

^a e. g. in Migne P. G. tom. 108, col. 817 fin. of Saracenic bands in Asia Minor: *καὶ κατὰ τῆς Βιθυνῶν Νικαίας παρατάττεται τῶν Σαρακηνῶν δύο Ἀμηνραίων στῖφος, Ἀμερ ἔν χιλιᾷσι μονοζώνων δεκάπεντε κ.τ.λ.*

^b *Λεξικὸν . . . ὑπὸ Σκαρλάτου Δ. τοῦ Βυζαντίου* (Ἀθήνησιν, 1839).

^c Stephanus has the following: 'Bud. citat ex nescio quo Οἶδα καὶ ζώνην στρατιωτικὴν καὶ ἀνδρικήν, καθ' ἣν ἀζωνοὶ (! *lege* εὐζωνοὶ) Συρίας καὶ μονόζωνοι καλοῦνται.' I have failed to find the passage in Budaeus.

(9) The strange use of *ἐγὼ εἰμι* followed by a finite verb, apart from the eleven instances in βδ (which are common to the B and A texts), occurs five times in the B text of Jd., once in the A text of that book, 6¹⁸ *ἐγὼ εἰμι καθήσομαι*, and once in Ruth (which forms an appendix to Jd.) 4⁴ B A *ἐγὼ εἰμι ἀγχιστεύσω*: there is also a very doubtful example in Ez. 36³⁶ A.

Turning to the later versions, we find that Aquila has the same construction: but the only examples from his version collected by Field are confined to the latter part of Jeremiah. These are Jer. 36 (29)¹¹, where he appears to have read (with Θ) *ὅτι ἐγὼ οἶδα τὸν λογισμὸν ὃν ἐγὼ εἰμι λογίζομαι*, 38 (31)²¹, 40 (33)⁹ *ἐγὼ εἰμι ποιήσω* twice (the text is uncertain in the first passage), and possibly 45 (38)²⁶, where he is cited both for *βάλλω ἐγὼ τὴν δέξιν μου* and for *ρίπτω ἐγὼ εἰμι τὸν ἐλεῖσμόν μου*, Field attributing the latter reading to Aquila's second edition. The solecism puzzled the scribes, who have twice altered *εἰμι* to *εἰ μὴ*, once to *μή*, while in the last passage quoted *εἰμι τόν* becomes *ἐμαντόν*.

Theodotion, in addition to the first passage in Jeremiah already mentioned, had this construction in Job 33³¹ *κώφευσον καὶ ἐγὼ εἰμι λαλήσω*, and probably in Is. 54¹¹ (*ἐγὼ εἰμι ἐμβαλὼν* being doubtless a correction made to improve the grammar).

With these examples must be placed the solitary instance of an analogous use of *σὺ εἶ*: 2 Kin. 7²⁹ *σὺ εἶ, κύριέ μου Κύριε, ἐλάλησας*.

This otiose use of *εἰμί*, not as an auxiliary with a participle (which is common enough in the Hellenistic language), but apparently in apposition with a finite verb, is probably unparalleled outside 'Biblical Greek'. The suggestion quoted in Schleusner (s. v. *εἰμί*), that it is due to an ellipse of the relative *ὅς*, might derive some colour from the B text of 2 Kin. 12⁷, where *ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ χρίσας* balances *ἐγὼ εἰμι ἐνυσάμην*; but the true text in the first clause is no doubt that witnessed to by the O. L. and a group of cursives, *ἐγὼ εἰμι ἔχρισα*. Moreover, this explanation would not account for the phrase in passages where no emphasis is laid on the agent, or where, as in Jd. 11²⁷, *ἐγὼ εἰμι* follows the other verb. Again, the fact that the phrase is used as often of men and women as of God puts out of the question any reference to the Divine Name of Ex. 3¹³.

I have nowhere seen stated what I have no doubt is the true explanation. It is to be found in the usual ellipse in Hebrew of the verb 'to be' and in the varying forms of the Hebrew pronoun. The pronoun ^a of the first person took the two forms *'ānōkī* and *'ānī*. Later writers shew a growing preference for *'ānī*, and the longer form practically disappeared: Aramaic had no equivalent for it. At the time when the later translators did their work *'ānōkī* was a strange word and would excite attention.

^a I take the Oxford Hebrew Lexicon as my authority.

The use of the one form or the other in the earlier Hebrew books is often indiscriminate: *the longer form is, however, regularly employed with a predicate*. 'I am' is expressed by 'ānōkī, not by 'ānī, except in the phrase 'I am the Lord', where 'ānī is usual. This distinction between the two forms was observed by the translators, and the practice seems to have grown up of rendering the longer form by ἐγώ εἰμι, the shorter by ἐγώ.^a When the demand arose for rigid exactness of translation, and every jot and tittle in the original required to be indicated in the version, the equation ἐγώ εἰμι = 'ānōkī became an invariable rule, even where 'ānōkī obviously did not mean 'I am'. The Greek phrase was merely a mechanical device for indicating to the Hebrew-speaking reader the form which the pronoun took in the original. In all the passages quoted above, where ἐγώ εἰμι appears with another verb, 'ānōkī stands in the M.T., with the exception of the two last in 4 Kin. (10⁹, 22³⁰) and Jer. 45 (38)²⁶, the passage where two readings are attributed to Aquila.^b As regards the two passages in 4 Kin. the translators probably found 'ānōkī in their text: but by Origen's time it had been replaced by 'ānī in 22³⁰, as the εἰμί was obelized in the Hexapla.

The rule governing the use of ἐγώ εἰμι strongly reminds one of Aquila's peculiarities, and it might be thought that he was its originator. Against this, however, is the fact of its attestation throughout βδ by both the B and the A texts^c: its antiquity is moreover vouched for by the Old Latin, while the obelus of Origen proves that it was present in the κοινή ἑκδοσις of his time. It appears that Aquila was not the first to found a school of literal translation. *Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona.*

A word as to σὺ εἶ . . . ἐλάλησας. The phrase is unique: it occurs in a portion where the seemingly analogous ἐγώ εἰμι is absent: it cannot well be explained on the same principle. The εἶ has probably come into the text from the preceding verse, where it is in place (καὶ νῦν, κύριέ μου Κύριε, σὺ εἶ ὁ θεός), or else σὺ εἶ must be taken as a distinct clause and a stop placed before ἐλάλησας.

(10) As to the historic present I must be brief. The contrast which βδ presents in this respect to the other Kingdom Books recalls a similar contrast in the N. T., where Matthew and Luke between them have eliminated from the Gospel narrative nearly all the historic presents which are such a striking feature in Mark.^d In the LXX the historic

^a Contrast Ex. 20² ἐγώ εἰμι Κύριος = יְהוָה with ἐγώ Κύριος ib. 6², 6, 8 = יְהוָה: but the rule does not seem to have been universally observed.

^b The reading of A in Ex. 36³⁶ may be neglected, the insertion of εἰμι being due to the influence of the common refrain 'They shall know that I am the Lord'.

^c Whereas in Jd. it is, with one exception, confined to the B text, and in 5² ἐγώ εἰμι is expressly marked with the asterisk.

^d See the statistics in *Horae Synopticae* pp. 114 ff. Sir J. Hawkins is not quite accurate in his statement that 'it appears from the LXX that the historic present was by no means common in Hellenistic Greek'.

present is not frequent with verbs of saying: in the Pentateuch it is found chiefly with verbs of seeing, in the Kingdom Books mainly with verbs of motion (coming and sending). In 1 Kin. it is specially common in introductory clauses, where a fresh departure is made in the narrative: when the various actors have been brought on to the scene and their preliminary movements presented to the mind's eye by the historic present, the subsequent main actions are described by past tenses (e.g. 17^{1 ff}, 28^{4 ff}; so 3 Kin. 11¹⁸). In 3 Kin. the commonest instance is βασιλεῖν, 'came to the throne'. All three translators, α, ββ, and γγ, use the picturesque tense of funerals, for what reason is not obvious: contrast the formula describing the decease of one monarch and the accession of the next as rendered in γγ, ἐκοιμήθη . . . θάπτεται . . . ἐβασίλευσεν (or βασιλεῖν) with the invariable phrase in γδ, ἐκοιμήθη . . . ἐτάφη . . . ἐβασίλευσεν.

Some other characteristic usages of $\beta\delta$, which will repay study, are $\delta\eta\rho\sigma$ for $\tau\eta\kappa$ in the sense of 'each' (where the other translators of K. use $\delta\kappa\alpha\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$), $\delta\mu\alpha\rho\rho\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omega$ (the others usually $\delta\mu\alpha\rho\rho\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omega$)², $\delta\mu\alpha\tau\eta$ and $\sigma\sigma\alpha\tau\eta$ (for the usual substantives in $-\eta\sigma\tau\epsilon\varsigma$), two words for 'to save'— $\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\gamma\lambda\theta\alpha\iota$ and $\delta\iota\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE THREE EARLIER PORTIONS.

Characteristics of a. This translator has a certain independence or perhaps one should rather say a want of familiarity with renderings employed in the Pentateuch and elsewhere of some common Hebrew words. His version reads like a first attempt at rendering the phraseology of the Kingdom Books. He is on ground that has not been traversed before him. He is often in doubt as to the meaning, and occasionally omits difficult words. Examples of renderings peculiar to him are: (τὸ) *ἡ βασιάνου* = *בַּשָּׂא*, 'guilt-offering', 6¹, 4², 17 (elsewhere *περὶ ἁμαρτίας* γδ 12¹⁶, Lev., Isa., *τῆς πλημμελείας* Lev., Num., *ἕπερ (περὶ) ἀγνοίας* E 1); —*δικάζειν* = *בִּשְׁפ* and *δικαστής* where other translators use *κρίνειν* and *κριτής*: —**κενοτάφια* 19¹³, 16 = *בְּעִרְיָה*: in 15²³ *θεραπείαν* B is an example of imitation of the Hebrew word (elsewhere the Hebrew word is transliterated *θεραφεῖν*, &c., Jd., 4 Kin., 2 Chron.): —*λομὸς* (adj.) 1¹⁰, 2¹³, 10²⁷, 25¹⁷. 30²² = *לִבְיָזָא* (= *παράνομος* in Dt., Jd., Kin. βγ and γγ, and 2 Chron. — *μηδαμῶς* = *הֲלִיזָא* seven times in 1 Kin., once in Gen. (elsewhere *μὴ γένοιτο* 3 Kin. γγ, Gen., Jos.: *ἔλεως* 2 Kin. βγ 20¹⁰, 23¹⁷, 1 Chron.): — *παρήκαν γῆν* 2⁵ apparently = 'gave ground', 'yielded': — *πόλις ἐστὶν περρωμένη* 6¹⁸ = *בִּצְבָצָב* (rendered in βγ and γδ by π. *οχυρά*, as in most books, or by *οχύρωμα*) : — *σκήπτρον* = *בִּצְבָצָב*, with the meaning 'tribe' eight times; so three times in γγ (elsewhere *φυλὴ* in βγ, γγ, γδ, &c.): — *σοφίᾳ* *εἶσθαι*

* Contrast the phrase ἀγγελία λέγοντες in βγ (2 Kin. 15³¹, 19¹; 3 Kin. 1³¹) with ἀγγελία λέγοντες in α (14¹², 15¹², 19¹², 23¹; cf. 24²); βδ (3³¹, 6¹²), and γγ (2²⁰, 28, 41).

= 17² only in 1 Kin. 3³ (γγ renders by συνίειν). He transliterates where others translate in the case of κύριος (θεός) σαβαώθ with Isaiah (κς (θς) τῶν δυνάμεων in βγ, γδ, Psalms, &c.: κς παντοκράτωρ in ββ six times, Jer., Minor Proph., &c.): also in the case of ἐφούδ βάρ 2¹⁸ (= στολὴν ἑξαλλων of 2 Kin. 6¹⁴, στ. βυσσὴν of 1 Chron. 15²⁷), and so ἐφούδ ten times in this book (ἐφώδ Jd.: in Pent., Sir., Ez. ἐπωμύς). The divergence between α and ββ in these last two instances will be noted. Two other marks of his style are the use of the subject without a definite article when a genitive follows, due to imitation of the Hebrew (e.g. 5^{1 ff}) and the opening of a sentence with a genitive absolute with asyndeton (e.g. 9^{5, 27}).

The translators of α and $\beta\beta$ coincide in some place-names. The form 'Ιουδαία (as opposed to 'Ιουδα) is confined in the B text of the Kingdom Books to these two portions^a: they have also in common the adjectival form Γαλααδῆτις^b (elsewhere in Kin. Γαλαάδ). These two translators also stand alone in rendering יָמָם by ὥστε λίαν (1 Kin. 11¹⁸; 2 Kin. 2¹⁷): the Greek versions elsewhere adopted are ἕως σφόδρα (3 Kin. 1⁴, 2 Chron., Ψ , Lam., Dan. Θ), σφόδρα (Gen., Isa., Dan. O 8⁸, Θ 11²⁵), and once (Dan. O 11²⁵) σφόδρα λίαν.

Characteristics of ββ. A distinctive feature of the ββ portion consists in peculiarities in verbal terminations. Of course these may be due to later scribes and not to the translator. But it is remarkable that the following forms are restricted in 2 Kin. to the first few chapters: (i) the termination of the 2nd sg. of the fut. mid. in -ει, ὄψει 3¹³ B, ἴσσει 5² B*, παρέσει 5²³ B*, εἰσελεύσει 5⁶ B*, ἀναβήσει 5²³ B, καταβήσει 5²⁴ B* (the forms in -η begin at 11¹⁰ ἔρχη and continue throughout βγ, e.g. ἴσῃ 13¹³, 14², 15³³, 18³, 19¹³; 3 Kin. 2²); (ii) the termination -αν in the impf., δίδειναν 2²⁹ B, ἔφεραν 3²² B, ἦγαν 6³ B (contrast παρήγον 15¹⁸, ἀνέβαινον 15²⁰)^o; (iii) the termination -σαν, common in the other historical books (thirty exx. in the B text of Joshua), is conspicuous by its absence in 1-4 Kin.: of the three solitary exx. two occur in this ββ portion, viz. ἐξήλθσαν 2 Kin. 2¹³ A, ἐλάβσαν 5²¹ B: the third ex. is ἡμάρτησαν 3 Kin. 8⁵⁰ A (-τον B); to these should be added the rather different impf. termination ἐνοοῦσαν 2 Kin. 20¹⁵.

The mythological allusion in 2 Kin. 5^{18, 22} 'the valley of the tans' = תַּנִּים (with which contrast ἐν τοῖς ἐκγόνοις τοῦ Παρά, &c.,

* 1 Kin. [17¹ A] 23¹, 27^{6, 10}, 30¹⁴; 2 Kin. 2⁴: in Cod. A it twice replaces $\gamma\eta$ ($\tau\theta\upsilon$) $\delta\sigma\alpha$ of B in 4 Kin. $\tau\theta\upsilon\mu\alpha\iota\alpha$, however (2 Kin. 8¹⁴ *bis*), is also attested in 3 Kin. and once (14¹⁰) in 4 Kin.

^b 1 Kin. 31¹¹; 2 Kin. 24, 5. Cf. Ἰσραηλῆτις = a Jezreelitess: 1 Kin. 27³ B, 30⁵ B; Kin. 3³ B.

* Similar forms of the *aorist* (εἶπας, &c.) occur throughout 2 Kin., being very frequent in the βγ portion.

2 Kin. 21^{10,11})^a reminds the reader of the allusions to the Amazons in the Alexandrine version of Chronicles (2 Chron. 14¹⁵, (?) 22¹). The use of ἰσθία (a word previously used in 3²²) in 11¹ suggests that that verse should be included in the ββ portion.

Of the *style* of γγ it is difficult to speak. The B and A texts diverge so widely, the order of events has so often been transposed in the two texts, while sometimes we get a duplicate record in the same text (e.g. the double narrative of Solomon's prosperity in the B text of 2¹⁰ and 4¹⁰), that it is extremely doubtful what the original version was like. Probably it consisted of extracts only, and it may be that two separate versions have been run together. That the last chapter of 3 Kin. should be ascribed to the translator of 4 Kin. is suggested by the use of ἀνὴρ for ἄνθρωπος (22¹⁰) and of καὶ γὰρ (22¹¹), and by the absence of the historic present: contrast also ἀνέβητος τῶν νεφελῶν²³ with 21³⁰ ἐσθλάθεν εἰς τὸν οὐλὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰς τὸ νεφέλιον (same Hebrew). Further οὐχ οὐτος (Hebrew עֲלִי?)²⁴, &c., διὰ δὲ ἀλλ' ἡ²⁵, μακάριον²⁶ are in the manner of ββ.

The three years' armistice between Syria and Israel (22¹) was the point selected for a break in the Greek narrative of the later Monarchy.

PLACE AND DATE OF TRANSLATION.

Before closing this paper, I will add some purely tentative remarks as to the place of writing and the date of the portions of the Greek Bible which we have been considering. As to the *place of writing*, I would suggest that there seems some ground for thinking that *the translator of ββ was a Palestinian*. In support of this I would call attention to two points. (1) The demand for a somewhat pedantically literal version, such as that contained in ββ, is more likely to have arisen in Palestine than at Alexandria. Such a version, the main purpose of which was to render every word of the original and to find an equivalent for each shade of difference in the Hebrew orthography, was a protest against the licence of the later Alexandrine translators, who did not scruple to abbreviate or add to the sacred page. The literalism has, of course, not advanced so far as in Aquila's version: we here see the tendency in an earlier stage of development. (2) There is a marked absence in the portion ββ (as also to a great extent in the other portions of the Kingdom Books) of the Alexandrine phraseology of the papyri. Here the translation of Chronicles offers a strong contrast. The Egyptian colouring is there unmistakeable. The translator of Chronicles identifies the Sakiim and the Meunim with the Troglodytes^b and the Minaeans^c

^a In 21³⁰ ἀνέβητος τῶν νεφελῶν is an interpolation (not in M. T.). In verse 20, however, Lucian's text reads καὶ αὐτὸς ἀνέβητος τῶν νεφελῶν (BA καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐνέβητος τῶν νεφελῶν).

^b 2 Chron. 12³.

^c 2 Chron. 4¹⁶; 2 Chron. 26⁷: cf. 20¹, 26⁹.

respectively, two tribes living by the Red Sea: he uses the titles of the Alexandrine court, *διάδοχος*^a (or *διαδεχόμενος*^b), *οἱ πρῶτοι διάδοχοι*^c τοῦ βασιλέως, *ὁ πρῶτος φίλος*^d: the word he uses for a chamber attached to the Temple is the name for a cell in the Serapeum (*παστοφόριον*)^e: the phrase *τῆς ἐπιγονῆς* (2 Chron. 31¹⁶, cf. 18) is very frequent in the papyri, apparently referring to a second generation of Macedonian Greeks who had settled in Egypt.^f

As to *dates*, I may on a future occasion discuss the bearing of some evidence from the papyri on the dates of these and other portions of the Greek Bible. Here I will merely state my opinion that, while *α*, *ββ*, and *γγ* go back as far as the second century B.C., the portion *βδ* is probably not earlier than 100 B.C. How much later than that date could *βδ* be placed? The similarity of some of the language to that of Theodotion has already been noted. The suggestion that might be made that Theodotion is himself the translator is rendered impossible^g by the fact that Josephus was acquainted with these portions of the Greek Kingdoms.^h In the N.T. the only clear use of *βδ* is in Ap. 20⁹ (= 4 Kin. 1¹⁰). Philo uses *α* and *γγ*, but does not quote from the *βδ* portion: his reference to 'the first Book of Kingdoms'ⁱ need not imply the existence of more than three Books in his day. The conclusion arrived at is that the final portions of the Greek Books of Kingdoms were probably appended some time in the first century B.C., and that the translator's style has much in common with that afterwards adopted by Theodotion. Criticism has come to a similar result in the case of the Greek Daniel, namely that there must have been in addition to the loose Alexandrine

^a 2 Chron. 26¹¹, 28⁷.

^b 1 Chron. 26¹⁸; 2 Chron. 31¹².

^c 1 Chron. 18¹⁷.

^d 1 Chron. 27³³: 'Hushai the Archite, the king's friend' (חֹשַׁי רֵץ הַמֶּלֶךְ) has become Χουσαί ὁ πρῶτος φίλος τοῦ βασι. cf. ὁ ἀρχιτέκτονος Δαυεὶδ 2 Kin. 16¹⁶.

^e 1 Chron. 9²⁶, &c.; cf. Deissmann *Bible Studies* 149 f.

^f See Mahaffy *Empire of the Ptolemies* p. 211. Sir Henry Howorth has claimed in this Journal (April 1906, p. 343) and elsewhere 'to have definitely proved that the text of the Canonical Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah contained in the extant Greek Bibles is not a Septuagint text at all', but is a second-century production, probably Theodotion's. Whatever probability there may be in this contention as regards Esdras B, the Egyptian colouring of the 'Septuagint' Chronicles makes it impossible to hold that Theodotion is the translator. I have not seen any proofs adduced by Sir Henry Howorth from style.

^g An exception might perhaps be admitted in the case of the Song and the Last Words of David (2 Kin. 22²-23⁷), where the similarity to the language of *Θ* is specially marked and where quotations from *Θ* are absent from Field's Hexapla.

^h A clear instance occurs in *Ant. Jud.* ix 122 (Niese) ἐπινθάνετο τίς εἴη καὶ καταβᾶσαν ἤκειν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν, following 4 Kin. 9³² Τίς εἶ σὺ; κατὰ βῆθι μετ' ἐμοῦ (M. T. יְדַעְתָּ מִי).

Quod deus immut. 2 (6 Wendland) ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν βασιλειῶν.

paraphrase of that book a translation resembling that of Theodotion, but made before his time and known to the writers of the N.T.

The following are some of the questions arising out of the foregoing discussion. When did the division of the Books dealing with the Monarchy originate? Did the translators find a two-fold or a four-fold division already in existence?^a What is the explanation of the ordinary four-fold division? What is the relation of $\beta\delta$ to the Greek version of Judges in the Codex Vaticanus?

H. ST J. THACKERAY.

'SPANISH SYMPTOMS.'

THIS title is borrowed; but its appropriation may find some excuse in that the details to be given will perhaps fit into the work of the writer from whom it is here adopted. In the *Book of Cerne* (Cambridge, 1902) it was said there appear to be 'real indications that the rising Church of the English was influenced in the very centre of its life by the then flourishing Visigothic Church of Spain' (p. 277); and it was suggested (p. 280) that this influence was felt through the medium of Ireland rather than of Gaul.

In the present paper I propose (I) to bring together the scattered notices on the subject in the 'Liturgical Note' of that volume, and add a few more details; (II) to consider at what period it is most likely Spanish documents can have made their way into England; (III) starting from the three prayers to the Blessed Virgin in the *Book of Cerne* (nos. 56, 57, 58) to illustrate the Marian cult evidenced in some of our earliest Western liturgy books. The subject of 'Spanish Symptoms' is if not new at least somewhat unfamiliar and at present obscure; it must therefore in any case be dealt with tentatively. What I should wish to do, however, now to do is to raise this question of the influence of the Visigothic Church on our insular Churches, of England and of Ireland, as a matter to be considered in and for itself; but I shall act as if little more than a finger-post, pointing to the lines of enquiry to be pursued and stopping short at the beginning of them.

It will be well, however, to make clear at once what is the ultimate object, what in a word is the 'use', of such enquiries. At the 'Congrès de l'Histoire des Religions', held at Paris in 1900, one or two voices

^a I am aware that the Hebrew MSS have a two-fold division only: but the fact that the Book of Saul (the Greek α) and the Book of David (the Greek $\beta\beta$ with $\beta\gamma$) form two volumes of exactly equal length in Codex B suggests that they may have been arranged as separate books before the translators did their work.

were raised on behalf of the study of Christian liturgy; not by professed liturgists indeed, and (if I remember rightly) only by laymen, who dwelt on the need of pursuing this branch of study specifically as a department of the history of religion. But, so far as I have been able to observe, these voices have not evoked any adequate, or perhaps any, response in the quarters most concerned. Yet these speakers precisely touched, I venture to think, on that which has constituted a weakness, has been the cause of a certain sterility, of liturgical work in the last century; namely, that it has been in the main a study in ritual rather than a study in religion, and has, as a consequence, seemed to be in touch rather with professionalism than with life. However it may be with earlier times, in dealing with the insular Churches of the seventh century we stand, comparatively speaking, on firm ground. I cannot, however, but think that with the 'Church History' which has so long held the field and is so familiar to us, there is call for more attention to the religion of the English and Irish of that age than the subject has hitherto received.¹ It is with this idea in mind that I am here concerned with 'Spanish Symptoms', and engage in the minute and miscellaneous details set out below.

I

The following are the Spanish items pointed to in the 'Liturgical Note' to *Cerne* with some corrections, and one or two additions which would not have been there in place.

(a) It has been long since observed that the diptychs of the Stowe Missal (an excellent example of the Irish eclectic, or tinkering, method in liturgy) draws, among other 'sources', on the diptychs of the Mozarabic, or old Visigothic (Spanish) mass (F. E. Warren *Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church* p. 260 n. 61). In the *Book of Cerne* (p. 270) it was also noticed that a prayer for the dead existing in the Toledan missal in the second half of the eighth century (though not now found in its representative, the Mozarabic), cited by Elipandus, bishop of

¹ I am not insensible of the difficulties underlying the question. Some are touched on, rather rudely perhaps, from the Protestant side in the address of the Geheimer Kirchenrath Lemme to the Evangelical Conference at Karlsruhe in the latter part of 1904 (*Religionsgeschichtliche Entwicklung oder göttliche Offenbarung?*, Karlsruhe, 1904); on the Catholic, by Professor Schrörs in his rectorial address before the University of Bonn in the following year. The latter is more urbane, or academic, in his tone; but there is a decisiveness of exclusion, not to say a certain snap, in the title that leaves no opening for doubt as to his meaning (*Kirchengeschichte und nicht Religionsgeschichte*, Freiburg, Herder, 1905). And it must be allowed one difficulty attaching to these studies in religion is obvious even to the unconcerned onlooker, but whether inherent or only actual is not so clear,—namely the ease, the seemingly fatal ease, with which those who pursue them so often *ingenii sui adinventiones faciunt (scientiae) sacramenta*.

Toledo, in his controversy with Alcuin, is used textually as a preface in the mass for the dead in the Stowe Missal.

(b) In *Book of Cerne* pp. 253-254 (28) it is pointed out that a prayer (no. 19) of that collection textually embodies the central prayer, entitled 'mysterium crucis', said in the most solemn part of the Good Friday office of the Mozarabic missal. An addition made by another hand to the original script of *Cerne* gave occasion to observe that there must have existed in England a text yet more closely following that in the Mozarabic Missal than the one given by the composer of the *Cerne* prayer.

(c) Attention was also called (*ibid.* pp. 252-253 (25)) to a prayer common to the Mozarabic Missal, the Irish fragment in St Gall MS 1395 (eighth or ninth century) and the very curious burial prayers, quite un-Roman in character but marked by Irish and Spanish affinities, that make up the section iii 91 in the Gelasian Sacramentary. But here I must modify what was there said, that the text in *Moz.* 'offers the original text of which that in *Gelas.* is an enrichment'. Since these words were written Dom Férotin has published his Mozarabic *Liber ordinum* (1904). It contains (coll. 110-111) this same prayer in a full text like that of the *Gelasianum*, and shews (what is of more importance here) that the Irish fragment does not derive from the text in *Gelas.* or the *Liber ordinum*, but from one akin to that in the missal.¹

(d) It was stated (*Book of Cerne* p. 240 (1)) that the *first* prayer (*Deus vitae dator*) in the burial service² of the Carolingian Supplement to the Gregorian Sacramentary is a prayer of a mass for the dead in the Mozarabic Missal (p. 459. 52-62). Not merely the first, but nearly all the prayers of this burial service are found in Spanish (Mozarabic) books. In view of the fact that it is now commonly, and with fair show of reason, considered that Alcuin is the compiler of this Supplement, a review of these prayers in detail is to the purpose of the present paper. The *second* prayer (*Deus qui humanarum*) is in the 'Agenda mortuorum' of the Mozarabic Breviary (p. clii) and in the *Mozarabic Psalter* (Henry Bradshaw Soc. Publ. xxx p. 353). The first half of the *third* prayer (*Obsecramus misericordiam tuam* to 'suscipias') is a prayer in a mass of the dead in the Moz. Missal (p. 459. 64-70, to 'susceptum'). I do not find the second half ('non ei dominantur') in the Mozarabic books³; and it contains the expression 'cum sanctis et electis', which (as pointed

¹ Where *Gelas.* reads 'sequi studeat', and *Lib. ord.* 'sequi gaudeat', *Moz.* and the Irish fragment read 'custodiat'.

² 'Orationes post lavationem corporis', no. civ of the Supplement (Muratori *Lit. Rom. Vet.* ii 215-218). It is unnecessary to say how much of what follows has been rendered possible or easy by Dom Férotin's Index to the Mozarabic formulae at the end of his book.

³ Cf. however *Book of Cerne* p. 266 (68), and *Lib. ord.* 134. 5-6.

out *Book of Cerne* pp. 243-245) is characteristically Irish.¹ The *fourth* prayer (*Deus apud quem*) is in the office of the dead in the Mozarabic Breviary pp. cxlix-cl (*Moz. Psalter* p. 351). The *fifth* (the address *Oremus fratres carissimi pro spiritu cari nostri*) does not appear to be in the Mozarabic books; but the Gallican expression 'cari nostri' as applied to the dead², and the Irish 'inter sanctos et electos' would lead us to expect that it is not drawn from a Spanish source. I cannot find the *sixth* prayer (*Deus qui iustis supplicationibus*) in the Mozarabic books; but it contains the characteristic 'cum sanctis et electis', and this prayer also occurs in the burial service of the *Gelasianum* (iii 91; Muratori i 749, ed. Wilson p. 297), and among the prayers for the dead in the Bobbio Missal (Muratori ii 952, ed. Mabillon p. 386). The *seventh* prayer (*Debitum humani corporis*) is also in *Gelas.* (iii 91), but not in the Mozarabic books (it has the expression 'sanctis ac fidelibus'). The *eighth* (*Temeritatis quidem*) is in the Mozarabic *Liber ordinum* (125. 25-42). The *ninth* and last (*Tibi commendamus*) is in the Mozarabic Breviary (p. cli).

It may be objected that Alcuin perhaps adopted a burial service current in France in his day, but this would be a mere conjecture so far as we have no direct evidence. On the other hand, we have in print two burial services of an earlier date than Alcuin's that were in use in France: one of the beginning of the eighth century in the *Gelasianum* (iii 91), and one of the end of that century from the now lost Rheims MS of Godelgaudus, preserved to us by Ménard in his Notes to his Gregorian sacramentary.³ It is to be observed that this French burial service, contemporary with Alcuin, contains his fifth and seventh prayers not

¹ This expression occurs twice in *Lib. ord.*, 'cum sanctis omnibus et electis', col. 126. 3-4, col. 423. 34. But the texts of the *Lib. ord.* seem to me, speaking generally, as if they had undergone late revision and to be so far of a value inferior to those of the Missal and Breviary of Cardinals Ximenes and Lorenzana. It also occurs in the letter of Idalius, bishop of Barcelona (Migne *P. L.* 96. 459) to Julian of Toledo acknowledging the latter's *Prognosticon lib. iii* (see p. 283 n. 3 below), but nowhere in Julian's own work.

² As to the use of 'cari' for the living, not as in Gaul for the dead, see *Book of Cerne* p. 263 note 4; see also Julian of Toledo's *Prognost.* lib. ii capp. 26, 27, 'charorum viventium', 'charorum superstium' (Migne *P. L.* 96. 487 D, 488 A, B); in lib. i cap. 19 of the dead 'ubi sepultum sit charissimi corpus' and then immediately after 'a fidelibus charissimis' of the deceased person's living relatives (*ibid.* 474 B); 'cari' for the living in the Bobbio Missal (ed. Mabillon, p. 325); for the dead only once so far as I see in *Lib. ord.* 399. 34; and once in *Moz. Psalter*, 'et omnes patrum fratrum carorumque animas', p. 347. But, as may sufficiently appear from this last quoted book alone, 'cari' is not a characteristic word for the dead in the Spanish as it is in the Gallican documents.

³ In the original edition, pp. 260-261; in Migne *P. L.* 78. 467, 468; another copy of this service from a Rheinau MS of the same date (Mr H. A. Wilson's R) is in print in Gerbert *Mon. vet. lit. Aleman.* i pp. 314, 315.

identified above, and none of those that occur in the Mozarabic books. But the services in *Gelas.* and in the Carolingian Supplement shew use of Spanish materials, and these prayers bear marks of Irish manipulation at some time in their history. In all the circumstances it is a not unreasonable supposition, as Spanish materials are found otherwise freely current in England and Ireland, that the Spanish prayers in the burial service of the Supplement formed part of the devotional material originally derived from Spain that had by the end of the eighth century become in some measure naturalized in the insular Churches in Alcuin's day, and so came to be utilized by him, with some sparing use of Gallican material, in the compilation of that service.¹

(e) In the 'Liturgical Note' to the *Book of Cerne* attention was called (p. 278) to Harl. MS 3060 ('saec. ix seemingly', or x?) which appears to be a copy of an earlier Visigothic MS of a date (so far as its contents indicate) of the end of the seventh century or beginning of the eighth. This MS contains a prayer which (it was said, p. 279) 'stands behind' a series of prayers in *Cerne* that falls into two groups: nos. 21, 24, 49, and nos. 20, 23, 29, 36. But it is now possible to bring one of these groups into relation with a Spanish liturgical manuscript. The Mozarabic *Liber ordinum* recently printed contains a long series of priest's masses 'for himself'.² In one of these the introductory prayer, and the 'alia' prayer following it (col. 266. 22 *Deus iustitiae* to col. 267. 12 *alienum sensum*), are, with a line added at the beginning and the end, the first part of the *Cerne* prayer no. 49 *Oratio penitentis* (p. 145. 14 to p. 146. 17). This raises the further question whether some at least of the *Cerne* prayers enumerated above as having affinity with that in Harl. MS 3060 may not almost as they stand in *Cerne* have come into England from Spain.³

¹ It is to be remembered that in this early period Rome had, so far as appears from the documents, no burial service; or rather that its burial service or 'Agenda mortuorum' was a mass (*praesente corpore* doubtless) and nothing else. Hence the peculiar character of the burial services in *Gelas.* and the Carolingian Supplement to *Greg.*

² This rich collection counts no less than eleven masses (nos. 5 to 13, 17, 18, of the list at p. xlv). I suspect that the collection, as well as the composition of the individual masses, represents (like so much else in the *Lib. ord.*) a late phase of Mozarabic liturgy. The origination of the priest's 'mass for himself' seems to be due, on the one hand, to the anniversary mass of a bishop's or priest's ordination (*Leon., Gelas.*); and on the other, to the spirit which created and developed the special 'Praeparatio Sacerdotis' found in liturgy books as early as the seventh century (see *J.T.S.* vii 122, 123). No mass 'pro seipso' is found in the Gallican missals, designated *Gothicum*, *Gallicanum*, *Francorum*. The Bobbio Missal of a slightly earlier date has one mass of this kind, 'Missa quomodo sacerdos pro se orare debet' (ed. Mab. p. 357). I have not been able to trace its prayers earlier than this MS.; in the prayer 'ad pacem' occurs the expression 'inter sanctos et electos', and it also shews familiarity with the Roman Canon.

³ On a comparison of the extracts from *Cerne*, nos. 21, 24, 49, given pp. 278, 279

(f) The venerable psalter, Cotton MS Vespasian A I, said by competent judges to have been written in England about the year 700, presents a feature worthy of more attention than it has hitherto received. f. 156 is the 'Oratio' *Rex Deus immense*, which is the first item, after the preface, of the collection of 'Carmina' of Eugenius, bishop of Toledo (646-657). This copy is at least a century earlier than any other known; the MSS next in order all date from the ninth century (*Mon. Germ. auctt. antiquiss.* xiv p. 232). How comes it that this piece is found in an English MS written at the turn of the seventh and eighth centuries and within some forty years of the author's death?

(g) Many years ago M. Manitius¹ called attention to the use which Aldhelm, in his grammatical work entitled 'Epistola ad Acircium', first printed by Mai (*Class. auctt.* v 501-599), made of the 'Ars grammatica' of Julian, bishop of Toledo (681-690). But here it seems necessary to proceed with caution, for H. Hagen has shewn² that Julian made use of a pre-existent anonymous treatise found in Cod. Bern. 203. It would remain then to enquire whether Aldhelm used this treatise directly as found in the Berne MS, or only indirectly through Julian's work.³ But Manitius also pointed out (p. 611) that Aldhelm had in his metrical poems made use of those of Eugenius of Toledo⁴, and states (p. 535)

that volume, with the Spanish text in *Lib. ord.* (which runs as follows: 'Parce me mee, parce malis meis, parce peccatis meis, parce factis meis atque criminibus') it will be seen that the text in *Lib. ord.* covers all the varying forms of the corresponding passage in those *Cerne* prayers, except one, viz. 'parce peccatis meis' (no. 24, p. 122. 20); the absence of which from the Spanish supports the suggestion already made (*ibid.* p. 278 n. 4) that this curious expression is an Irish addition.

'Zu Aldhelm und Beda' in *Sitzungsber. der phil.-hist. Classe* of the Vienna Academy, Bd. cxii, 1886, pp. 597-599.

Anecdota Helvetica (1870), see pp. xxi, xxiii, cciv, ccvi-ccviii, ccxi, ccxviii-ccxix. I do not know whether this has been already done; Manitius at any rate says nothing on the subject. Julian's grammatical work is not reprinted by Migne and thus is not accessible in its entirety only in the Appendix to Vol. ii of Cardinal Franz's *Toledan Fathers*. It is curious to observe how, on the one hand, Franz could find no MS of Julian's *Prognosticon futuri saeculi libri iii* in Spain could refer to the existence of one only, that seen by Ambr. Morales in the tenth century, but in the interval burnt; and how, on the other hand, this work (the subject of which is the intermediate state of souls) occurs commonly in the best library catalogues but always and only in repositories with 'Celtic' documents; and when by and by in the tenth century it occurs in other libraries this is first at Cremona close to Bobbio, and at Lorsch not far from Fulda. G. Becker's *Catalogi Bibliothecarum antiqui*, cited by number of library and (of course) by number of volume: 8 (32); 10 (5); 11 (142); 15 (242); 22 (235); 32 (543, 568); 36 (76); 37 (10); Fulda MSS in F. Falk (see p. 287 n. 1) vi 4 15 p. 100 and viii 4 15 p. 102 iii 1 18 p. 103 is a copy of Julian of Toledo's 'Ars grammatica'. The matter has a bearing on what is said under (e) as to early forms of burial service.

Aldhelm *Aen. tetrast.* xi 1-3, cf. Eugenius, *carm.* lxii, ed. Vollmer *Mon. Germ.*

that L. Müller had already called attention to the fact that in his 'Epistola ad Acircium' Aldhelm cites a verse of the Visigothic king Sisebut (died 621).¹

Each of the cases above enumerated may, taken by itself, seem a slight matter; but their cumulative force seems considerable. Although the liturgical and devotional documents noticed under (a)-(e) afford no evidence as to date, the facts set out under (f) and (g) shew that some sort of communications, or relations, or influence, or call the phenomenon what we will, direct or indirect, existed as between England and Spain in the second half of the seventh century.

II

Extrinsic considerations tend also to shew that such communication would be more likely in that period, or quite in the beginning of the eighth century, than at the end, or early in the ninth. By this date Hispanism and Irishry, in religion and devotion as well as in other respects, had fallen into disrepute. Moreover, in the seventh century whilst the Church of Gaul was the most debased in Western Europe, and promise or hope of better things lay not in native but in foreign and imported elements, Irish, Roman, and by and by English, the Visigothic Church of Spain, a convert Church, was in the full course of its short-lived glory. Strong and self-centred, it was animated by an intense, indeed an intolerant, spirit of nationalism. The English Church was still weak, but it was receptive. There remains the Irish, the most interesting, the most pervasive, of them all. So things stood at the beginning of the eighth century. By its close the situation had completely changed. The foreign elements at work in Gaul had been reinforced and their action had issued in the reformed Church of Charlemagne, with a strongly marked individuality of its own; and this Church, whilst actually antipathetic in regard to other elements which had once enjoyed consideration, was, in spite of the little but noisy trouble as to Images, Roman through and through. It was not the mere repulsion of self-conscious orthodoxy to obstinate and decadent misbelief that

auctt. antiquiss. xiv p. 261 and V.'s note; xvi 3-4, Eugen. xlviii, *ibid.* p. 259 and note; *Aen. pentast.* viii 1-3, Eugen. lx, *ibid.* p. 261 and note. I do not understand Vollmer's note 8, p. xliii of his Preface, as in any way affecting these three cases.

¹ The case stands thus. The verse in question is cited by Aldhelm as Isidore's (ed. Giles p. 232 ll. 4-5), and is drawn from the metrical piece 'de eclipsibus solis et lunae' commonly in the ancient MSS appended to Isidore's treatise 'de astronomia', although it certainly is not Isidore's and comes from the pen of a man not of peace but of war, of a layman not a priest. The Leyden MS Voss 4° 33, embodying much early grammatical material of 'English or Irish' origin, contains a tract 'which (says L. Müller) comes from a compatriot of Aldhelm' and attributes the 'de eclips.' to Sisebut by name: 'et in hoc Sisebuti regis.' See *Rhein. Museum* xxii pp. 86-87.

Adoptianist controversy inspired the letter of the bishops of 844 in answer to Elipandus, bishop of Toledo, speaking in the name of the Spanish Church. Elipandus had written, with some touch of pride, 'our confession is in accord with the teaching of the venerable fathers Hilary, &c., &c., Fulgentius, Isidore, Eugenius, Julian, and the rest of the orthodox and catholic'. The letter which Alcuin had the main hand, breathes the scorn of a master of learning for the great representatives and glories of a fallen school and a learning now no longer the mode; in the words 'our' the actual writer betrays himself. He thus writes as to the evidence which Elipandus had brought forward from the Missal. 'It is better to give credit (he says) to the testimony of the Father as to His own Son than to the testimony of those who proposed such prayers for you in your mass as the holy and universal Church of God knows not. Nor do we think God listens to you when you say them. And if your Hildebaldus in the prayers he wrote for the priest "adoptive", our Gregory, Pope of the Roman see and renowned throughout all the world, in his prayers never hesitated to call Him the Sole-begotten One'.¹ Who better could know, to express, the temper of the English Church of his age than

there was at this time a like recoil from Irishry. On the Conciliar circles inconvenience from the presence of the Irish was felt rather in the sphere of discipline and order. In the last years of Charles's reign, after long intermission, councils were held by command in various parts of his dominions. The canons against the clergy; clerics had Irish priests doubtless in view among the rest.² Only of these councils, that of Châlon, mentions the 'Scotti' by name, then only to declare that orders received from Scottic bishops, and orders unattached, are to be treated as null and void. Under the influence of the great Offa and the Mercian hegemony England was in sympathy with the policy and sentiment of Charlemagne, in its administration, even of educational affairs, the Irish no more

¹ *Mon. Germ. Concil.* ii pp. 111, 145; Migne *P. L.* 101. 1333-1334. Alcuin took this liturgical ground a few years later in his 'Adv. Elipandum' (lib. ii Migne *P. L.* 101. 264-267), written for Leidradus and his companions on the occasion of their journey to Spain to try and patch up matters. Alcuin makes himself very civil and is even flattering as regards Isidore; but his aversion to the Irish Fathers he cannot suppress; one work, however, among their proposals, he specially mentions as at least not unorthodox, the *Prognostica* of Julian, to 'clerici vagi' Conc. Mogunt. A.D. 813, can. 22, Conc. Turon. c. 13; Conc. Chalon. c. 42 (this is the canon as to the 'Scotti'), 41, 44, 45 (*Mon. Germ. Concil.* i. 267, 288, 282). Cf. the 'Annotatio capitulorum synodaliū', nos. 42, 43 (*ibid.* pp. 304, 306).

than the Goths could find a place; and they, or the former at least, were left to obscurity in peace. But the contemporary English synod deals with the Scottic question in a different spirit and quite another temper from that of the councils held on the Continent. The synod of Celchyth of July 27, 816, was composed of bishops from all southern England, and Kenulf, king of the Mercians, was 'in person present, with his princes and dukes and nobles'. This synod simply excluded the Scotti summarily, in a body and individually, without benefit of clergy. The canon runs not as if coming from those whose preoccupation it is to correct irregularities and set them right; it is passion that speaks in this decree which is a sentence of ostracism and an expression of racial antipathy.¹

The Irishman and the Goth, their piety and their learning, are in this period at a discount in England as well as on the Continent. A day of revived influence for the Goth is at hand, and somewhat later, at least on the Continent, for the Irishman too. But if we find in England at the end of the eighth century or in the early decades of the ninth, religious or devotional pieces bearing marked evidence of a piety Spanish or Irish in character, the actual composition of these may, on general grounds, be attributed with greater probability to the turn of the seventh and eighth centuries rather than to that of the eighth and ninth.

But this Hispano-Hibernian character is notably evident in the MS known as the *Book of Cerne*; we must turn aside for a moment to consider so curious a phenomenon; for the actual MS is of the first half of the ninth century, it has come down to us with entries apparently in the Mercian dialect, it contains an acrostic with the name of a bishop Ethel-

¹ This canon is so important in its bearings that I give it here, dividing and italicizing it for easier apprehension. The text as it came from the synod was probably in much the same state as now, since the difficulties are inherent in its drafting and construction. 'Ut Scotti non admittendi sacra ministrare. Kap. quinta interdictum est: Ut nullus permittatur de genere Scottorum (a) in alicuius diocesi sacram sibi ministeria usurpare, (b) neque ei *consentire* liceat ex sacro ordine aliquot attingere, (c) vel ab eis *accipere* in baptismo, aut in celebratione missarum, vel etiam (d) Eucharistiam populo praebere: (e) quia incertum est nobis unde *en* [= *an*] *ab aliquo* ordinentur. Scimus quomodo in canonis praecipitur ut nulli episcoporum, presbiterorum invadere temptaverit alius parrochiam nisi cum consensu proprii episcopi. Tanto magis (f) *respuendum est* ab alienis nationibus sacra ministeria *percipere*, cum quibus nullo ordo metropolitanus, nec honor aliquis habeatur (Haddan and Stubbs iii p. 581). From the title and from (a) and (e) it appears that a general exclusion of Scotti from performing acts of the sacred ministry among the people is intended. From (b) it appears that licence by the bishop for private acts is forbidden; whilst the prohibitions (c), (d), and (f) are aimed at the reception of baptism or holy communion at their hands, and are a warning against even hearing their masses. I do not see how, when the terms of the canon are fully considered and weighed, it is possible to avoid the conclusion that the whole ground is meant to be covered, and that this is indeed a sentence of ecclesiastical ostracism.

wold, and an Ethelwold occupies the great Mercian see of Lichfield (818–830). It is tempting to settle, without more ado, on Ethelwold, bishop of Lichfield, as the only begetter of this book and so finish with the matter. But I cannot manage to think that in doing so we are really getting to the bottom of it. In the catalogue of the then sadly dilapidated Fulda library drawn up in the second half of the sixteenth century, several books dating from St Boniface's day can still be recognized. There is one MS, of what date we know not, described as 'Ymnarius Edilwaldi'.¹ Dr Traube has remarked on this entry: 'I do not think I can go far wrong if I take this manuscript of Edilwald to be a copy of the Book of Cerne.'² The writer of these words is one of the very last scholars from whose opinion I should care to dissent in matters concerning these early times. But in face of the entry in the Fulda catalogue I ask myself whether, whilst unduly emphasizing line 10 of the acrostic:—

'En omnipotenti deo *libellum hanc* ad laudem *scribere fecit*',

he may not have allowed lines 12, 13 to pass without due attention:—

'In domum gredi domini cum fiducia huic uolumini oraculū texti
Solum Deum castis *carminibus* indesinenter diligenter pulsate.'

It is true the *Book of Cerne* contains more matter in verse than appears from the print or the titles; but the question arises whether the acrostic was written to apply to the contents of the MS now in the Cambridge University Library, or for a hymnar now lost; some items of which, however, may be still preserved in that MS. Moreover, may not this MS itself, an evidence of reviving or active Irishry, perhaps throw some light on the causes of canon 5 of the Council of 816?

III

Among the prayers of the *Book of Cerne* those addressed to the Blessed Virgin, nos. 56–58, have appeared to some persons among the most notable. Nos. 57, 58 read to me as if somewhat commonplace but genuine.³ No. 56 was one of the small number of prayers printed from this MS by the late Mr F. A. Paley in his article on 'Liturgical Manuscripts at Cambridge' in the *Home and Foreign Review* in 1862.

¹ See F. Falk *Beiträge zur Rekonstruktion der alten Bibliotheca fuldensis* (Leipzig, Harrassowitz, 1902) p. 102.

² *Anzeiger für deutsches Alterthum* (supplement to the *Zeitschrift*) xxix, October, 1903, p. 1.

³ The word 'saluatric' in no. 58, p. 155. 16 must not be looked at through modern developments any more than Hildefonsus's 'administratrix Dei' (Migne *P. L.* 96. 65 C). It is characteristic of a certain class of devout minds in all ages to incline to expressions of ambiguous import or interpretation (cf. p. 291 n. 1 below).

As a prayer to the Blessed Virgin it certainly has some noteworthy features: the accumulation on the one appellative 'Dei genetrix uirgo Maria' of twelve adjectives, besides two adjectival clauses; the triple 'exaudi'; the very confident expression 'we trust and know for certain you can obtain from your Son everything that you wish'. These three items make up, it may be said, the whole prayer, which may read to some as betraying a mind overstrung, to others only as if evidencing a desire to do better than a forerunner. It has been remarked that the 'advanced' character of this prayer is a sign of its late origin, an origin as late, say, as the actual manuscript. But this seems subject to a good deal of doubt, and I will close the substantive part of this paper by an attempt to view the particular case in the light that may be thrown upon it by a consideration of some of our early documents relating to Marian cultus in the West.

In the *Book of Cerne* (p. 280 n. 1) those of the seventh century were briefly indicated. The most important are the mass of the Assumption in the great Gallican missal known as the *Missale Gothicum* and the treatise *De virginitate perpetua sanctae Mariae* of Hildefonsus, bishop of Toledo (659-669). This latter, short as it is, is one of the most characteristic productions of the Visigothic Church of Spain in the days of its splendour. On the death in 636 of that great inheritor and representative of the older learning, Isidore of Seville, predominance and influence, the literary no less than the ecclesiastical, passed to the city of Toledo, long the seat of the civil power. Braulio of Saragossa (who died in 646), the friend and literary correspondent of Isidore, was still left to speak for the old school. But his successor in that see, Taius (who once calls himself 'cognomento Samuel'¹), begins the new, which is continued in the series of great bishops of Toledo, Eugenius, a native of that city and sister's son of Braulio, Hildefonsus, nephew of Eugenius, and by and by Julian, also a Toledan, and a devoted scholar of Eugenius and admirer of Hildefonsus. It would almost seem as if Braulio anticipated but did not appreciate the advent of the new school of learning. When Taius sent Braulio his *Libri quinque Sententiarum*, largely a compilation from Gregory, whose works wanting in Spain Taius had gone to Rome to copy with his own hand, Braulio frankly told him that 'except for what was stolen, or rather corrupted, from Gregory, his book was only good to be thrown aside and trodden under foot'.² Taius's letter dedicating this book to Eugenius is a speci-

¹ Migne *P. L.* 80. 727.

² He writes: 'Paradigma tuum illud in armatura compositum, quam mihi erat pervium et pede, ut aiunt, conterere, excepto illud, pace Gregorii, quod peculatum, immo corruptum, vidi' (Migne *P. L.* 80. 657). The following illustrates another kind of difference between the old school and the new. Taius writes to Braulio

men of the style carried to such perfection in Hildefonsus's treatise *De virginitate perpetua*, which certainly confirms his successor Julian's recollection of its author as 'disserendi ingenio clarus, eloquendi facultate praecepius, linguae flumine copiosus', &c. Though perhaps more cultured and certainly of a freer and less artificial vocabulary, it is the same sort of florid elocution, in which triads and quaternions are the soberest forms, that meets us so often in early Irish Latinity.¹ In chapters i and xii Hildefonsus pours himself out in prayers to and appreciations of the Blessed Virgin. Indeed it is difficult to see how a sermon, for instance, addressed in the seventeenth century to the highly patronized confraternity of the Slavery of Mary, then flourishing in various parts of the Spanish dominions, could well be conceived in terms more precise or words more fervent than those used in his twelfth chapter by this seventh-century bishop of Toledo. But Hildefonsus spoke of the Blessed Virgin as yet by way of piety and devotion, not of doctrine, which was to follow later.

The treatise *De virginitate perpetua* does not stand alone. In the year 1577 the Franciscan, F. Feuarent, printed at Paris along with that treatise, and the tract *De partu*, now recognized as a work of Paschase Radbert, eleven sermons. The manuscript from which he drew all these pieces is described by him as 'an ancient codex that had been brought out of Spain by Gotiscalc, a bishop of Aquitaine'.² Feuarent's ascription of the sermons to Hildefonsus was accepted until some theologians began to find traces of unsoundness in them, in representing the bodily Assumption of the Blessed Virgin into heaven as a pious

about a relic of our Lord's blood, and thus comments: 'Pia quidem talis est religio sed mihi fateor dubia.' Braulio replies: Why trouble about things of doubtful quality like this when we have our Lord's *sanguinem verum* every day on the altar! (*ibid.* coll. 686, 690).

¹ The book itself must be read to get any adequate idea of the author's facility in words and economy in thought. The following which has relation to the present subject may give some notion: 'O domina mea, dominatrix mea, dominans mihi, mater Domini mei, ancilla Filii tui, genetrix Factoris mundi, te rogo, te oro, te quaeso, habeam spiritum Domini tui, habeam spiritum Filii tui, habeam spiritum Redemptoris mei, ut de te vera et digna sapiam, de te vera et digna loquar, de te vera et digna quaecumque dicenda sunt dicam. Tu es enim electa a Deo, assumpta a Deo,' &c., &c. (there follow twelve other clauses of the same kind) (*De virg. perpet.* cap. 1).

² Cardinal Lorenzana for his edition of Hildefonsus's *De virg. perp.* used three MSS, all then at Toledo, one of the year 1067, one of 12-13 cent., and a third which was a copy of that of the Aquitanian bishop Gotiscalc, made in the 14th cent. by order of Cardinal Amelil and brought back by him from France. Lorenzana found this last the most correct of the three; which raises the presumption that the MS of Hildefonsus and the sermons from which Gotiscalc's MS was copied was a good and early Visigothic codex (Migne *P. L.* 96. 54 and 235-240).

opinion but not to be certainly affirmed, &c. The sermons then fell into discredit, and so into neglect. Cardinal Lorenzana in reprinting them as an appendix to the works of Hildefonsus, thinks he sees in them traces of differing authorship, and he sorts them accordingly. Of sermon ix, however, he says nothing but this in a footnote: 'almost wholly from sermon viii.' It is of sermon ix precisely that there must be question here, for it contains passages that are to be found textually in the Contestatio (or, as we now say, Preface) of the very noteworthy Assumption mass already mentioned of the *Missale Gothicum*. On examination, too, it appears that these passages do not occur in any other of the sermons; and besides sermon viii, sermon vii also shews affinity with sermon ix.

To make the case clear I give below a print which shews the relation of sermon ix to sermon viii and the passages in sermon vii, together with so much of the Contestatio of the Assumption mass of the *Missale Gothicum* (a MS written about A.D. 700), as is found in sermon ix. But this Contestatio also appears, though in a somewhat shorter form, in one of the two masses of the Assumption of the Bobbio Missal, a manuscript assigned to the seventh century. The omissions and more important variants of the Bobbio Missal are shewn by square brackets.¹ The parts common to sermon ix and the Contestatio are printed in italics.

SERMON IX

(Migne *P. L.* 96. 271).

Merito itaque sancta et venerabilis
Dei genitrix virgo Maria, caelorum
regina, mundi domina, singulari
a nobis praeconio extollitur, quae
singulare commercium mundo
praebuit.

Denique tantum se ad caeli fasti-
gium sublevavit ut Verbum in prin-
cipio apud Deum
de summa arce susciperet.

O felix Maria et omni laude dignis-
sima O genitrix gloriosa. O sub-
limis puerpera cuius visceribus
auctor caeli terraeque committitur.

SERMON VIII

(Migne *P. L.* 96. 270).

Merito beata

Maria

singulari

a n. pr. attollitur, q.

s. c. m.

p.

Merito inter feminas . . . creditur
(21 lines, col. 270 A-B).

D. t. s. a. c. f.

s. u. V. i. p.

a. Deum id est Dei Filium

d. s. a. s. (Then 17 lines, col. 270
B-C).

O f. M.

O g. gl. O puerpera sublimis
c. v.

a. c. t. c. (Sermon vii, col. 268 A :

¹ There seems no doubt that the text given in the *M. Goth.* is the original form of the Contestatio; and that in the Bobbio Missal is an abridgement only; note, however, the word 'decorus'.

SERMON IX

est *immaculata coitu, fecunda*
, virgo lactans Dominum

angelorum cibum et hominum
 ens

licia oscula lactantis labiis im-
 sa!

felix puerperium, laetabile
 lis, optabile sanctis, necessa-
 perditis, congruum profigatis.
 ergo laudes o Domina, totius
 di salvatio¹, fragilitas generis
 uni tibi persolvat quae solo tuo
 nercio recuperandi aditum in-

O quam *venerandum* et
caeteris honorandum hunc diem

Dei genitrix Virgo Maria de
lo migravit ad Christum, quae

SERMON VIII

H. e. i. c. f.

p. v. castitate, haec concepit virgo,
 non ex viro sed de Spiritu Sancto;
 haec peperit non dolore sed gaudio;
 haec nutrit angelorum et homi-
 num cibum.—Serm. vii, col. 268 B:
 Lacta Maria Creatorum tuum, lacta
 panem coeli, lacta praemium
 mundi, &c.; cf. Serm. viii, col. 271 B:
 Lacta ergo mater cibum nostrum,
 lacta panem caelestem, lacta cibum
 angelorum, &c.).

O f. o. labiis impressa lactantis,
 cum inter crepundia reptantis in-
 fantiae utpote verus ex te Filius
 tibi matri alluderet cum ex Patre
 Dominus imperaret. Nam aucto-
 rem tuum ipsa concipiens edidisti
 in tempore puberem quem habueras
 ante tempora conditorem.

O f. p. delectabile

a. exspectabile s. n.

p. c. p. qui post multas assumptae
 carnis iniurias ad ultimum verbe-
 ratus flagris, potatus felle, patibulo
 affixus, ut te veram matrem osten-
 deret, verum se hominem patiando
 tormenta monstravit, &c., &c.

MISSALE GOTHICUM

(ed. Mabillon, p. 212).

Dignum et iustum, &c. . . .

[tempore *celeberrimo*
die prae caeteris honorando]. Quo
 fidelis Israel egressus est de Aegypto,
 q. *Virgo Dei genitrix* [+ *Maria*
Bo] d. m. m. a. C. [Quae nec de
 corruptione suscepit contagium nec
 resolutionem pertulit in sepulcro;
 pollutione libera] germine gloriosa,
 assumptione secura, paradisi dote

¹ See p. 287 n. 3 above.

*dolori non subiavit post partum,
non labori post transitum.*

O admirabilem thalamum de quo speciosus forma
prodiit sponsus. O lux gentium,
spes fidelium,

tabernaculum gloriae,
templum caeleste, ² cui apostoli
sacrum reddunt obsequium, ad
cuius canunt angeli triumphum,
quam Christus amplexatur.

praelata, ¹ nesciens damna de
coitu, sumens vota de fructu,
non subdita dolori per p.

n. l. per t.

[nec vita voluntate ne funus solvi-
tur vi naturae.] Speciosus tha-
lamus de quo dignus [decorus Bo]
prodit [procedit Bo] sp, l. g.
s. f.

praedodaemonum, confusio Iudaeo-
rum, vasculum [vitae, t.] g.
t. c. (*M. Goth.* then goes off, the
Bobbio Missal following, into a long
contrast between Eve and Mary to
which nothing corresponds in the
sermons).

The sermon then goes its own way also ; what follows is of no interest here, except this passage the words of which are now commonly familiar, although their source or origin has not (I believe) been hitherto identified :—

'Succurre ergo genitrix Christi piissima miseris ad te confugientibus adiuva et refove omnes qui in te confidunt. Ora pro totius mundi piaculis, interveni pro clero, intercede pro monachorum choro, ora pro devoto femineo sexu ; sentiant omnes tuam clementiam quicumque invocant tuum nomen gloriosum' (col. 272).

It is clear that either the composer of the Assumption mass in *M. Goth.* had before him the text of Sermon ix, or the writer of Sermon ix knew the mass found in *M. Goth.* I cannot but think the first alternative is the true one ; and find difficulty in even conceiving in a natural or rational manner how Sermon ix could have been made out of the other pieces indicated, which betoken decadence and corruption, whilst that sermon in its unity, sequence of ideas, freshness, and style, betokens generally an original effort. I do not see how it is possible on the face of things to take any other view than that we have in sermon ix the primitive document³. But if this be so, our two missals throw it back

¹ Also *M. Goth.* 'Praefatio' of same mass, p. 211 : 'quae secunda virgo, beata de partu' and 'ferens unico beata de partu' ; cf. the words of serm. ix italicized above : 'et immaculata coitu, fecunda partu, virgo,' &c.

² Cf. *M. Goth.* 'Praefatio' of same mass, p. 211 : 'quo beatam matrem Mariam famulantibus apostolis transtulit ad honorem.'

³ It is undoubtedly imperfect at the beginning as appears from the first words 'Merito itaque'. But then the 'itaque' seems fatal also to Lorenzana's notion that ix copies viii ; quite independently of the fact that viii seems obviously to spo-

to a date that cannot be much later than the middle of the seventh century; we must remember too that the earliest manuscript we know of came from Spain, and is a copy of a Spanish codex. As the sermon is anonymous so it may well remain. But it seems not too much to say that its origin in all probability lies in the circle who were gathered around the author of the *De virginitate perpetua* at Toledo. And if so, we must recognize in the Assumption mass of the *Missale Gothicum* and the Bobbio Missal another 'Spanish Symptom'. Whether the *Cerne* prayer no. 56 be a 'Spanish Symptom' also must remain, I think, matter of mere subjective appreciation as to the character of the devotion it displays, especially when compared with nos. 57, 58.¹

IV

In what goes before, the Bobbio Missal has not been specially dealt with. But I am not able to understand the readiness at the present day to view that book as 'Gallican', or Milanese; or the difficulty in regarding it as (what the place of its origin seems naturally to suggest) an 'Irish' production—that is, proceeding from circles, from a community, still Scottic in religious spirit, and in some measure also subtless in *personnel*. Its strongly marked 'Spanish' character hints in the same direction. It is to be remembered too that the Bobbio Missal is but one item to be considered in this connexion.

It is surely not by accident that the inestimable 'Orationale Hispano-Gothicum' (one of the two MSS at least) is found in the Verona library. But I readily leave such questions for another hand altogether better qualified to deal with these continental matters than I who speak only as insular. But it must be added that our insular material too is not exhausted; a systematic examination of *Cerne* in the light of the *Liber ordinum* would doubtless yield interesting results; the investigation of its congener, MS Reg. 2 A xx, is almost untouched; and probably more English and Irish devotional material of as early a date is yet to be printed.

at in ix reads well, e. g. 'Lacta ergo mater' &c., 'cum inter erepundia reptantis antiae' &c.

It is more than twenty years since the late Professor Scheffer-Boichorst printed the (Austrian) *Mittheilungen des Instituts* vi (1885) pp. 521-550 his article on the Syrians in western Europe. It attracted (so far as I have observed) little attention, mainly none from the liturgists. M. Bréhier's recent article in the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* on the same subject, which I have not had the advantage of seeing, has been more fortunate. I still think (cf. *Book of Cerne* p. 278) that one of the first steps to be investigated, if we would understand the outburst of the cultus of the Assumed Virgin in the West in the seventh century, at least in Spain, is the early translation of pieces by St Ephrem into Latin. As to a Syrian bishop wandering in south of Spain, see canon 12 of the council of Seville in 618.

The three centuries that elapsed between Caesarius of Arles and Alcuin are the darkest of West European history. Evil though it was beyond compare for the particular see and city of Rome, the case of the 'leaden' tenth century was in no way so desperate. Yet it is precisely in those three centuries that took place the evolution definitely fixing the religion of mediaeval and a large part of modern Europe. The stage then passed through was that one so particularly decisive when popular piety that has listened to the word of the preachers makes the ideas they express, even if but rhetorically at times, its own; and that piety in its slow and silent workings generates by and by a common and accepted belief. Thereafter, by steps natural and easy enough, come the reflexion or reasoning of the more educated on what is so believed, its formulation, consequent disputes, heresy, dogma. It is this consideration which gives value, indeed importance, trivial looking as they may seem or sometimes almost grotesque, to the records coming from this darkest period of the history of the Church. It is too late to begin our knowledge of the post-patristic age with the ninth century, with the Carolingian renaissance, or with Bede who is a figure apart. It is not only in the fixation of the biblical text and the palaeographical declension of 'noster'¹, but in all the great range of items that lie between such extremes, that the ninth century presents us already with a completed work. If we wish to know how the result came about we must look to the years 500-800. The liturgist is better off perhaps than most other kinds of enquirers for this period; but I venture to think that if he wishes his study to be fruitful it must not be divorced from the history of popular religion and current beliefs.

EDMUND BISHOP.

NOT A GLOSS (2 KINGS xv 30 *b*).

THERE is a striking discrepancy between (a) 2 Kings xv 30 and (*b*) *ibid.* xvii 1.

According to (a) Hoshea slew Pekah, king of Israel, and succeeded him on the throne

בשנת עשרים ליוחם בן עוזיה

'in the twentieth year of Jotham, son of Uzziah'.

¹ See Traube *Perrona Scottorum* p. 527.

ording to (b) Hoshea began to reign

בשנת שנים עשרה לאחז מלך יהודה

the twelfth year of Ahaz, king of Judah'.

The first statement of date seems to be impossible; sixteen years are assigned to the reign of Jotham in 2 Kings (xv 33). There is no reason to shorten his reign by attributing part of it to his regency for his son (2 Kings xv 5b; cf. E. L. Curtis, CHRONOLOGY, in Hastings' *Dictionary* i 402 b), but none for lengthening it to twenty years. Similarly Stade, in the *Polychrome Bible*, pronounces xv 30b to be a 'very late addition'; Benzinger (*in loco*) would strike it out of the

text the knife (blind instrument!) should be applied sparingly in criticism. Before 30b is finally condemned as a gloss, the text should be carefully examined. The text is no doubt corrupt, but a corrupt text sometimes conceals a fact worthy of attention.

In the present case we have, I believe, three helps towards the emendation of the passage: *first*, the parallel half-verse, 2 Kings xvii 1; *secondly*, the LXX version of xv 30b itself; and *thirdly*, an Assyrian inscription.

In the first place in 2 Kings xvii 1 the statement of date stands outside the instruction of the verse; it is an addition to the text, as the writer wrote it. The hypothesis put forward in this note undertakes to trace the origin of this addition; it suggests that xvii 1a is borrowed from xv 30b, and preserves a less corrupt text of that passage.¹

The corruption of *בשנת שנים עשרה* into *בשנת עשרים* is an entirely plausible hypothesis. The possibility of such a misreading *springt ins Auge* as the Germans say.

The change of the name *Ahaz* into *Jotham* requires more confirmation. The point is crucial. Threefold evidence may be brought forward to support the hypothesis of this change.

The LXX (cod. B) exhibits the name of *Ahaz* in this verse. No doubt the Greek text is itself corrupt. But I do not think that we can follow Stade, 'Ahas is without doubt an attempt to correct the text'. It was a hopeless attempt. LXX B runs thus:—

ἐν ἔτει εἰκοστῷ Ἰωθαμ υἱοῦ Ἀχάζ

'the twentieth year of Joatham the son of Ahaz'.

(Ahaz was, on the contrary, the son of Jotham.) The corrupt reading 'Jotham' is retained, and this fact militates against the theory that the LXX took 'Ahas' by way of correction from xvii 1. The more

memorable date such as that of the tragic death of Pekah the enemy of Judah (2 Kings xv 30b) is likely to belong to an earlier stratum of Kings than a merely synchronism like that of xvii 1.

reasonable supposition is that the LXX found the name *Ahaz* in some form in xv 30.

(b) Transcriptional probability suggests an explanation of the supposed falling out of the name *Ahaz* from Hebrew MSS, and its disappearance from the MT. We have only to suppose (see below) that *Ahaz* is a shortened form of *Jehoahaz* (2 Kings xiii 1), or *Joahaz* (2 Chron. xxxvi 2), and the probability of the loss of the name in the course of transcription becomes apparent. I suggest that the original reading was

לְיוֹאָחָז בֶּן־יֹחָם

'of Joahaz the son of Jotham'.

The transcriber's eye slipped from the first name to the second, and the transcriber wrote 'of Jotham'. A later scribe added 'son of Uzziah', an obvious gloss. In xvii 1 the compiler added a different description, namely, 'king of Judah'.

In the LXX also transcriptional probability favours the reading *Joahaz*. The original reading was, I believe,

Ἰωαχὰς υἱὸν Ἰωαθάμ.

Ahaz was not recognized under the unusual form of his name, and a careless transposition was made,

Ἰωαθάμ υἱὸν Ἰωαχὰς.

In the course of further transcription the initial letters *Ἰω* of the second name were lost in the preceding *υἱὸν*, so cod. B reads

Ἰωαθάμ υἱὸν Ἀχὰς.

(c) The supposition that Ahaz is a shortened form of Jeho-ahaz (Jo-ahaz) is confirmed by an inscription of Tiglath-pileser III (*Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, ii 20).

The Assyrian king, after mentioning the kings of Ammon, Moab, and Ashkelon as his tributaries, adds the name of Ya-u-ḥa-zi (mātu) Ya-u-da-ai. This can only be Jeho-ahaz (Joahaz), i. e. Ahaz of Judah; cp. 2 Kings xvi 7, 8.

I conclude that 2 Kings xv 30b is not a late, but an early passage, and that it yields Hebrew evidence that the true name of Hezekiah's father was not *Ahaz*, but *Jehoahaz* (*Joahaz*).

W. EMERY BARNES.

A TENTH-CENTURY FRAGMENT OF TERTULLIAN'S *APOLOGY*.

of the slender ancient testimony to the text of Tertullian's it seems worth while to report the readings of a tenth-century MS of chapters 38, 39, and part of 40, especially as its text is closely related to that of the important Fulda MS which is the best. The excellent manuscript catalogue of the Rheinau now in the Kantons-Bibliothek in Zürich, has never been noticed, and it is probably on this account that the fragment has escaped notice. MS xcv (saec. x) is a collection of fragments from various authors which interested the compiler, somewhat in the fashion of the 'Collectaneum' of Sedulius Scottus at the Mosel.¹ Among these are to be found the *De XII Saeculi*, which is sometimes attributed to Cyprian, and on fol. 84 Tertullian's *Apology*, chaps. 38-40 (down to *tantos ad* Oehler I (Lips. 1853) p. 267, 4). I here give a collation of the text with Oehler's text.

Oehler.	<i>Rheinaug. etc.</i> (λ = Fulda MS).
	ne (= F λ <i>Vindob.</i>)
	inlicitas (= λ)
t	praecauetur (= λ)
	costat
	qua (= λ)
urias	curias concilia
	conditiones
:	inquietarent (= λ)
	questum
	coepisse
	om. (= λ)
	uobis
	gloria (= λ)
	una
	atque adeo (= λ)
us	renuntiauimus
	illorum
	enim (= λ)
	dictum

¹For which see S. Hellmann's *Sedulius Scottus* (München, 1906).

Oehler.
ost uanitate nihil

nouisse
 reprobamus
 Sed licuit Epicu-
 reis aliquam de-
 cernere uolupta-
 tis ueritatem id
 est animi aequita-
 tem et ampla
 negotia Christianae
 ut qui
 ostendam

coetum
 congregationem
 orantes
 ministris
 pascimus
 praeceptorum nihilominus
 inculcationibus
 futuri iudicii
 honoraria
 conpellitur
 confert
 nam inde
 ingratiis
 ac puellis re
 destitutis
 senibus

sectae

nobis inurit
 et ut (= A B G λ)
 enim

Rheinaug. etc.
ost uanitate habet
 licuit epicureis aliam
 decernere uoluptatis ueri-
 tatem, id est anima (animae λ) equi-
 tatem. In (= λ)

nouissime (= λ)
 probamus
om. (= λ)

quo minus (= λ)
 ostendam si etiam
 reuelauerim ueri-
 tatem (cf. λ uer. reuel.)
 coetu (= λ)
 congregationem facimus (= λ)
om. (= λ)
 ministeriis (= λ)
 poscimus
 nihilominus praeceptorum
 in compulsionibus (= λ)
 iudicii futuri
 oneraria (= (λ))
 conpellitus
 confret¹
 quippe (= λ)
 ingratias (= G λ)
om. (= λ)
 destitus
 senibus iam
 otiosis (= λ)
 sectae conflic-
 tantur (cf. λ conflictatur)
 uobis inurit
 et (= D E)
 enim sunt

¹ This spelling I have also seen in Clm. 6312 (saec. ix) of Ps.-Aug. *Quaest.*

<i>lehler.</i>	<i>Rheinaug. etc.</i>
	alterutro
	<i>om.</i> (= λ)
vo-	fratrum appel-
	latione censemur (λ, <i>sed hic censemus</i>)
	opinion
	quam cum
c.)	<i>om.</i>
	quanto nunc (cf. λ quando nunc)
im	deum patrem
berint sanctitatis	sanctitatis spiritum biberunt (<i>quoad</i> biberunt λ etc.)
	exclamant
	<i>om.</i> (?)
	solo (= λ)
t sapi-	malorum et suorum
im	sapientiorum (cf. λ sapientiorum suorum)
	quas
	donauerunt
	leno est (= λ etc.)
s	philosopus
	conuiuatur (= λ)
	caenula
lt.)	morianur (= λ)
	si aliis (= λ etc.)
um	herculanorum
n	polincto lucitorum (= λ)
	apparaturis
	aconisi
	dilectus
	inducitur
	se arapia ae (cf. λ serapiae)
	spartioli
	doloso (λ <i>habet</i> de loco)
od	uocatum quō (λ uocatum quo)
	refrigiorio
	parasti
	sagenandi
	quia
i	conuiuii est
)	ut (= λ)
	sibi deum
	deum (= F λ)

Oehler.

sanctis
provocatur in medi-
um deo canere
in eruptiones
ut
damnanda
om.

de ea queritur
quo
cuius
neminem laedentes
accommodandum
qui adversum
sane
omnis publicae cla-
dis omnis popula-
ris incommodi

arva
stetit
adclamatur

Rheinang. etc.

diuinis
de deo canere pro-
uocatur in medio (cf. λ de deo)
ad inreptiones (λ in inceptions)
et
sane damnanda
si non dissimilis
damnandis (= λ)
dequaeritur
quō
cuius
om.
adcommodandum
quid aduersus
plane
omnis popularis
omnis publicae
cladis incommodi
in primordio tem-
porum (λ *habet*
in primordio temporum)
rura (= λ)
non stetit
om. (= *aliquot edd.* : λ *habet* *inclamant*).

The close relationship between the Zürich extract and the Fulda MS is at once evident.¹ The accuracy with which the old scholars collated the latter is incidentally illustrated. Some readings given above are manifestly wrong, but they may help in tracing the date and character of this special form of text. Other readings are mere variations of order. The remainder seem worthy of consideration.

ALEX. SOUTER

¹ Compare the case of the Fulda (formerly Weingarten) and Rheinau MS. Sedulius Scottus. Hellmann (*op. cit.* p. 190 ff) has shewn that they are copies of the same lost MS.

Quicumque uult saluus esse.

WHENEVER the Athanasian Creed is under discussion the retranslation of the opening clause is one of the suggestions most commonly made. This suggestion rests on the assumption that there is some difference in meaning between *saluus esse* and *saluari*, and that this difference ought to be brought out. It is assumed that *saluari* is the stronger expression of the two, and should be translated 'to be saved', but that some milder phrase, such as 'to be safe', would be a more correct rendering of the *saluus esse* of the Creed.

The object of this note is to shew that the two expressions are absolutely identical in meaning.

It is universally admitted that the Creed is not older than the fifth century, and it follows that no guidance towards the correct interpretation of its language can be obtained from classical usage. Students of patristic Latin know that it is very far removed from the language of Cicero or of Vergil. New words have been coined to express new ideas, and the meaning of old ones has often changed. St Augustine¹ reminds us that *saluare* has no pre-Christian existence at all. '*Salus enim latinum nomen est. Saluare et Saluator*² non fuerunt haec latina antequam ueniret Saluator: quando ad latinos uenit et haec latina fecit.' It is therefore impossible to go behind the ordinarily accepted meaning of *saluari*. It can only be translated 'to be saved': the only question is whether it is or is not identical in meaning with *saluus esse* (or *fieri*).

St Augustine³ is perfectly explicit on the point. Commenting on St John viii 32 'Et ueritas liberabit uos', he says, 'Hoc uerbum Dominus a libertate posuit *Liberabit uos*. Nihil est enim aliud proprie *liberat nisi liberum facit*: quomodo *saluat* nihil aliud est quam *saluum facit*: quomodo *sanat* nihil aliud est quam *sanum facit*.'

That he regarded the two expressions as interchangeable is further attested by numerous passages scattered up and down his writings. One quotation will be sufficient.

'Fecerunt saluum iudices eum (sc. Israel) ab Allophylis liberantes. Non sic saluat Iesus.'⁴

¹ *Sermo* 299 (v 1213 x ed. Bened.). I am indebted to the Dean of Westminster for this reference.

² Cf. Mart. Cap. 5 § 510: Cicero Soterem Saluatorem uoluit nominare.

³ In Ioan. tr. xli § 1.

⁴ *Sermo* 299 (v 1181 x ed. Bened.).

A glance at a critical edition of any Latin father shews that the copyists used either expression indifferently, e. g. the following extract from Hartel's *Cyprian*.¹

1. 'Qui autem tolerauerit usque ad finem hic saluus erit.' S. W. saluus erit] saluabitur R (335²⁶).

2. 'Non est enim nomen aliud sub coelo datum hominibus in quo oportet saluari nos' (A. L. M. 83⁷).
saluari nos] nos saluos fieri B.

An examination of the New Testament gives the following results:—
σωζω is used in forty-five places. In thirty-one² of these the Old Latin³ and the Vulgate agree in rendering by *saluus* with the auxiliary. In four⁴ places both render by *saluo*. In five places⁵ the Old Latin has *saluus* with the auxiliary and the Vulgate *saluo*. In four places⁶ the Vulgate has *saluus* with the auxiliary and the Old Latin *saluo*.

The Old Latin text of Acts xxvii 31 is not extant: the Vulgate has *salui fieri*.

Clearly St Jerome regarded the expressions as interchangeable, and the point is further illustrated by the fact that (according to the received text) he translates 1 Tim. ii 15 by *saluabitur*⁷ in one place and *salua fiet* in another.⁸

In Romans xi 26 both the Old Latin and the Vulgate read *saluus fieret*, and the verse is quoted so by Ambrose, Jerome, and Augustine. But Irenaeus and Hilary quote it *saluabitur*.⁹

As the Creed is attributed to Caesarius of Arles by some scholars, the following extract from his writings is of interest. 'Quod ideo sicut in diluio non saluatus est nisi qui inter arcam Noe fuit inuentus ita diuersae fidei homines extra ecclesiae domum salui esse non possunt.'¹⁰ Clearly he does not recognize any difference between the two expressions, and his thought is very similar to that of the Creed. The Latin

¹ I owe these extracts to Mr Burkitt.

² Mt. x 22; xix 25; xxiv 13, 22; Mk. x 26; xiii 13, 20; xv 32; xvi 16; Lk. xviii 26; Jn. v 34; Acts ii 21, 47; iv 12; xi 14; xvi 30, 31; Romans v 9, 10; viii 24; ix 27; xi 26; 1 Cor. i 18; iii 15; v 5; x 33; 2 Cor. ii 15; 2 Thess. ii 10; 1 Tim. ii 4; Titus iii 5; 1 Pet. iii 20.

³ The MSS vary a little. I have followed the text printed by Peter Sabatier (Rheims, 1742).

⁴ John x 9; Acts xv 11; Eph. ii 5; James v 20.

⁵ Lk. xiii 23; 1 Cor. xv 2; 1 Tim. ii 15; 1 Pet. iv 18; Jude 5.

⁶ Lk. vii 50; viii 12; xxiii 35; 1 Thess. ii 16.

⁷ *Ep. ad Algasiam quaestio* 4 (Migne P. L. 22 p. 1015): Sabatier *ad loc.*

⁸ *adv. Jovin.* i 6 (Migne P. L. 23 p. 217): Sabatier *ad loc.*

⁹ Sabatier *ad loc.*

¹⁰ Migne P. L. lxxvii 1051. Caesarius generally uses 'securus' to mean 'safe', e. g. *Hom. de Poenit. agenda* (P. L. lxxvii 1081), though sometimes he uses it in the classical sense, e. g. *ad Sanctimonialia* (ib. p. 1122).

commentators upon the Creed are unanimous in their interpretation of the opening clause.

1. *Fortunatus*¹. 'Quicumque uult saluus esse, &c. Primo ergo omnium fides necessaria est sicut apostolica docet auctoritas . . . constat enim neminem ad ueram posse peruenire beatitudinem nisi Deo placeat et Deo neminem placere posse nisi per fidem.'

2. *Alcuin*². He does not comment upon the opening clause, but referring to the 'Qui uult ergo saluus esse' after the statement of the Trinity, says, 'Hac igitur credulitate nec Trinitas a nobis confunditur . . . sed certam et immutabilem catholicae fidei confitemur et sequimur regulam per quam beati apostoli . . . gratiam meruerunt habere diuinam, et spem perennis adepti sunt uitae, et coelestis regni beatitudinem sortiti sunt sempiternam.'

3. *Bruno*³. 'Non dicit Velis aut non saluus eris sed Quicumque uult, quia Deus omnipotens nullum hominem inuitum aut coactum trahit ad fidem. Sed quicumque uult saluus aeternaliter esse . . . necessitas illi est ut teneat catholicam fidem . . . quia sine fide nullus saluus esse potest.'

4. *Peter Abailard*⁴. 'Quicumque uult saluus esse . . . uoluntate quippe propria non coactione saluamur aliena.'

5. *Hildegard*⁵. 'Qui sic non crediderit de die saluationis eradicabitur.'

The foregoing passages prove that if the author of the Creed had written 'Quicumque uult saluari' no different interpretation would have been put upon his words. The most accurate rendering, therefore, of 'Quicumque uult saluus esse' is 'Whosoever willeth to be saved'. To substitute the milder 'to be safe' would be nothing but an indefensible mistranslation. The author meant to say the strongest thing that could be said and has always been understood to have said it by those who were best qualified to estimate the exact value of his language. Whether he was justified in saying it is a different question, and one which lies outside the scope of this note.

R. H. MALDEN.

¹ P. L. lxxxviii 586.

² P. L. cxlii 561.

³ P. L. cxcvii 1065.

⁴ P. L. ci 83.

⁵ P. L. clxxviii 629.

REVIEWS

FUNK'S *DIDASCALIA AND CONSTITUTIONS OF THE APOSTLES*.

Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum, edidit FRANCISCUS XAVERIUS FUNK (Paderbornae ex libraria Ferdinandi Schoeningh. 1906). 2 vols. lvi + 704, xlv + 208.

DR FUNK, Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the Catholic Faculty of Tübingen University, has been probably in the present generation the most assiduous student of the *Apostolic Constitutions* and the whole cycle of kindred documents. He has published during the past twenty years various monographs and articles innumerable, dealing with the whole range of problems that encompass this interesting and obscure department of early Church literature, and now he has crowned his labours by the production of the first critical edition of the greater number and the most considerable of these documents. The work is of such importance that the only proper method of dealing with it will be to give a careful account of the matter which it contains.

1. The *Didascalia Apostolorum* in a Latin translation.

This was a Greek work, but it exists in its entirety only in a Syriac version¹; in 1900 considerable fragments of an early and evidently very close Latin version were published by E. Hauler from a Verona palimpsest.² For the portions where the Latin is extant its text is printed by Funk: the other portions are supplied by a Latin translation made from the Syriac with the help of Socin and Seybold. The whole is presented in such a way that it is apparent at a glance which version is the authority for each portion of the text, and, where the Latin is the authority, what differences there are between it and the Syriac. Within the past four years translations of the *Didascalia* have appeared in French, English, and German³; this fact may diminish, indeed, the freshness, but hardly the substantive value of Funk's edition. For these

¹ Edited by Lagarde *Didascalia Apostolorum Syriace* (1854; only 100 copies were printed); and by Mrs Gibson *Horae Semiticae* i (1903).

² *Didascalie Apostolorum fragmenta Veronensia Latina* (1900).

³ Nau *La Didascalie*, Ancienne Littérature Canonique Syriacque, Fasc. i (1902); Gibson (ut supra) (1903); Flemming *Die syrische Didascalia*, Texte und Untersuchungen, N. F. x 2 (1904).

translations were all made from the Syriac alone, though in the notes to the German one there are full references to the Latin; thus they represent one witness to the text only. Funk's text, on the other hand, fully utilizes the Latin and also all the new Syriac textual materials furnished by his predecessors; and so his presentation may justly claim to be the best and only critical reconstruction of the original *Didascalia*. As has been said, this was a Greek book, and certain apparent citations by Epiphanius are given in vol. ii 3-8. It seems to be commonly agreed that the *Didascalia* was written in Palestine or Syria towards the middle of the third century. It formed the groundwork which was expanded, c. 400, into the first six books of the *Constitutiones Apostolorum*. The two works are here printed on opposite pages and all the enlargements and alterations that are due to the composer of the *Apostolic Constitutions* are underlined in the Greek text, so that the relations between the two documents, and also an approximate reconstruction of the Greek *Didascalia*, are evident at a glance.¹

2. The *Constitutiones Apostolorum*.

There is no doubt that this is the portion that gives the present work its chief value. Made up out of older materials, c. 400, by a Syrian of uncertain theological position but akin to (if not identical with) the manufacturer of the interpolated redaction of the Ignatian Epistles, the *Apostolic Constitutions* are a repertory of materials, dating from the third and fourth centuries, and of the highest interest and value for canon law, liturgy, and Christian practice and life. The first edition was that of Turrianus (Venice, 1563); it was made from three MSS which Funk identifies with the Vatican Gk. 839, 2088, and (probably) 2089; the text is practically a reproduction of 839.² Later editions, including those of Cotelier (and Migne), are no more than reprints, with progressive inaccuracies, of Turrianus's text. The only editions for which MS authorities were employed, were those of Ueltzen (1853), Lagarde (1862), and Pitra (1864, in vol. i of *Hist. et Mon. iuris eccl. Graec.*). The first and third of these editions have long been recognized as altogether unsatisfactory; and Lagarde's has been the edition hitherto in use for scientific work. It was based on four MSS, the readings of which were recorded by the great scholar with scrupulous accuracy. These MSS fall into two pairs, representing two types of text. Of these types of text Funk rejects one altogether from his textual sources; and in

¹ Lagarde, in Bunsen's *Analecta Antenicana* ii, attempted a full reconstruction of the Greek text; but the effort was a *tour de force*, and Funk says that as much as a twelfth of the Syriac version remained unrepresented.

² There is some confusion and error in Funk's *Prolegomena* over the numbering of two Vatican MSS: in the descriptive list of MSS (pp. xxiv, xxv) and in the page of 'Sigla' (liii) they are numbered 839 and 1506; but in the textual discussions (pp. xxxviii-xlii) the numbers are given as 838 and 1056.

regard to the other, taken by Lagarde as the basis of the text, Funk only records the readings in his apparatus, for the purpose of exhibiting the differences between his text and Lagarde's. His verdict on Lagarde's text is that, in consequence of the error of judgement as to the relative values of the various types of text, it is inferior to the traditional text of Turrianus (and Migne). Funk has examined or sampled twenty Greek MSS, all that are known to him as containing more than mere fragments. He is able to disregard half of them, so that he deals with ten MSS. His judgement is that Vat. 839 (the MS printed by Turrianus) is distinctly the best, and it is taken as the basis of the text: but it contains interpolations (chiefly in Scripture citations) and omissions (by homoioteleuton and otherwise), all which errors were reproduced by Turrianus. These are corrected, and the text is controlled throughout, by the critical use of the other Greek MSS, and of an Arabic (and derived Ethiopic) version of the *Apostolic Constitutions* bks. i-vi (vii), called *Didascalia*, but to be distinguished from the Syriac book spoken of above. The substantive variants of the ten Greek MSS are recorded in the apparatus, but mere spellings and itacisms are neglected: thus the apparatus never exceeds manageable dimensions. A number of historical and illustrative notes are added, Dr Funk acknowledging his indebtedness to Cotelier.¹

As has been said, in bks. i-vi the Greek text is faced by the critical reconstruction (in Latin) of the *Didascalia*, the groundwork of the books of the *Apostolic Constitutions*. In bks. vii and viii the text is faced by a Latin translation based on that in Cotelier's edition. But as the *Didache* is the groundwork of cc. 1-32 of bk. vii, Funk here reprints, without apparatus, his own edition of the *Didache* under the Greek of the *Apostolic Constitutions*.

3. The *Canons of the Apostles*.

This is a collection of eighty-five Greek canons derived in large measure from Councils of the fourth century. They circulated widely as a separate document; but Funk holds that the collection was made by the composer of the *Apostolic Constitutions*, and was appended by him to that work. Accordingly they are here edited, as found in some Greek MSS of the *Apostolic Constitutions*, as c. 47 (and 48) of bk. viii.

¹ Dr Funk does not fall under the condemnation of Lagarde's following characteristic note in the Preface to his edition: *Libro Turriani et Cotelieri commentarios in brevius contractos subiunxissem, nisi sumptus nimii futuri fuissent. Turrianus a nemine lectus esse videtur, Cotelierius sine ulla grati animi significatione expilatus est: quo vix umquam doctiorem hominem vidi. et debetur hoc viris probis et eruditis ut quotquot se eorum similes esse cupiunt eos ab ignavis furibus defendant. ego autem ut Fr. Lucae brugensis, I. A. Bengelii, Chr. B. et I. D. Michaelium laudes praedicavi, ita spero fore ut aliquando Cotelieri et Turriani libros in debitum honorem restituum.*

This concludes vol. i; vol. ii contains supplementary materials:—

4. *Testimonia Veterum*, the citations and references made by early writers to the *Didache*, the *Didascalia*, and the *Constitutions*.

5. *Fragmenta Anastasiana* or lengthy passages of the *Constitutions* cited in the *Quaestiones Anastasii* (notes on this work and a list of its MSS are given in the *Prolegomena*).

6. A shorter form of the Greek text of bk. viii of the *Constitutions*. This text, usually spoken of as *Constitutiones per Hippolytum*, plays an important rôle in the discussion as to the sources of bk. viii; hitherto it has been difficult of access and inadequately edited, Lagarde's edition (in the very scarce *Reliquiae iuris eccl. antiq. graec.* and in *Hippolyti Romani quae feruntur omnia graece*) being based on only three MSS. It is a great gain to have it now edited from the ten known MSS.

7. A Latin translation of the so-called *Egyptian Church Order*, or *Constitutions of the Egyptian Church*. This document forms the central portion of the composite collection of canons recently edited and translated from Coptic, Arabic, and Ethiopic, by Mr Horner, under the title *Statutes of the Apostles* (1904). The translation here given is made from the Coptic. This document, as forming the link connecting bk. viii of the *Apostolic Constitutions* and the *Canons of Hippolytus*, is of great importance in the debate on bk. viii of the *Constitutions*.

8. A Latin translation of the Arabic (and Ethiopic) version of the *Apostolic Constitutions*, called the 'Arabic Didascalia' (different from 1).

9-12. Minor Greek collections of canons related to the *Constitutions*.

13. The *Sacramentary of Sarapion*.

The prayers are arranged according to Mr Brightman's order (*J. T. S.*, 1900), and a vocabulary is added.

The two volumes together contain 800 pages of texts edited with all the industry, care, and judgement that are associated with Dr Funk's name; 100 pages of *Prolegomena*, wherein the chief problems of this complicated cycle of literature are sketched and dealt with by a master hand; and finally 120 pages of Indexes of various kinds.

In the *Prolegomena* Dr Funk reasserts and supplements the argument he had previously put forward for the priority of bk. viii of the *Apostolic Constitutions* over the kindred documents. Dr Hans Achelis in his *Canones Hippolyti* (1891) maintained that the genesis of these documents was

1. *Canons of Hippolytus* (beginning of third century).
2. *Egyptian Church Order* (no. 7 of documents in Funk's work under review).
3. So-called *Constitutiones per Hippolytum* (no. 6).
4. Bk. viii of *Apostolic Constitutions*, c. 400.

This view was, in substance, commonly accepted by scholars. But Funk from the first opposed it, and exactly reversed the order, holding that bk. viii is the earliest of the series and that the others are derived from it, the dates being (4) c. 400, (3) c. 425, (2) c. 450, (1) 500-600. There can be no doubt that the *prima facie* evidence is against Funk's view, and in England his theory has hitherto met with little consideration. In the useful survey of the problems, the only one in English, given in the Introduction to Brightman's *Eastern Liturgies* (1896), Funk's argument is dismissed as 'unconvincing' and 'ineffectual'. 'Unconvincing' was the opinion also of Dr Armitage Robinson in 1898 (see *The Ministry of Deaconesses* by Cecilia Robinson, App. p. 186); and in his article 'Canons of Hippolytus' in the 'new volumes' of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* Funk is wholly ignored. It is right to say that even the last named article, though published in 1902, was no doubt written before the appearance of Funk's final presentation of his case; but in 1901 was published his work *Das Testament unseres Herrn und die verwandten Schriften*, and in the following year, in the Introduction to Cooper and Maclean's *Testament of our Lord* (p. 29), his arguments are still said to 'appear to be inconclusive'. The third French edition and the English translation of Mgr Duchesne's *Origines du culte chrétien* came out in 1903; in the note prefixed to the reprint of the *Canons of Hippolytus* Achelis's view on the dates and relations of the documents is accepted as certain, without so much as a mention of Funk's theory, or even of his name. And more recently still, in Mr C. H. Turner's *History and Use of the Creeds* (1906) the Canons of Hippolytus are placed in the third century, without any indication that such a date has been seriously contested (pp. 26 and 92).

Now, seeing that Dr Funk has persuaded Bardenhewer and made a convert of Harnack, it is evident that his positions must deserve careful examination. In vol. ii of his great *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur* (1903) Bardenhewer reserves the discussion of the question till he comes to deal with the *Apostolic Constitutions*, and only gives utterance to the belief that Funk's view will establish itself (p. 543); but in the second edition of his *Patrologie* (1901) he accepts it in its entirety (pp. 311-314). Harnack, in vol. ii of the *Chronologie* (1904), devotes an Appendix to this Canon Law Literature, and on pp. 501-514 deals with the matter in hand. The discussion is a summary that could hardly be further summarized; but the crucial passage occurs on p. 507: after pointing out that the Hippolytean origin of the *Canons*, or a Roman origin in the first quarter of the third century, is confessedly tenable only on a theory of extensive interpolations and alterations, Harnack continues: 'But Funk has proved on internal grounds that even in that form the hypothesis is untenable. . . . The document as we have it is an

Egyptian Church Order, which in dozens of prescriptions and practices cannot be either Western or ante-Nicene. These prescriptions and practices appear not as more or less easily removable additions, but penetrate into the very core of the book that we have, and dominate the centre no less than the circumference.' And he accepts Funk's stemma of the documents, with the one modification that at the head he places hypothetical lost genuine Canons of Hippolytus as a source of bk. viii and a subsidiary source of our *Canons of Hippolytus*. But even this compromise Funk rejects in the work here reviewed. As it seems to be the case that English opinion is lingering in a past phase of the discussion, and as there is, I believe, no statement whatever in English of the nature of Funk's case, I hope I may be able on a future occasion to break this curious silence, and to give an account of Funk's theory and argument as it is unfolded in its most matured form in the work *Das Testament unseres Herrn*.

E. CUTHBERT BUTLER.

THE REICHENAU MSS.

Die Reichenauer Handschriften beschrieben und erläutert von ALFRED HOLDER: *Erster Band; Die Pergamenthandschriften* (= Die Handschriften der Grossherzoglich Badischen Hof- und Landesbibliothek in Karlsruhe V). (Leipzig, Teubner, 1906.)

REICHENAU ('rich island'), earlier called Sindloetes-Awa, an island in the north-western arm of the Lake of Constance, once contained a Benedictine monastery, which had been founded in the eighth century from St Gall on the south-west of the lake. Like all Benedictine houses it contained a good library, and inventories of its MSS have survived, the oldest dating from 822. The library passed through various vicissitudes, and Reichenau volumes are to be found in Heidelberg, Donaueschingen, Cologne, Munich, Stuttgart, Trier, Wolfenbüttel, St Paul (Carinthia), Vienna, Einsiedeln, Engelberg, St Gall, Schaffhausen, Zürich, Brussels, Leyden, Cambridge¹, London, Oxford, Cheltenham, Paris, and the Vatican. But the great bulk were transferred at the confiscation of monastic property in 1805 to the Grand-Ducal library in Baden. For the past thirty years or more they have been housed in the handsome pile of buildings in the Friedrichs-Platz, Karlsruhe, as part of the 'Vereinigte Sammlungen'.

Visitors who went to this library to study were well aware of the fact that there existed in manuscript a masterly catalogue of the Reichenau MSS by Dr Alfred Holder, formerly Bibliothekar and now Oberbiblio-

¹ The Graeco-Latin F (*Augiensis*) of the Pauline Epistles in Trinity College.

thekar, and were impatient for its publication. Dr Holder has led a life of strenuous activity and valuable service in more than one field of scholarship. Co-editor of the best critical edition of Horace, he has edited Caesar, Tacitus, Porphyrio, Jordanes, Beowulf, Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, &c., and is no less known as the compiler of the *Alt-Celtischer Sprachschatz*, a work of stupendous learning, which is indispensable to all students of Celtic origins. Despite all this arduous labour, he has found time to help others, and the present writer may be forgiven for referring here to the great kindness he himself has received from him during more than six weeks' work in the library.

The collection is not a large one, if compared with such as those of Paris, Munich, or Oxford. It numbers only 265 MSS on vellum,¹ but the quality is extraordinarily high. It may be doubted if any collection contains so little that is valueless. There is nothing older, apparently, than the end of the seventh century, to which date part of no. ccliii (Hier. in Matth.) is assigned: the other part belongs to the middle of the eighth century, but is a palimpsest, the original writing being of the sixth and seventh centuries. The great mass of the MSS belong to the ninth century, and a large proportion of these to the first half of that century. Nearly all are theological. The works of Gregory the Great and Isidore are well represented. There is a collection of copies of the works of Rabanus Maurus, nearly contemporary with the author and probably unique. Aldhelm is represented by lxxxv and clxvii, Alcuin by cxxxv and ccv. There are several superb homiliaries. Bede is very fully represented by xxxvii, xliii, lxii, lxiv, lxxvii, cxxii, cxxxv, cxliv, clvii, clxvii, clxxii, clxxxviii, cxcix, ccxxxvii, ccxxxix, and cclv. Such an enumeration makes one regret anew that we have no edition of Bede (except for the historical works) which has the slightest claim to be considered scientific. How long must we wait for this? There is such an abundance of copies belonging to the century after his death that the task would surely not be difficult. The future editor of St Jerome will find much to his purpose in Karlsruhe. I have counted altogether twenty-six MSS of his works:—xxxii, lii, lxxii, lxxiv, lxxxii, xciv, cv, cxliii, cxli, cxlviii, clviii, (clxxvii), clxxxi, cxciv, cxcvii, cci, ccii, ccxii, ccxviii, ccxxiii, ccxxiv, ccxxvi, ccxxx, ccxlv, ccliii, cclvii, and cclxi. As the Vienna programme provides for only part of St Jerome, there is rich quarry here for the British investigator. The biblical MSS are fewer—I have counted only fifteen—and they are on the whole not as old as the patristic. It would appear as if the older Reichenau copies had become worn out with usage. Among the special treasures of this collection may be mentioned:—xviii (collection of canons and creeds), xlv

¹ The paper MSS, the indexes, and other supplemental matter are reserved for the second volume

(Prosper on the Psalms), lv (Vigilius of Thapsus against Eutyches, &c.), lxiii (Pseudo-Matthew's Gospel), lxix (Prosper *Liber Promissionum et Praedictorum Dei*), lxxx (Latin translation of Sermons of Andrew of Crete, Amphilochius of Iconium, Cosmas Vestitor, Germanus of Constantinople, and John of Damascus, saec. x ex.), cix (Praedestinatus), cxviii (Gregory of Elvira?), cxix (Pelagius on the Epistles of St Paul¹), cxx (Caelius Aurelianus and other medical works), cl (Atto, or Hatto, on the Epistles of Paul²), clxxxiii (a Latin translation of the Shepherd of Hermas, saec. x), clxxxiv (Arnobius Junior on the Psalms), cxcii (Walafrid Strabo on the Psalms), cxcii (Pseudo-Jerome on Job), ccxv (Athanasius-Evagrius *Life of St Anthony*), ccxxii (Primasius on the Apocalypse), ccxxxiii (an anonymous and unpublished Irish-Latin commentary on the Catholic Epistles, which from internal evidence I should date of the end of the seventh or the beginning of the eighth century: the MS is of the ninth century), ccxxxviii (Vigilius of Thapsus against the Arians), and ccli (part of Faustinus on the Trinity, &c.).

The catalogue forms a stately volume of over six hundred pages, which the printer has made a thing of beauty. The descriptions of the MSS are such as we should expect from the pen of one of the greatest Latin palaeographers living. The catalogue will at once take rank with such as those of the French *Départements*, of the Berlin scholar Valentin Rose, and of Dr M. R. James. The compiler's method is to give the number of the folia, of the columns to the page, and of the lines to the column; the length and breadth of the MS in millimetres, the date, and a list of the quaternions, with their signatures, and the manner in which the quaternions or other sheets are made up. This last piece of work is quite a characteristic of the volume. The fullness with which it has been done will provide valuable material, when a study of the history of foliation comes to be written. Wherever there is the slightest irregularity, this is exhibited by a diagram which at once shews the nature of the irregularity. After this description the title of the work (or works) contained in the MS is given by Dr Holder in his own words in thick type. This title is intended to describe what the MS really contains as contrasted with what it professes to contain. Then follow the 'incipit' and 'explicit' of the work; to which is added a reference to a printed edition or to printed editions of the work referred to. The provision of this information has cost tremendous trouble, especially in the case of collections of homilies, for which individually he has provided it. It must be understood also that the printed texts at the

¹ The only pure copy of that work known to me, as I have tried to shew in a paper before the British Academy, Dec. 12, 1906.

² Of this work only one other MS (at Verona) is known. The Karlsruhe MS agrees closely with the printed text, which was printed from the other.

disposal of a worker in Karlsruhe are few compared with those accessible to workers at the larger centres. Any writing on the fly-leaves, such as a sign of ownership 'Monasterii Augiae Divitis', is carefully recorded, even to the 'Federproben'. This is followed by the title on the outside of the cover, if there be any. If the MS is mentioned in any of the old catalogues, the entry is given. Lastly, a description of the binding of each MS is provided. Large extracts from the MSS are sometimes printed in full, as on pp. 316 ff, 446 ff, 563 ff, 577 ff, and 638 ff. On p. 283 a reference to C. H. Turner's edition of Gennadius's *liber ecclesiasticorum dogmatum* in the JOURNAL (vii 78 ff, see also viii 103 ff) should have been added. The date of cclxi has been omitted (p. 595).

A. SOUTER.

SILANUS THE CHRISTIAN.

Silanus the Christian, by EDWIN A. ABBOTT. (A. & C. Black, London, 1906.)

THIS volume is dedicated 'to the memory of Epictetus, not a Christian but an awakener of aspiration that could not be satisfied except in Christ'. It purports to be an autobiography of a young Roman knight, M. Junius Silanus, who finds refuge from the chilling and unsatisfying philosophy of Epictetus in the warmth and hopefulness of Christianity. Dr Abbott seeks to contrast the one teaching with the other, and utilizes the narrative of the conversion of his hero to set forth in a more popular manner the views he has already published in works that are not likely to be read by any but specialists in Biblical criticism.

Dr Abbott maintains that Epictetus was acquainted with Christian literature, as, since he was a slave, is *a priori* probable. The passages he mainly relies upon for this view are 1 Cor. vii 35 and 2 Tim. ii compared with the picturesque contrast in Epictetus between the unmarried and the married Cynic, where we have the same ideas and even the same word ἀπερίσπαστος. 'τοιαύτης οὐσης καταστάσεως, οἷα νῦν ἔστιν, ὡς ἐν παρατάξει, μὴ ποτ' ἀπερίσπαστον εἶναι δεῖ τὸν Κυνικὸν ὅλον πρὸς τῇ διακονίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ, οὐ προσδεδεμένον καθήκονσιν ἰδιωτικοῖς οὐδ' ἐμπεπλεγμένον σχέσεσιν' (iii 22. 69).

The hardships endured by the Cynic missionary have a resemblance to those of the Christian described in 1 Cor. iv 9-13, 2 Cor. vi 3-10. St Paul says 'reviled, we bless'. Epictetus urges the Cynic when in the act of being cudgelled to love his cudgellers as being the father of all and brother of all. In both writers there is a contrast between the external misery of the Missionary and the inward joy. Epictetus, like Paul, speaks of the 'calling' of the Missionary, and of his disgracing

his calling, and of his being 'worthy of his calling'. St Paul tells his converts 'Ye are God's temple', 'Your body is the temple of the Holy Spirit'. Epictetus says *ὅταν ὁμιλεῖς, ὅταν γυμνάζῃ, ὅταν διαλέγῃ, οὐκ οἶδας ὅτι θεὸν τρέφεις, θεὸν γυμνάζεις, θεὸν περιφέρεις; ἐν παντὶ φέρεις αὐτὸν καὶ μολύνων οὐκ αἰσθάνῃ ἀκαθάρτοις μὲν διανοήμασι ῥυπαραῖς δὲ πράξεσι* (ii 8. 12).

A reference to the Christians is found also in the passage *ὅταν ἀναλάβῃ ὁ πάθος τὸ τοῦ βεβαμμένον καὶ ῥημένον τότε καὶ ἔστι τῷ ὄντι καὶ καλεῖται Ἰουδαῖος*, where Epictetus seems to imply that whereas Greeks attain to wisdom through the reason (or *logos*) Jews fathom their God or Christ through what the Greeks call emotion or affection. The use of *πάθος* leads the author to suggest *πάθος* as a correction for *ἔθους* in Epict. 7. 6 where it is said that 'custom can make the Galilean fearless'. If this be accepted Epictetus is contrasting the 'feeling' which enables the Christian Jews or Galileans to do that which the Greek philosophers cannot do with all the aid of wisdom. There follows an eloquent passage on the influence of 'the Love of Christ' as described by St Paul, and on the defects in the philosophy of Epictetus (of whom Pascal said he knew the grandeur of the human heart, but he did not know its weakness), namely, the disparagement of prayer, though not of praise, the absence of any notion of repentance for past sin, or of hope or consolation, the lack of sympathy, the disavowal of the expectation of personal immortality. 'When the bugle sounds to cease the conflict, when God says "come!". Whither? Into no land of errors. Simply into that same region from which you entered into being. Into the company of such existences as were friendly and akin to you. Into the elements.' 'The four elements', says Dr Abbott, 'promised but cold friendship.'

Epictetus expected no kingdom of righteousness after death in another world, perhaps none such at any time in this, for Epictetus does not seem like Isaiah to have seen a God in history. He never refers to God as controlling the movements of nations.

Epictetus seems to use the term 'Logos' ambiguously. When he sings hymns to God in accord with the Logos he seemed to include something more than reason: when he said that 'the things of the Logos' are necessary, he seemed to mean reason alone.

Through the lips of his characters Dr Abbott informs us of some of his critical results, and suggests solutions of difficulties. Thus: subject to certain exceptions Matthew and Luke never agree together—in those parts of the Gospel where there are three parallel narratives—without also agreeing with Mark. Mark, an inferior biographer to Plutarch, whose Gospel is a mere frame, is guilty of disproportion, and of neglecting great doctrines while emphasizing small details

of narrative. Yet his work does contain a Gospel, the good tidings of the forgiveness of sins. His Gospel may be called a drama in which the leading character is too often absent from the stage; or, when present he speaks too little, while minor characters are allowed to speak too much.

For 'cross' in the phrase 'let him take up his cross daily' the word 'yoke' is suggested, a phrase ascribed to Jesus, and used by Jews of the period.

The harsh term 'dog' applied to the Syro-Phoenician woman is explained not as a Jewish disparagement of a Gentile, but as applied to a woman who was a Jewess but had fallen away to idolatry and immorality; Jesus by His language seeks to stimulate her to a better life.

The miracle of the fig-tree is explained as originally a parable and illustrated from Epictetus, who compares a precocious philosopher to a precocious fig-tree.

The virgin birth is illustrated from some bold figurative sayings of Philo, of which the most direct and forcible is 'The Lord begot Isaac'. Luke in his account of the birth is not composing fiction, but only compiling, harmonizing, adapting, and moulding into a historical shape what should have been preserved as poetic legend.

Of Justin's treatment of the Fourth Gospel it is said that 'Even though he could not sometimes avoid using some of the traditions that had found a place in the Fourth Gospel, he disliked to quote it as a Gospel, and, as far as I know, never did quote it verbally in his writings'.

As regards Mark's omissions it is suggested that he omitted the Lord's Prayer, as being known to everybody, and the Resurrection because he regarded that as part of the testimony of the Apostles.

But we turn with the greatest interest to this latest deliverance on the Fourth Gospel of the author of the *Johannine Grammar and Vocabulary*. This is to the effect that when John returned from Patmos, a very old man, the brethren at Ephesus would collect traditions from him and preach his Gospel for him as far as they could. Being a seer he was liable to mix vision with fact. Another John, called pre-eminently 'the Elder', preached and wrote for him. The examination of a great number of passages where words of Mark, being obscure or difficult, are altered or omitted by Luke, shews that in almost every case John intervenes to support Mark, only expressing Mark's meaning more clearly and spiritually. The Gospel is history interpreted through spiritual insight or poetic vision. 'I take the historical fact to be', says the author, through the lips of one of his characters, 'that there came in the world, as man, a Divine Being, endowed with the power of drawing

man and God into one, by drawing the hearts of men towards Himself, and through Himself to the Father. Making men one with Himself, He also made them one with each other in Himself. This, then, is the great historical fact, the fact of facts, foreordained before the foundation of the world.'

The volume is distinguished by the same imaginative power, freshness of thought, and chastity of style which were the notes of its predecessors *Philochristus* and *Onesimus*, and by the same subtlety of sometimes unconvincing speculation, wide learning, and careful use of the inductive method that we have learnt to expect from the author of *Clue*, and one of the most ardent researchers in Biblical criticism known to specialists in that subject.

Dr Abbott is preparing a volume of illustrative notes which will soon be ready for the Press.

J. HUNTER SMITH.

RECENT PERIODICALS RELATING TO THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

(1) ENGLISH.

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The Journal of Theological Studies

APRIL, 1907

THE ORIGIN AND AUTHORITY OF THE BIBLICAL CANON ACCORDING TO THE CONTINENTAL REFORMERS.

I. LUTHER AND KARLSTADT.

IN a previous paper I have tried to analyse the history of the Canon in the Anglican Church of the sixteenth century more definitely and precisely than has been done previously. I have shewn that the Canon in question has very slight, if any, ecclesiastical authority, and I have traced it through Coverdale's unauthorized translation of the Bible, in which it first appeared, to the continental reformers. If this view can be justified, it makes it particularly important for us to try and understand the nature and basis of the Bible Canon as accepted by these foreign reformers, a question upon which, notwithstanding German diligence, by no means the last word has been said.

The continental movement was intended by those who initiated it, namely, the men of the New Learning, the Humanists, to be a reformation and not a revolution. With them, again, it was more a philosophical than a purely theological movement. It dealt with the initial question of what was the true method of analysing truth and acquiring knowledge. It was an accident of the position that so much of the discussion converged upon the theological arena, due to the great space that theology had occupied hitherto in the serious studies of mankind. What the men of the New Learning really rebelled against, in fact, was scholasticism, whose essence was the application of *a priori* and syllogistic reasoning not

to testing the validity of the thinking process, but to the enhancement of knowledge and the discovery of Truth; results which disguise the method as we may, can only be arrived at by induction.

The appeal from the scholastic to the more or less inductive method of theological study speedily led to the abandonment of such a *vade mecum* of the contents of the Bible as the *Sententiae* of Peter Lombard, and a reversion to the Bible text itself. This again led to a demand for that text in its oldest and purest form, and in the original languages in which it was written, Hebrew and Greek, the study of which now received a great impetus everywhere.

The two most famous revivers and disseminators of the study of Hebrew and Greek respectively, as is well known, were John Reuchlin, who was born on the 28th of December, 1455, and Erasmus, who was born ten years later. Reuchlin, who was an accomplished linguist, was the first to introduce the serious study of Greek and Hebrew into the German universities. It was, however, as a Hebrew scholar and as the author of the *Linguae Hebraicae Rudimenta* that his influence was most far-reaching. He was virtually the first Christian writer of the Renaissance who had a scholar's knowledge of Hebrew, the study of which had hitherto been limited to the Jews, and he became steeped in Hebrew thought. His Bible was essentially the Hebrew Bible, which, like Jerome, he treated as the primitive verity, and he opposed to the fashionable scholasticism of the schoolmen a scholasticism of his own, which has been described as a Pythagorean-Platonic-Cabalism, in which he initiated a mystical method of interpreting the Bible in the spirit of the mediaeval Jews. While Reuchlin's Cabalism died with him, his zeal for the Hebrew text of the Bible survived him and became the moving principle of Biblical criticism among the Reformers. He was also an active spirit among the professors, both at Tübingen and Heidelberg, and, what was perhaps more far-reaching, he was one of those who founded the University of Wittenberg, where his grand-nephew and pupil Melancthon became (on his nomination) professor of Hebrew and Greek.

While Reuchlin claimed the privilege exercised by Jerome of criticizing and amending the Biblical text according to the new lights derived from his linguistic studies, it was always in

subordination to the authority of the Church, to which he insisted to the very end that private judgement ought ultimately to submit. He would have nothing to do with Luther's and Melancthon's revolt from the Church, and in fact he virtually disinherited the latter on this very ground. This was also the attitude of most of the prominent Humanists, including their great coryphaeus Erasmus.

Erasmus had views about the relative merits of the Bible books, but he submitted his judgement in the matter to that of the Church. These are the words he used in reply to the censures of the Sorbonne professors on the subject :

'Iuxta sensum humanum nec credo epistolam ad Hebraeos esse Pauli aut Lucae, nec secundam Petri esse Petri, nec Apocalypsin esse Ioannis apostoli. . . . Si tamen titulos recipit Ecclesia, damno dubitationem meam ; plus apud me valet expressum Ecclesiae iudicium quam ullae rationes humanae' (*Declar. ad censuram facult. theol. Paris.* Op. ix 864).

Like the other Humanists, he was willing to press criticism as far as it would go, with one qualification, namely, that it did not transcend the definitions and pronouncements of the Church, which he, like them, deemed to be infallible, and to which he always claimed that he was prepared to submit.

The seed which Reuchlin sowed at Wittenberg fell on fruitful soil. It was natural that a university whose patron was Saint Augustine, and several of whose early professors were Augustinian friars, should cultivate the theological method of Augustine, which was so good an antidote to scholasticism, and should make much of the study of the Bible and of the languages necessary to its complete apprehension. Among the professors were two friends who had been fellow students at Erfurt—Andreas Bodenstein, known from the place of his birth as Karlstadt, and Luther. The former, who was born in 1480, was three years older than the latter. They differed much in temperament and for a time also in views. While Karlstadt was still a devoted propounder and defender of scholasticism, Luther had been early imbued with the thoughts and methods of Augustine and with the fervour and mental habit of the mystic Tauler.

Karlstadt in the year 1505 took his bachelor's degree at

Wittenberg, and in 1507 he published his first book, which was Thomist in every way. It was entitled *De intentionibus*. This—the first work of any moment published by the new university—brought him the Deanery of the Faculty of Arts. It was followed by a second work of the same school, entitled *Distinctiones Thomistae*. In 1510 he became a Doctor of Theology and in that capacity conferred the doctorate on Luther on October 18th, 1512. He still, however, remained a fierce champion of scholasticism. Thus in Luther's *Tischreden* we read:

‘Carlstadt und Petrus Lupinus waren in der Erste, da das Evangelium anging, meine heftigsten Widersacher; aber da ich sie mit Disputieren beschloss und ueberwand sie mit den Schriften Augustini und sie denselben gelesen hatten, waren sie viel heftiger in dieser Sache denn ich. Aber die schändliche Hoffart betrog den Carlstadt.’

His views, however, presently took an entirely new turn on this matter, the result of Luther's pertinacious and really overwhelming pleas. The 13th of January, 1517, was a critical day in his career. Let me quote his own words:—

‘Profecto cum Lipsim hoc anno Idibus Ianuariis concessissem confestimque sanctissimi Augustini opera mihi empta aperuissem, porciunculas dedita opera adversus memoratum D. Martinum particularim excerpti, ut ex parte triumpho potirer. Forte fortuna (mihi ingrata) obiecta est sententia, quippe ea, qua arenam scholasticam dispergi et edificium in illa collabascere adverti. Obstupui: obmutui: succensui. At festivas vel verius sophisticas commentari solutiunculas evestigicepi, illi sententiae adversa contrariaque perquirere; nec coherentian sententiarum magnifeci. Sed R. P. aperta veritas rubore ac verecundia me suffudit. Cognovi enim me in scholasticis mille sententiis deceptum. Asinum ad molam: Cecum ad lapidem et perperam hallucinatum fuisse’ (Barge *Andreas Bodenstein, Anlagen* ii 534 N. 5 a).

This change in the fundamental basis of his methods and views naturally drew Karlstadt nearer to Luther, and one result of the change is to be found in a series of 152 theses which the former produced on the 26th of April, 1517, with a general challenge to defend them, and in which his newly adopted Augustinianism is very obvious. These theses were, curiously enough, entirely lost for a long period and were only recently recovered by Kolde, who found them in the Berlin Library (see *Zeitsch. für Kirchengeschichte* xi p. 450 &c.).

Their publication preceded Luther's famous challenge on the question of Indulgences, and they are remarkable for the bold utterance they contain on the relative authority of the Bible and of the Fathers as the basis of theological truth. On this issue Karlstadt defined his position in the first six of the theses, they are as follows:—

1. 'Dicta sanctorum patrum non sunt neganda. 2. Nisi essent correcta vel retractata. 3. Si fuerint diversa non secundum nudum placitum sunt eligenda, contra multos. 4. Sed ea quae divinis testimoniis magis vel ratione iuvantur. 5. Inter suffulta testimoniis praeferuntur quae evidentioribus nituntur autoritatibus. 6. Si varietas inter dicta unius doctoris absque concordia reperitur posteriori standum est'. (See Kolde in *Z. f. Kirchengeschichte* xi 450.)

On these six theses Barge, the admirable biographer of Karlstadt, says very truly:

'Als erste Ansätze zu einer Quellenkritik sind jene Versuche immerhin beachtenswerth' (*op. cit.* i 76).

Thesis 143 shews how far Karlstadt had now travelled from scholasticism. It reads:

'Doctrina Aristotelis in scholis theologorum facit malam mixturam.'

It does not appear that Karlstadt's challenge was accepted by any one. The matter was doubtless treated by the authorities as largely an academic one and very different in importance from such an open challenge of the authority of the Holy See as was made by Luther a few months later; and yet it was singularly premonitory. The issuing of the theses however, with their Augustinian tendency, drew the two professors at Wittenberg still nearer each other.

We find Karlstadt on the 18th of November, 1517, writing in his preface to Augustine's work *De spiritu et litera*:

'Exurrexit dei ope quidam de nostris Venerandus P. Martinus Luther et arcium acutissimus et theologiae doctor acerrimus atque eorumdem fratrum per Saxoniam Vicarius, qui meraciores sanctae scripturae literas perdidit et earum succum ultra fidem epulavit, asserebatque scholasticos doctores et a Christi non solum documentis, sed et intelligentia tam Augustini (cuius documenta frequentius citat) tam aliorum similium esse alienissimos.'

On the other hand, writing to his friend Spalatin on the 18th of January, 1518, Luther says:

'Incipies autem (si mea tibi placent studia) B. Augustinum de Spiritu et litera, quem iam noster Carlstadius, homo studii incomparabilis explicavit miris explicationibus et edidit.'

We now reach a more critical turn in the road along which the friends were travelling.

According to Melanchthon it was at midday on the 31st of October, 1517, that Luther nailed his own fateful theses to the church door at Wittenberg. These theses, it must be remembered, were written in Latin and not in German and were therefore addressed to scholars and not to the crowd. They formed a compendium of Luther's objections to the whole theory of Indulgences as maintained by the Roman Church at this time, and were framed with pitiless directness.

The sting in the document did not consist so much in its raising issues about the metaphysical doctrine of Indulgences. The Roman Church had been very complacent in regard to the discussion of such issues among the learned, but what Luther's attack meant was a much more practical issue. It was virtually a resuscitation of the policy of reforming the abuses in the administration of the Church, and especially the financial abuses which had been pressed home so much at the Councils of Constance and Basle. The policy in question was bitterly opposed there by the bureaucratic Curia, and by those who had the difficult duty of providing an adequate income for the Holy See, whose necessary expenses were enormous. Hence, very largely, the bitterness with which Luther's attack on the sale of Indulgences (probably the most lucrative of all the Papal sources of income) was immediately met, especially by the militant religious orders, the Janissaries of the Papacy. Luther's theses were presently answered by Dr John Eck, of Ingolstadt, admittedly a controversialist of skill and learning, in a series of what he called 'Obelisks'. These were in the first instance replied to by Luther's recruit and friend Karlstadt in a second series of theses, which were published on May 9th, 1518.

In these theses a remarkable and significant position was for the first time taken up in emphatic terms regarding the authority of the Bible as the ultimate rule of Faith. They prove how in some essential matters of controversy Karlstadt forestalled Luther. Thus in the first thesis we read:

‘Textus Biblie per Ecclesiasticum doctorem allegatus plus valet ac vehementius urget, quam dictum allegantis.’

In the 12th :

‘Textus Biblie non modo uni pluribusve Ecclesie doctoribus sed etiam tocius ecclesie auctoritate prefertur.’

In the 13th :

‘Capiendo ecclesiam pro fidelium omnium congregatione seu contione.’

In the 14th :

‘Premissa intantum procedit, quod dicto doctoris auctoritate canonica com munito plusquam declarationi pape credendum est.’

Again in the 17th :

‘Bene tamen idem Gerson, sed rursus male tacito imitationis vestigio, affirmavit, quod in sacris literis excellenter erudito et auctoritate intendi plus est credendum quam generali consilio.’

Lastly in the 19th :

‘Hoc pulchre ex eius sexta consideratione et prima secundae partis deducitur, scilicet quod sacra scriptura nec fallere nec falli potest.’

In these theses Karlstadt went far beyond what any one had hitherto affirmed as to the supremacy of the Bible over any pronouncement of Pope, or Council, or Church. The nearest approach to it occurs in a work published not long before. This was written by Pupper von Goch, who was born in the beginning of the 15th century, and in 1451 founded the Priory of Augustinian Canons at Thabor, near Mechlin or Malines. In the first chapter of his book on the Bible he says :

‘Sola Scriptura Canonica fidem indubiam et irrefragabilem habet auctoritatem. Antiquorum patrum scripta tantum habent auctoritatis, quantum canonice veritati sunt conformia.’

This looks superficially like what Karlstadt himself said later, as we have seen, but the earlier author qualifies his phrase a few sentences further on, when he says :

‘Ecclesie auctoritas est maxima auctoritas, quia ut dicit Augustinus : Si non crederem ecclesiae, non crederem evangelio’ (see Clemen *Johann Pupper von Goch* pp. 75, 84).

It is not clear that Karlstadt’s pronouncement about the supremacy of the Bible (which was theoretically treated as the ultimate appeal even at Rome) was resented by the Roman

authorities. At all events we do not find that Eck in his subsequent disputations with Karlstadt took exception to it, and Karlstadt himself seems to have held that the appeal involved breach of orthodoxy. To the *Obelisks* of Eck, Luther also replied in person, in what he called his *Asterisks*. The only passage the reply which is of any moment to our present purpose is that in which he says :

'Per totum illud obeliscorum cahos nihil sacrarum literarum, nihil ecclesiasticorum Patrum, nihil Canonum, sed omnia scholasticissima opiniosissima meraque somnia comminiscitur et prorsus ea ipsa, contra quae ego disputo. Ita ut, si vellem et ego peripateticari, uno flatu hos omnes eius pappos dispergerem diceremque illud magistri sui decretum : Petitio principii vicium est disputationis seu argumentationis. Sperabam enim quod ex Bibliis vel ecclesiasticis Patribus aut Canonibus contra me pugnaret. At ipse furfures et siliquas Scoti, Gabrielis caeterorumque Scholasticorum (quibus est ventrem refertissimus) mihi nunc demum neganti opponit' (Luther *Werke* ed. Weimar i 281-282).

This was a vigorous protest against the scholastic methods of conducting theological controversy.

In the latter part of 1518 Luther was assailed for his views on the ecclesiastical authority of the Pope by the official censor, Silvester Mazzolini, in a document which, in his reply, Luther calls 'Dialogus ille tuus satis superciliosus et plane totus Italicus et Thomisticus' (*ib.* 647). In his reply to what he calls the 'solae opiniones Divi Thomae' upon which Mazzolini rests his case, he refers him to St Augustine's answer to Jerome :

'Ego solis eis libris, qui Canonici appellantur, hunc honorem deferre didici, ut nullum scriptorem eorum errasse firmissime credam. Caeteros autem, quantalibet doctrina sanctitateque polleant, non ideo verum esse credo, quia illi sic senserunt,' etc. (*ib.* 647).

One phrase in this pronouncement was much more far-reaching than would appear at first sight. Luther here appeals not merely to the Bible but to the books he called Canonical as alone binding. As we shall see, this meant with him a very great qualification, since he had already begun to hold views about the Canon which were not those of the Church to which he still belonged, so that he was in effect appealing to a Rule of Faith hitherto unknown to and unrecognized by the Church.

We now reach the famous disputations which took place at

Leipzig in the summer of 1519 between Karlstadt and Eck and Luther and Eck respectively. In a letter written by Eck to Luther at this time, the former calls Karlstadt 'propugnator tuus', and he adds:

'Tu vero principalis existis qui haec dogmata per Germaniam seminasti . . . quasi convenit et te illuc venire et vel tua tueri vel nostra improbare' (Enders i 429: Barge i 140 note).

The discussion between Karlstadt and Eck preceded that with Luther, and commenced on the 27th of June, 1519. It was on the subject of Free Will. In his initiatory protestation Karlstadt makes an avowal shewing that he then deemed himself quite an orthodox churchman. His words are:

'Primo illud testamur et ubique testatum esse volumus, nusquam ab ecclesia catholica ad latum digitum nos velle discedere. Quod si huiusmodi quid deprehendatur, non dedita opera, sed humana inscitia elapsam iam nunc pro recantato haberi volumus. . . . Sacris autem scripturis hunc honorem impendimus: quod nihil sine his aut asserere aut praecipere volumus. In ceteris autem, quae non liquide hinc doceri possunt, solis ecclesiasticis primas damus' (O. Seitz *Der authentische Text der Leipziger Disputation*, Berlin 1903, p. 14).

What is perhaps more remarkable, considering that the discussion took place only a few months before Karlstadt's great work on the Canon was produced, is that Eck should have begun it with an appeal to a book presently pronounced to be apocryphal by Karlstadt.

'Et pro illo primo adduco textum sacrae scripturae adductum in defensione, conclusione 9 Eccl. [Sir.] xv [vv. 14-18],'

and that far from taking exception to its authority Karlstadt should then have accepted it as authoritative (*ib.* pp. 15, 16).

On the 4th of July a much more important discussion commenced at Leipzig between Eck and Luther (see Luther *Werke* ed. Weimar 1884, vol. ii p. 254 &c.). Luther begins his disputation by affirming his adherence to the protestation previously made by Karlstadt and Eck, thus:

'Protestationem utriusque egregii domini et Andree Carolstadii et Iohannis Ecckii amplector et sequor.'

But he continues:

'Hoc unum addo, quod pro reverentia summi Pontificis et Romane

Ecclesie libens hanc materiam non necessariam et mire invidiosam pretermissem, nisi per propositionem egregii d.d. Ioannis Ecckii in eam pertractus fuisset,' etc.

The discussion took place upon the following subjects: I, *De potestate immo de primatu Romani pontificis*; II, *De purgatorio*; III, *De indulgentiis*; IV, *De penitentia*.

On the 8th of July, when the subject of purgatory was being discussed, Luther somewhat abruptly said:

'Admitto et illud Machabeorum 2. [2 Macc. xii 45] Sancta est et salubris cogitatio pro defunctis exorare, etc. Sed hoc volo, quod in universa scriptura non habeatur memoria purgatorii, que posset stare in contentione et convincere: nam et liber Machabeorum, cum non sit in canone, pro fidelibus potens est, contra pertinaces nihil facit' (*ib.* p. 324).

Here, then, we have the first direct statement by a Reformer that a book hitherto received by the Church as Canonical, namely, the second of Maccabees, was not in the Canon, and was not to be quoted to prove a doctrinal point.

To Luther's statement just quoted Eck replied:

'De libris Machabeorum, quos dicit facere pro fidelibus, sed non esse in canone, et hoc, inquam, falsum est. quamvis enim apud Hebreos in canone non fuerint, tamen ecclesia recepit eos in canonem, ut pater domini patris Augustinus lib. de civitate dei testatur lib: 18. et sanctus Ipho in suis decretis constitutionem inserit, qua ecclesia libros illos in canonem recepit' (*ib.* p. 324):—

an argument which seems to me to appeal unassailably to all churchmen who base their position on primitive tradition.

Luther in turn replied:

'Primum quod egregius d. d. dicit, non ideo aliquid negandum esse de scriptura, quia pertinaces convinci non possint, optime et verissime dicit: sed loquor ego de his pertinacibus, qui nos nostra auctoritate et proprio iaculo confodere possunt. Evidens enim est, librum Machabeorum pertinere ad vetus testamentum: quando ergo sanctus Hieronymus canonem hebreum conscripserit et eos solos libros valere in contentione, qui de canone sunt, definiat sitque in hac sua sententia receptus, facile nostro telo verberabimur nisi fidelibus persuadeamus.

Secundo probat librum Machabeorum esse receptum in canonem: contendit ad equivocationem et facile concordabimur. Scio, quod ecclesia recipit hunc librum, et hoc dixi: sed non potest ecclesia plus tribuere auctoritatis aut firmitatis libro quam per seipsum habeat, sicut et ceterorum patrum opuscula approbat et recipit, sed non ideo con-

firmat aut meliora reddit. Transeo ergo ista, que in multis dicuntur canon et canon' (*ib.* p. 325).

Here we have the first statement by Luther of the criterion by which he deemed a book to be Canonical. According to this statement, such a book affirms its own authority and needs no other witness but itself.

The discussion was resumed on the following day, the 9th of July, by Eck, who, in regard to the equivocation alleged by Luther, says very truly :

'Quod vero divinatur canonis equivocationem, non patior, quoniam Augustinus in illo li: 18 de civitate dei eundem terminum maxime in puncto adversativo non potuit equivocare dicendo, quod non fuerit in canone apud Hebreos, sed apud ecclesiam. Deinde exploratum est, cum plura essent evangelia scripta, auctoritate ecclesie quatuor in canonem recepta, et sic libros Machabeorum receptos testatur prologus: tamen ab ecclesia inter divinorum voluminum annotantur historias' (*ib.* p. 326).

Eck goes on to say :

'Quia se fundat in hoc, quod purgatorium non sit in sacris literis expressum, contra quod est concilii Florentini decretum, quod et Greci abnegato errore assumpserunt.'

This appeal to the Council of Florence is to the decision of that Council on the subject of Purgatory, when the second book of Maccabees, ch. 12, was specially quoted. Thus we read in Mansi vol. xxxi supplement p. 1662, who prints the discussion and says of this matter :

'Declaratur primo ex veteri testamento in libro Machabeorum, ubi dicitur: Sancta et salubris est cogitatio pro defunctis exorare, ut a peccatis solvantur,' etc.

To return to Eck, however; a few paragraphs further on he again says :

'Quare nedum in libris Machabeorum, quod utique ecclesie sufficeret.'

To this Luther again replies :

'Quod canonem ego equivocaverim contra Augustinum, lib. 18. c. 26. coegit me divus Hieronymus, item Eusebius in historia ecclesiastica recensens et antiquorum auctoritates. ideo stat equivocatio, cum aliter Augustinus aliter Hieronymus de antiquioribus de canone sentiunt, et per consequens nullum robur argumenti in contentione relictum est. An prologus Hieronymi inter divina volumina libros Machabeorum enumeret, non memini.'

Here Luther seems entirely to throw over the authority of Jerome, and quotes him and Augustine against each other in a very unceremonious way; deducing from the process that neither of them has any authority to decide what is Canonical.

He presently goes on to say:

'Post hoc dicit, contra concilium Florentinum esse, quod purgatorium non sit in scriptura expressum. Respondeo: concilium non potest facere de scriptura esse, quod non est de scriptura natura sua, sicut nec ecclesia potuit facere Evangelia, etiamsi approbavit Evangelia' (*ib.* p. 329).

Again Eck replies:

'Tertio ad Augustinum dicit de libris Machabeorum, fortiorem opponendo beatum Hieronymum. At Hieronymus nullibi negat libros Machabeorum apud ecclesiam esse de canone bible, quin in prologo hoc constanter asserit, fuit annotatum inter divinorum voluminum historias, quare opusculis sanctorum patrum in can: Sancta Romana, 15. dis: non debuit equiparari. Cum vero ei opposuissem de concilio Florentino, respondet, concilium non posse facere aliquid esse de scriptura quod non sit, hoc quidem verum, sed quid hoc est? Concilium tam laudabile tanta temeritate contaminare, ut hoc absurdum decernat. Cum vero doctissimi fuerint in eo concilio viri, malo credere concilio quod a spiritu sancto regitur quam domino Luthero, non quod concilium faciat aliquid de scriptura quod non sit, sed quod credam concilium melius habere sensum et intelligentiam scripturarum decernendo hoc esse de scriptura quod in scriptura reperitur . . . propter peccata venialia et propter peccata mortalia, tamen contrita, in purgatorio puniuntur, quod ex Machabeis accipimus, dum inquit: Sancta et salubris est ergo cogitatio pro defunctis exorare, ut a peccatis solvantur. hi enim, qui occisi fuerant et pro quibus Iudas Machabeus oblationes fecit, peccaverant mortaliter propter spolia idolorum, quamvis credantur penitus in ipsa cede, iuxta glossam ordinariam ibidem. et illud psalmi: Cum occideret eos, querebant eo' (*ib.* pp. 335, 336).

Luther again replies, saying:

'Ad aliud, de canone librorum, ubi, nixus Hieronymi et concilii Florentini auctoritate, mavult credere concilio quod a Spiritu sancto regitur quam mihi, ei gratias ago. Pie enim sapit: nunquam volui mihi credi. sed respondeo breviter. conciliet ipse primum Hieronymum sibi, qui in prologo galeato Machabeorum libros et nonnullos alios manifeste inter Apocrypha recenset, qua auctoritate fit, ut mihi liber Machabeorum sit gratus et probatus, sed contentiosis pateat ad repulsam.'

Presently the discussion turned on Indulgences, when Eck quoted in favour of them from the same book :

‘ Non semper pro culpa sed etiam pro pena culpe debita usurpatur, sicut apud Machabeos, ut a peccatis solvantur (2 Macc. xii 46), quod de culpa nequit intelligi mortali, sed de pena culpe debita ’ (*ib.* p. 350).

In his answer, Luther on this occasion does not raise any question about the validity of the book, but has an effective reply on the substantive issue. He says :

‘ Transeo illud, quod remissionem peccatorum intelligit remissionem penarum, cum sepe peccatum pro pena accipiat, Macch. xii. Ego non sepe invenio peccatum pro pena accipi, nisi forte ubi de Christo scribitur, quod peccata nostra ipse portavit, quod tamen et ipsum non ausim dicere simpliciter pro pena accipi ’ (*ib.* p. 355).

It seems to me that in regard to the Canon and what constitutes Biblical authority Luther had much the worst of this discussion, in which Eck falls back upon a very reasonable support, namely, the authority and tradition of the Church, while Luther offers no definite criterion, quoting Jerome when he wishes to outflank Augustine, but falling back in substance upon subjective arguments, which in such a matter are useless as well as dangerous.

It is an interesting fact that earlier in the same year in which this disputation took place, Luther published a small tract entitled *Eine kurze Unterweisung, wie man beichten soll*. As an appendix to this tract, he published a translation of the Prayer of Manasses with the heading *Des Konygs Manasses gebeth zu der beicht ser dienstlich*, and in the body of the tract, after quoting Ps. xxv 11, he goes on to say :

‘ . . . wie denn des menicklich weyter erinnerung ausz des konigs Manasses tzu Juda gebeth nemen mag. Welches gebeth, weil es ser wol tzu der beicht dient, mag es ein utslichs christlichs mensch vor seiner beicht sprechen.’

It is strange that among Luther's very earliest Bible translations should be this prayer, which has been excluded from the canon by Roman Catholics and Protestants alike, and, as I believe, on quite inadequate grounds.

Meanwhile, the first of the quarrels which marked Luther's intercourse with some of his early friends who, like himself, were rebelling against Rome, began to break out at Wittenberg ; and

it was about a very critical matter, namely, the canonical authority of certain books. We can only gather by inference what took place, but it would seem that Luther, in his lectures to the students, argued with great freedom of language that certain books, especially some New Testament books, were not to be treated as authoritative, although hitherto universally received as such, and this was especially the case with the Epistle of St James.

Luther's great doctrinal anchor was of course an exaggerated appeal to Justification by Faith and Faith alone, and in order to meet the strong pronouncement on the other side of St James's Epistle on the subject, he did not scruple to pour contempt on that book. Karlstadt, who devoted the summer term of 1520 to lecturing on the same Epistle, apparently maintained its canonicity in vigorous language, and there arose a feud and rivalry which extended to their respective students. During the year 1520 (perhaps in the early part of that year) Luther published a tract entitled *De captivitate babylonica ecclesiae*, in which, speaking of James v 14 in regard to the sacrament of Extreme Unction he uses the words :

'Omitto enim, quod hanc Epistolam non esse Apostoli Iacobi nec apostolico spiritu dignam multi valde probabiliter asserant, licet consuetudine auctoritatem, cuiuscunque sit, obtinuerit. Tamen si etiam esset Apostoli Iacobi, dicerem, non licere Apostolum sua auctoritate sacramentum instituere' (Luther *Werke*, Weimar, vi 568).

This attitude of Luther meant his adoption of the most extreme theories of individual private judgement in deciding upon the canonicity of a Bible book. It in fact reduced the whole matter to a mere subjective question of personal caprice and choice, in which any good Christian might decide the most critical of all questions by internal illumination alone. It apparently aroused the animosity and dread of Karlstadt, who had a more logical mind and who saw that by such a process all authority would eventually be dissolved away. Everybody must in fact either become an infallible Pope to himself or else accept Luther as an infallible Pope. This was apparently (although it has not been generally noticed) the motive Karlstadt had for writing his very remarkable work on the Canon which appeared in the course of the year 1520, and was the first attempt to deal with the problem in modern times in a scientific way. In

this work he makes a very pointed attack on Luther, although he does not mention him by name. As the passage is historic, marking a crisis in the history of the Canon as viewed by the Continental Reformers, and hardly known in England, I propose to give it at length:—

‘At si scriptores tot historiarum sunt incerti et nos hodie latent, nihil tamen minus reputantur, quam apocryphii, qui fit, quod nonnulli pronuntiant apocryphas Epistolas, quarum autores ignorantur? Hodie huius rei specie, ni fallor, propter Carolstadium, male Iacobus audit; conatus eius, uti magis devotus quam religiosus et quam veridicus, laceratur, quicumque is Iacobus fuerit, cuius epistola tanquam catholica circumfertur. Hoc certum est, ea, quae in illa scribuntur epistola, in libris (praeter omnem recusationem) canonicis scribi, vel saltem inibi ut elici aut confirmari posse. Reiciuntur autem dicta Iacobi, quia ipse forsitan eum explanandum susceperam, itaque cum interpretae, sermo veteribus admodum acceptus commutatur; discipulis caeco praeceptorum amore raptis, totam Iacobi epistolam contemnentibus, qui existimant iure lacerandum quod fortasse nonnullorum procacitas dilacerat. Pervenerunt plerique (sibi sua persuasionem magni) in eam insaniam, ut epistolam illam Hieronymo inscriberent, in eam dementia (nimio praeceptorum honore) ducti, magnus videri vult, qui dixit eam epistolam Hieronymi non Iacobi fuisse, qua tamen facetia homo ridiculus (quantum gravitatem simulet) imprudens ostendit, quam accurate Hieronymi gustaverit stylum, quot denique lineas in eo traxerit. Nenias illius boni sacerdotis, veteris amicitiae nostrae discidia aliquamdiu sum passus, neque iam amicitiam bene conservatam ledere conabar neque carissimis alioqui atque eruditissimis quicquam (quod eos male habeat) vel obflare cupio. Verum non possum non diluere frivola illius presbiteri argumenta, quibus eruditam Iacobi epistolam obruit, odio fortasse mei incensus; allegat phrasim clemens ille dominus, rumpar si uspiam Iacobi Apostoli stylum, quantum ad orationis pertinet structuram, legit; demus autem esse Iacobi sed non Apostoli. Licuit ideo illi auditores fastidiis Iacobinae Epistolae inflammare? atque ab auditorio subtrahere? Iam ego discipulos alloquar. Cur quaeso in Iacobi epistola fastiditis addiscere, quod in Evangelicis, quod in Apostolicis, quod in Mosaicis, quod in prophetis libris non audetis fastidire? Contemptusne fuerit (mulctandus paenitudine) an Christiana religio, velle in Iacobo obiiicere, ab ecclesiis recepto, quod aliis in codicibus colligere deberes? Praeterea si, Hieronymo duce, de Iacobo coepistis dubitare, fueritne Iacobus is Apostolus? cur eundem non emulamini duce, dum affirmat eandem illius epistolam autoritatis dignitatem usu et vetustate commeruisse? et cum eam dicit ab apocryphia suspitione

vindicatam antiquitas? Cur adeo sumus in abiiciendos autores propensi, quos maiores nostri coluerunt, et quos multis nominibus defendere possumus, et quos denique dumtaxat titulo respuimus, et aliis in voluminibus aliaque sub specie cohonestamus? Incertum esse fateor Iacobum Epistolae scriptorem, at non itidem obscuram epistolae dignitatem concedo. Porro, si eatenus incerti nomen auctoris perturbat, cur non epistolam ad Hebraeos doctissimam (dato repudii libello) relegatis? nimirum cum par sit causa utramque reiiciendi. Deinceps quantum pertinet ad historiae scriptionem, dubitant Hebraei, quisnam Mosai excepit libros, non tamen uspiam aliquis fuit ausus ambigere librorum autoritate. Postremo, si Iudaeis permittitis, quod, in recipiendo, libros comprobarunt, cur tantundem iuris recusatis ecclesiae Christi dare, quando Ecclesia non sit minor quam synagoga? Nisi nescio quid capiat ausim dicere: si Evangelicas Matthaei literas interpretandas accepissem, eandem iniuriam passas fuisse propter Carolstadii quia dubitatur a pluribus an Chaldaeo an Hebraico sermone fuerint scriptae. Hoc minime dico, quod velim quempiam retaliare aut latam contumeliam in autores regerere, sed eo, deum testor, animo quod mea prorsus simplicitate aliter sentire de receptis literis non quaeo, nisi quod nos ad sui custodiam urgeant. Neque tamen eandem autoritatem eis libris de quorum autoribus disceptatur, et quorum certos autores scimus, concesserim, sed in sacra autoritatis et dignitatis aula primas, secundas et tertias invenio et posteriores velim superioribus caedere, primas autem occupantibus, imperii ius in singulos habere. Neque tamen tertias qui possident, extra dignitatis domum proscribere.

This remarkable pronouncement, as I have said, is contained in a remarkable work, namely Karlstadt's treatise on the Bible Canon, which Credner has shewn was published in August, 1520. It was entitled *De Canonicis Scripturis Libellus*. It is now extremely scarce. A copy does not exist in the British Museum except as a reprint in an appendix to Credner's work on the Canon. Contemporaneously with it, Karlstadt published a small epitome of it in the vernacular which was entitled *Welche Bucher biblisch seint. Disses Buchlein leret unterscheyd zwueschen biblischen Buchern und unbiblischen, darinnen viel geyrret haben und noch yrrren. Dartzu weisset das Buchlin, welcher Bucher in der Biblien erstlich seint zu lesen*. The important work, above mentioned, he dedicates *eminenti viro D. Guolphgango Kuchio*, who was the Priest of Joachimsthal, and in the dedication he tells him he proposes to explain to him about the Catholic scriptures:—

‘Nempe quod sunt quaedam apta contioni, sed concertationi non

admodum congrua, nonnulla sola vetustate meruerunt auctoritatem, quibus, nisi fallor, iure praeferemus, quae et antiquitate et auctoritate invaluerunt, quorum ordinem atque dignitatem, quantum nunc sinunt negotia, bis humeris incumbentia, recensebo.'

In this work Karlstadt emphasizes and enlarges upon the views of Scripture which he had set out in his thesis two years before.

It begins with a paragraph fitly headed *Qualis sit scripturae maiestas*, and proceeds in what is in part a paraphrase of Augustine to pronounce a eulogium upon the Bible as the most incomparable of all works, and speaks of it in hyperbolic language as :

'Divina lex una et sola extra omnem erroris suspensionem posita, ceteras universas in suam ditionem trahit, aut omnino perdit si renituntur';

and he proceeds in biting terms to denounce those who mingled human traditions with it :

'Quid hic pontificibus, quid nonnullis doctoribus dicam, qui farinas suas sacris libris immiscuerunt, qui repurgatum triticum, qui casta et emuncta domini eloquia suis doctrinis, suis traditionibus foedaverunt?'

He then turns to those who claimed that while the Bible was excellent it did not nevertheless contain all things necessary for salvation, and thus reports their contention :

'Bone Deus, bona datis verba, atque tandem persuadebitis, non omnes praeceptiones (ad vitam perpetuam indispensandam) necessarias, in divina lege conscriptas, atque consequenter non esse sufficientem legem divinam.'

He denounces the notion that the decrees of God as to the duty of man need to be supplemented and sophisticated by human agencies, some of which had distorted it, while others had reduced religion to formalism :

'Ore et labiis deum colit, corde longius amotus.'

He concludes therefore :

'Scripturam sanctam esse fortissimam omnium, quoniam traditiones hominum sapientium, etiam eorum, qui leges colendi et timendi Dei constituunt . . perdit . . Haec vis, hi aculei, hoc robur, hic valor literarum, haec illarum veritas et inconcussa maiestas ut solis eis Christianus vacet et invigilet.'

And he goes on severely to blame those who pronounced people to be heretics and worthy to be burnt in the fire for disobeying (not the Scripture) but the works of the schoolmen :

'Franciscani Alexandrum de Hales ob doctrinam, Scotum ob ingenii subtilitatem, Bonaventuram ob sanctimoniam ad coelum tollunt';

and he deems Augustine to have been fortunate in having lived so long before, or he would certainly have been himself treated as a heretic. He goes further, and says of what he calls ~~the~~ very pillars of the Church:

'In Augustino, in Hieronymo, in Ambrosio, in Gregorio, in Cyrillo, in Chrysostomo et in caeteris scriptoribus, multa comperimus, quod dubitamus, plura videmus obeliscis expungenda, non pauca itidem bene consulenda.'

He denies that the right interpretation of Scripture is limited to priests, bishops, or pontiffs, and defines his position in a remarkable sentence, considering the year when it was published:

'Addidi quoque ad omnes interpretationes scripturae pertinere. Ita sic intellectum volo, quod omnes quibus dominus deus illud munus interpretandae scripturae largitur, possunt scripturam interpretari, sive sit laicus, sive clericus, sive prophanus, sive sacer.'

Karlstadt then proceeds to argue, chiefly basing his view on that of Augustine, that Councils were superior to popes and other bishops:

'Sequitur ex Augustino similiter, quod Concilium est supra singulos Episcopos et principes, supraque Romanum Pontificem et imperatorem'; and inasmuch as provincial Councils can err, and be corrected by plenary, general or universal Councils, and similarly since later general Councils can correct earlier ones, as Augustine affirms, it follows, to use Karlstadt's words:

'Concilium plenum aberrare posse, et quod non omnia spiritus sanctus fuerit elocutus, et quod consulto patiat deus interdum deviare plenum concilium';

and he consequently concludes that the Sacred Scriptures are superior to all Bishops and all Councils. He then argues at more length that ancient and continuous custom and tradition must similarly give way to the dicta of the Bible. His words are:

'His itaque satis constat quomodo omnes omnium Ecclesiarum consuetudines sacra scriptura demolitur.'

Lastly, he contends that the very prayers of the Church, however venerable, must conform to Scripture or be discarded.

'Nulla etiam Ecclesiae precula, etiamsi est vetustissima et per multa Monachorum labia profecta, digna fuerit usa, quae sacris literis discrepat.'

Having thus placed the Bible at the very source of all authority in theological discussion, as he had in fact done in his theses, and as he had been followed in doing by Luther, he proceeds to analyse the authority of the several Bible books, and for the first time in modern days to examine in detail and scientifically the fundamental question of what ought to constitute canonical authority in a book. In his initial postulate as to Canonicity, it is probable that, like Luther and others, Karlstadt was influenced very largely by Reuchlin, who, following St Jerome, deemed the Hebrew Old Testament to be the primitive verity. It is very probable that Reuchlin's view on the question extended not merely to the text but to the Canon, although his professed submission to the Church in all things prevented him from maintaining publicly the cause of the Hebrew Canon against that accepted by the Church. Karlstadt had no such scruples, and he avowedly accepted the Hebrew Canon as alone authoritative, just as we have seen that Luther did. Karlstadt's words are:

'Apud Hebraeos quidam conservabatur Canon, in quo canonici libri habebantur, quibus indubitam fidem debemus.'

This being his fundamental position, he next turns to the definition and connotation of the term Apocrypha, which, like Luther, he uses in a different sense from that afterwards prevailing: *αποκρυφος* or *αποκρυφιος* means, he affirms, that which is concealed or occult, and whose origin is unknown (*'dicitur valde latens et occultus, cuius origo ignoratur'*); and he continues:

'Dicitur autem liber occultus, cuius authorem ignoramus et quem hominum consensus e librorum familia submovit. Nam libri capiunt auctoritatem vel ab ipsis autoribus, vel ab usu.'

Karlstadt, like others, had a difficulty in equating the etymological meaning of the word with its theological sense, and he sharply denies that a book is to be deemed apocryphal, as Jerome seems to say, when its author is unknown, since that would imply that a book like the Epistle to the Hebrews was apocryphal.

'Neque valeo', he says, *'Hieronymi commune dictum dissimulare dicentis, quod Apocrypha nescit Ecclesia, id est; Ecclesia respuit occulta et latentia vel volumina vel documenta. Hoc si verum est,*

necessum est nos infitiari omnes libros apocryphos esse, de quorum auctoribus ambigitur; quoniam quidem conspicuum fuerit, dubitatur cuius sit Epistola ad Hebraeos, quae tamen, ut est doctissima, omnibus Christianorum ecclesiis usu venit, atque omnium consensu probatur;

and he puts Jerome on the horns of a dilemma when he says:

'Aut falsum fatebimur, Ecclesiam apocrypha nescire; aut anonymo esse apocryphos negabimus; aut ecclesiam eis uti, quibus universi videntibus utitur. Igitur Epistolam incerti auctoris et usus et vetustas approbare potest, tametsi ignoratur eius autor. Super hac re Hieronymus adeo perplexe scripsisse visus est, ut etiam doctissimus vix queat extricare duo haec: Ecclesia nescit apocrypha, et multi libri, quorum nescimus autores, usu et vetustate auctoritatem meruerunt. Proinde nihil ex definito hic contendo, sed apocryphorum librorum iudicium sub tuum iudicium posueram.'

In this matter of the Apocrypha he prefers to follow Augustine (whose pronouncement is not, however, too clear in the matter). Karlstadt says himself:

'Neque nomen auctoris firmum librum, neque incertus autor Apocryphum libellum facit, sed oportet quod illum Canon habeat, hunc vero respuat. Haec meo iudicio videtur August. opinari, si modo passim et accurate legatur. Iccirco canonicum codicem dicemus, quem inter receptos libros connumeratum spectamus.'

Having thus defined his position on two main factors of the problem, Karlstadt proceeds to criticize Augustine's theory of the Canon, and, as Barge says, he was the first among the reformers to question the authority of that Father. His difference with Augustine arose, of course, in respect of whether the early Christian Canon which Augustine accepted, or the Hebrew Canon maintained by Jerome and supported by Karlstadt, was the authoritative one. With this contention in view, he proceeds to criticize Augustine's Canon.

Augustine, in enumerating the Old Testament books of Moses, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, four books of Kings, and two of Paralipomena, says of the last:

'Non consequentibus sed quasi a latere adiunctis simulque pergentibus.'

He then goes on to say:

'Sunt aliae tanquam ex diverso ordine, quae neque huic ordini neque inter se connectuntur, sicut est Iob et Thobias, Hester et Iudith,

Machabaeorum libri duo et Esdras duo, qui magis subsequi videntur ordinatam illam historiam, usque ad regnorum vel paralipomenon terminatam.'

From these words Karlstadt seems to deduce the quite unwarranted conclusion that Augustine in some way made a distinction in canonical authority between these books (which he styles *secundus ordo*) and those before cited; whereas he merely pointed out the disconnexion of their narrative compared with the continuous historical story as told in the previous books. Inspired by his views on the Hebrew Canon, Karlstadt strongly objects to Augustine's joining Job with the other books in his second class, and continues:

'Ipse autem viderit Augustinus, si tantum ius Tobiae, Iudith et Machabaeorum codicibus concedere potuit, verum an censoria virgula praenotari debeant, ex iis, quae Hieronymo censore adiciemus, perspicitur, neque silendum puto, hodie nostris in libris eiusmodi autores seiunctos esse, et ab hoc ordine submotos, nempe quod omnium veterum postremus est Machabaeorum.'

He then says:

'Esdrae vero duos libros addunt, id quod nescio si licuerit. Esdras filius Saraie, filii Helchie, Neemias filius Helchie, duos libros occupant. Quamquam fortasse dictio sermonis unum scriptorem ostendit, duo tamen libri diversorumque existimantur Quod certe non assequor cogitatu, quia ipse Augustinus tantum duos esse Esdrae libros fassus est, itaque quoniam caeteri duo apocryphii censentur, me latet qui fecerit, ut tercia libri sensum ascisceret.'

It is clear that Karlstadt did not understand that what Augustine meant were the books styled Esdras A and B in the Greek manuscripts, that is to say, the so-called apocryphal Esdras I of our Bibles and the joint books of Ezra-Nehemiah, possibly first separated for the Christians by Jerome. Karlstadt then continues:

'De Machabaeorum libris idem Augustinus eodem capitulo sic iudicat: "Machabaeorum libros non Iudaei, sed Ecclesia pro canonicis habet" quod sane dubiosum fuerit.'

Here we see, especially in the concluding phrase, how far from Augustine's standpoint Karlstadt's attachment to the Jewish Canon had led him, especially in the last clause, where he objects to Augustine's appeal from the Hebrew Canon to the Canon of the Church as illegitimate.

Turning to the third class of books in which Augustine puts all the rest, namely the Prophets, he questions that Father's statement about the Psalms, as contained in book xvii, ch. 14, of the *Civitate Dei*. Augustine there says that the Psalms of David are 150 in number, of which, he adds, some will have it that only those which bear his name are really David's, while others deem that only those specially entitled *ipsius David*, and not the rest styled *ipsi David*, belong to him. To such writers Augustine has replied:

'Quae opinio voce Evangelica Salvatoris ipsius refutatur, ubi ait, quod ipse David in Spiritu Christum dixerit esse suum dominum, quoniam psalmus centesimus nonus sic incipit. . . . Et certe idem psalmus non habet in titulo: ipsius David sed ipsi David sicut plurimi.'

To this Karlstadt answers:

'Mihi autem credibilius videntur existimare, qui omnes centum quinquaginta psalmos eius operi tribuunt, eumque aliquos praenotasse etiam nominibus aliorum, aliquid, quod ad rem pertineat, figurantibus, caeteros autem nullius hominis nomen in titulis habere voluisse, sicut ei varietatis huius dispositionem quamvis latebrosam, non tamen inanem dominus inspiravit. Nec movere debet, ad hoc non credendum, quod nonnullorum nomina prophetarum, qui longe post David regis tempora fuerunt, quibusdam psalmis in eo libro leguntur inscripta, et quae ibi dicuntur, velut ab eis dici videntur. Neque enim non potuit propheticus spiritus prophetanti regi David haec etiam futurorum prophetarum nomina revelare, ut rex aliquid, quod eorum persone conveniret, prophetice cantaret, sicut rex Iosias exorturus et regnaturus post annos amplius quam trecentos cuidam prophetae, qui etiam facta eius futura praedixit, cum suo nomine revelatus est.'

This is a remarkable sample of Biblical criticism, considering the date at which it was published, and clearly forestalls methods of a much later time.

Augustine, having attributed the three books of Proverbs, Canticles, and Ecclesiastes to Solomon, goes on to say that Ecclesiasticus and Wisdom were commonly assigned to him from their style. Although the more learned did not admit this, yet, he continues:

'In auctoritatem maxime occidentalis recepit ecclesia. In libro Sapientiae passio Christi apertissime prophetatur. . . . In Ecclesiastico fides gentium futura praedicatur.'

Upon this phrase Karlstadt comments:—

‘Equidem aut urgeor eo, quod occidentali Ecclesiae tam eminentem auctoritatem tribuerit, ut soli liceat canonicos libros facere: Porro si Sapiaientia et Ecclesiasticus nondum ab orientali Ecclesia sunt recepti, non sunt Catholici, id est non sunt universales, ab omnibus scilicet ecclesiis accepti. Deinceps in libro Retractionum secundo c. 4, constanter negat Ihesum filium Sirach autorem sapientiae. Sapientiae liber fuit quondam ab inimicis Augustini, quasi parum canonicus, repulsus, quibus quid eius rei gratia responderit adnotare malui.’

He then quotes from Augustine's *liber de praedestinatione Sanctorum* xiv:

‘Fratres istos ita respuisse (viz. Wisd. iv 11) dixistis, tanquam de libro non canonico adhibitum, quasi excepta illius libri attestatione, res ipsa non sit clara. . . . Quae tamen cum ita sit non debuit repudiari sententia libri, qui meruit in Ecclesia Christi de gradu electorum Ecclesiae Christi, tam longa annositate recitari et ab omnibus Christianis, ab Episcopis usque ad extremos laicos fideles, penitentes catechumenos cum veneratione divinae auctoritatis audiri. . . . Sed qui sententiis tractatorum instrui volunt, oportet ut istum librum Sapientiae omnibus tractatoribus anteposuerint, quoniam sibi anteposuerunt proximi Apostolorum egregii tractatores, qui eum testem adhibentes, nihil se adhibere nisi divinum testimonium crediderunt.’

To this Karlstadt replies:

‘Haec ille, quibus, opinor, praecipue docet, ne scientes prophana testimonia, tanquam divina assumamus Vae et iterum vae illis, qui per industriam non sacra pro sanctis, inepta pro aptis adferunt, Devincendi hostis causa; qui, quicquid dixerint, hoc legem dicendi putant nec scire dignantur, quid prophetae quid Apostoli senserint, sed ad suum sensum incongrua aptant testimonia, quasi non sit sacrilegium depravare sententias et ad suam voluntatem repugnantem scripturam trahere. Deinde tantae fortitudinis Sapientiae librum existimat, quod olim doctorum ecclesiae cervices eo comprimantur. Postea (a fine rependo) ex quotidiano et veteri usu Sapientiae codicem probavit. . . . Nam si perpetuus et longevus ecclesiae clamor ususque posset exercitas in ecclesia sententias confirmare, omnium pessime firmarentur praeces. Nam quidem eis, quum vix detergendo podici convenirent, et oculos et aures feriunt et spiritum confricant. Absit igitur ut ex ea et admodum frivola defensione Sapientiae codex sit defensio et in Canonem consumptus. At illud impense sapientiam canonizat, quod ea continet, quae in literis reliquis (citra omnem controversiam canonicis) continentur, quapropter addidit non semel ista verba. Quasi et excepta

illius libri contestatione, res ipsa non clareat ex aliis dei testimoniis, quam volumus docere.'

He then goes on to quote Jerome's *Tract. advers. Pelag.* lib. i, where he says :

'Ac ne forte volumini sapientiae contradicas, audi Apostolum Evangelica clangentem tuba';

and adds :

'Hic manifeste negat canonicum esse sapientiae volumen, dicitque vulgo Salomonis inscribi et Ihesu filii Sirach; consequitur ergo, quod est et incerti auctoris et non canonicum';

and he scouts the notion of quoting Ecclesiasticus and Wisdom against Moses or Christ or the Apostles, and concludes :

'Valent igitur sapientiae dicta in exercitu posita, etiamsi velut singula et seiuncta quorundam haereticorum colla non auxerint. Id autem quod nunc in Ecclesiastico et Sapientia duxi iudicandum, idem de reliquis libris obscure canonicis opinor custodiendum.'

Here again he is all through championing the Hebrew Canon.

Having thus discarded the guidance of Augustine in favour of the Hebrew Canonical Scriptures, Karlstadt turns to Jerome, who did accept the Hebrew Canon and its division into the Law, the Prophets, and the Hagiographa. He points out, however, the inconsistencies in which Jerome is himself entangled by his adherence to Church authority. Jerome had two main criteria of canonicity. Karlstadt states his position thus :

'Ultimo dicit Hieronymus, hoc prologo (i. e. the *Prologus Galeatus*) scire debemus, quicquid extra hos libros est, apocryphum esse. Hoc palam fatetur hic caeleberrimus scriptor quod prius coniectura assequeretur, scilicet non sequi protinus: Hic liber est certi auctoris, igitur non apocryphus; item isthic liber est auctori incerto inscriptus, ergo est apocryphus; quoniam in manifesto est, librum Thobiae et Iudith et Machabaeorum certorum auctorum esse, non tamen canonici, sed apocryphi censentur.

Secundum Hieronymi sententiam censebimus apocryphum unumquemque librum veteris testamenti in prioribus non numeratum. Ergo est apocryphus: Sapientiae liber, item Ecclesiastici, item Baruch, item Iudith, item Thobiae, item Machabaeorum. Hoc die lucide confitetur Hieronymus.'

To these criteria of Jerome, Karlstadt replies :

'Nunc autem, ut de meo quiddam adiitiam, constat incertitudinem auctoris non facere apocrypha scripta, nec certum autorem reddere

canonicas scripturas, sed quod solus canon libros (quos respuit) apocryphos facit, sive habeant autores et nomina sive non. Addamus multos libros certos esse, quantum ad rem gestam pertinet, verum quantum ad enarratorem rei transactae spectat, de multis canonicis literis ambigenter possumus loqui.'

He then cites and discusses at some length the authorship of the five books of Moses. He denies that Moses was their author, and adduces very similar arguments to those with which modern writers have made us familiar.

Nor will he allow that Ezra was their author either, and adds, 'ex iis autem nunc adductis autorem historiae Mosaicae scriptorem incertum esse et latentem probavi, neque inter Iudaeos convenire.' Nor do we know, he says, who wrote the books of Judges, Samuel, or Kings.

Karlstadt then turns to the second criterion of Jerome and puts together some contradictory statements in which he is entangled. Thus Jerome claims that only the books enumerated in his *Prologus Galeatus* are to be deemed canonical. These include only the books accepted by the Jews, excluding all others as apocryphal. On the other hand he declares that the Church does not recognize apocryphal books, 'apocrypha nescit Ecclesia' (Preface to Chronicles). The Church, however, admits such books as Judith, Tobias, Wisdom, &c., &c., into its Canon. Upon this palpable contradiction Karlstadt dilates with considerable point,—

'Vellem', he says, 'hac de re magis audire, quam loqui. Conspicuum enim est, quam se Hieronymus tricus implicit. Audimus item, quoties librorum (quos canon complectitur) in Ecclesia concinnantur testimonia. Ecclesia ergo apocryphos non modo scire sed etiam approbare usu convincitur, nisi ita dicatur, quod Ecclesia eiusmodi libros ad concertationem et pugnam non aptat.'

To the plea that although accepted by the Church for edification they were not accepted as canonical and to be used in controversy (which Jerome affirms especially of the books of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus), Karlstadt replies that in his controversy with the Pelagians he quotes the authority of Wisdom against them.

This quotation occurs in Jerome's work *adversus Pelagianos* lib. i. 33, where he adds, 'Ac ne forte huic volumini contradicas

audi Apostolum.' This phrase virtually challenges the Pelagians to accept the quotation in question or proclaim themselves heretics, and Karlstadt neatly asks whether, according to Jerome, 'haereticus pronuntiari vel possit vel debeat, qui solis Tobiae, Iudith, Sapientiae, Ecclesiastici et Machabaeorum aculeis ferientibus nihil caedit.'

Having thus discarded the guidance of Augustine and Jerome, Karlstadt proceeds to set out his own theory of the Canon. As I have said, he accepts the Jewish Canon of the Old Testament intact, and in this follows Jerome in his *Prologus Galeatus*. He nowhere, however, justifies or tries to justify this very arbitrary choice against the continuous tradition of the Christian Church in east and west, but like Jerome takes it for granted that the Jews must have been right and the early Christians wrong.

Having arbitrarily accepted the Jewish Canon against the Christian one, he goes on to classify the Bible books accepted by the Jews, in a fashion very like that followed by them. In the first class, *primus ordo canonis*, he puts the five books of Moses, to which they gave a special sanctity, and which, like them, he calls 'the Thora' or the Law.

In the next class, the *secundus ordo canonis* (answering to the Prophets among the Jews), he puts Joshua, Judges, Ruth, the four books of Kings, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, and with a certain hesitation, Daniel; and, lastly, the twelve lesser prophets. Daniel seems to embarrass him, but he finally concludes by putting him among the prophetic books. He says of the book:

'Hic ego novitate teneor, hic defixus cogitatione moror, hic omni circumspicio: Danielelem autem quem Hieronymus philistorum, id est cognoscendi cupidum, quia vir desyderiorum dicitur, Daniel 9, nusquam reperio inter prophetas.'

He then goes on to point out that Jerome is inconsistent in his treatment of Daniel. 'Nempe,' he says, 'interdum inter agiographos, non prophetas eum censet, nonnunquam vero dicit Danielelem inter quatuor prophetas extremum esse.' He also points out how Augustine and Jerome are at issue in regard to the so-called additions to Daniel and their authority, and he does not mince his phrases:

'Illud autem operae pretium arbitror, ut miremur, ne dicam, miremur fraterculorum superstitiosam reverentiam, quorum ductu pro

certis incerta, pro receptis apocrypha, pro laudatis deridenda multos iam annos, velut leges, consecramur. Nam irrisionem meretur is, qui hebraeorum canonem sese amplecti iactat, quique nolit sic latum quidem unguem a libris veteris legis discedere, et ea ipsa, quae non modo non habent hebraei sed repudiant, et quasi ronchis eiiciunt, complectitur atque defendit. Nemo non scit, quot contentionibus trium puerorum cantum sacerdotes insibilant, quem tamen hebraeorum volumina neque continent neque admittunt; fateamur universa vera esse, legem tamen habemus veterem suis septis conclusam, cui nec iota fuerit vel adiiciendum, vel detrahendum, vel immutandum. Quamlibet autem pia fuerint, puerorum cantica apud Iudaeos non habentur, atque sic non parva pars capitis tertii Danielis velut extranea a canonicis scripturis seiungitur. Duo similiter extrema capita Danielis tanquam fictitiae fabulae sunt repulsae. Caeterum ut brevior sim, consecutum me reor illam tertii capitis partem: et ambulabant in medio flammae etc., atque ultima duo capita prorsus apocrypha fuisse, atque eiusmodi hodie aestimanda.'

In his third class, *tertius ordo canonis*, he puts what he calls the agiographi, 'hoc est eos sanctos scriptores, quos in canonis inferiori parte digessere.' Here again, he follows his Jewish guides, from whom he also takes over the term Hagiographa. They comprise Job, Psalms, the three books of Solomon, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, the two books of Chronicles, and Esdras (which, he says, among the Greeks and Latins was divided into two books, Ezra and Nehemiah), and he adds:

'Nec apocryphorum tertii et quarti libri somniis delectetur, quia et apud Hebraeos Esdrae et Neemiae sermo in unum volumen coartatur. Et quae non habentur apud illos, nec de viginti quatuor senioribus sunt, procul abiicienda. Esdra hebraicis literis sed chaldaeo sermone conscriptus.'

Then follows 'Hester' of which he says:

'Nonum Hester in ecclesiae typo populum liberat a periculo. Librum eius variis translatoribus constat esse vitiatum in quo sunt addita, quae ex tempore dici potuerunt. Ideo cavendum ne consarcinata verba, velut ipsas canonicas literas, consectoris, circumspicenter et cum delectu contemplare.'

This completes his list of the twenty-two books of the Old Testament, contained in the Jewish Canon, and which was determined among them by the number of letters in the Jewish alphabet.

In regard to the Canon as he accepted it from the Jews, Karlstadt in fact made no innovations, but was perfectly consistent.

He then turns to the books of the Old Testament received by the Church as Canonical, which he rejects from the Canon as not being accepted by the Jews. These he divides in his own fashion into two classes, of which he gives the following lists, with the glosses attached:

Wisdom.	{	These are <i>apocryphi</i> , he says, i.e. outside the Hebrew Canon, nevertheless <i>agiographi</i> (' <i>Hi sunt apocryphi, i.e. extra canonem hebraeorum, tamen agiographi</i> ').
Ecclesiasticus.		
Judith.		
Tobias.		
Two books of Maccabees.		
The two later books of Esdras.	{	These books are plainly apocryphal (' <i>Hi sunt plane apocryphi, virgis censoris animadvertendi</i> ').
Baruch.		
The Prayer of Manasses.		
A large part of the third chapter of Daniel.		
The two last chapters of Daniel.		

Of this last he says:

'Magnum inter istos libros discrimen est. Nam Iudaei libros plane apocryphos irrisu et lusione insartunt, eosque sic contempti abiciunt.'

Of the Prayer of Manasses he says: 'nec est in Hebraeo neque de textu Bibliorum', and he proceeds to give some examples of what he deems a contradiction between its statements and those of other biblical books.

Whence he concludes:

'Ideo oratio sane suspitiosa. Porro demus multa bona in ea contineri, non tamen ex ea Christianorum infantia formari debet. Nam pius animus illis libris ceu quibusdam incunabulis est applicandus, qui omni carent suspitione, qui possunt quemquam extra fidei damnum offerre. Postremo demiror, eiusmodi orationem gladiis iugulatam placuisse.'

In regard to the two later books of Esdras, as he calls them, he says:

'Tertius et Quartus Esdrae deridentur' (a phrase which is an echo of Jérôme) 'in quibus (quanquam id tacuit) Augustinus legis iram et aculeos, item concupiscentiae incendia atque Adami veteris adnisus, ac

denique nonnulla admirabilia digna certa Theologica tractatione conspicatus, mutuari videtur.'

He thus, like Jerome, seems to confound these two books as if their contents had anything in common. Of Tobias, Wisdom, and Ecclesiasticus he says: 'Sunt in libris Tobiae, Sapientiae et Ecclesiastici, quibus sua sunt fortissima, in scriptura, firmamenta.' Of Baruch he says:

'Baruch Notarius fuit Hieremiae prophetae qui apud hebraeos nec legitur nec recipitur secundum Hieronymum Tomo 4 fol. 11. Ideo tametsi sententias verissimas teneat, tamen velim, quia mens tenerior firmioribus palis primum applicaretur, alioqui contra Iudaeos pugnaturi merito paciemur salsa nimis scornata.'

In regard to the New Testament, Karlstadt accepts all the books as canonical, which had been deemed canonical in the Roman Church. He, however, separates them into three classes. In the first he puts the four Gospels, 'Evangelicas lampades, sive, si magis cupis, totius veritatis divinae clarissima lumina.' In the second, the 13 epistles of Paul, the first Epistle of Peter and the first of John, the authorship of all of which he deemed to be certainly known, and which were generally received as apostolical. In the third class, which he put into a lower grade, 'In tertium et infirmum auctoritatis divinae locum,' he places the Epistle of James, the second Epistle of Peter, the two last of John, and the Epistle to the Hebrews. 'Non,' he says, 'quod velim hanc istis inferiorem pronuntiare, sed ideo illis connumeravi, quod de eius autore dubitatur, quemadmodum de reliquarum (quas recensui) epistolarum autoribus ab olim dubitatum est. Adde et Apocalypsim.' This third class he thus treats as quite authoritative and canonical.

Of the six Epistles first named in this class he says: 'Auctoritatem apostolicam et divinam habuerunt a proximis Apostolorum temporibus.' In regard to the Epistle to the Hebrews and the Apocalypse he says: 'Multos annos post decessum apostolorum, praesertim apud Rhomanos auctoritatem sanctam demeruerunt.'

It is curious that Karlstadt nowhere mentions the Acts of the Apostles in his somewhat elaborate dissection of the New Testament books. Whether this was due to an oversight or to premeditation I do not know, but it seems probable to me that it was entirely due to an oversight.

This completes my analysis of Karlstadt's very important and notable work, the first one produced by any champion of the Reformation in which the Canon was critically treated, and in which the books of the Bible are classified according to their supposed inspiration and authority, and in which a list of books was first separated from the rest, as contained in the Vulgate, and deliberately styled *apocrypha*. The term Apocrypha is used, however, as equivalent not to spurious but to non-canonical, in a sense which speedily became perverted. It is plain, therefore, that Karlstadt, in regard to the Canon, was a great deal more logical than Luther. In regard to both Testaments he merely took over the Canon as it was theoretically accepted by Jerome, who however as regards the Old Testament put aside his own view in deference to the decision of the Church.

This is a very different position from that of his colleague and rival, Luther, who fell back upon no tradition and no criterion save his own internal illumination and inspiration, and his own subjective opinion as to what a canonical book ought to be, which in effect meant that in order to be accepted by him it must equate itself with his *a priori* dogmatic position. It is pity that Karlstadt's views on the Canon were so much put in the shade among the early German Reformers by the transcendent arguments of Luther.

Let us now pass on.

The first complete Reformers' Bible was prepared by Andrea Osiander, the Lutheran evangelist, who converted the Prussian knights to the New Faith, and whose niece Cranmer married. In this Bible the Jewish Canon of the Old Testament was also adopted, probably in consequence of Karlstadt's arguments. It was published in December, 1522. It was a new edition of Jerome's Vulgate in Latin, professedly corrected in a few places from the Hebrew. It adopted Jerome's theory of the Canon, and included his prefaces to the various books. There is no initial list of books in this Bible. In it the Prayer of Manasses follows immediately after the second book of Chronicles. It is headed *Oratio Manasse regis iuda*, while in the margin are the words *non est i hebraeos*. Esdras III and IV are headed *Postiores hi duo libri Esdrae non sunt canonici nec habentur apud hebraeos*, while the fourth is specially headed *Quartus liber Esdrae qui et ipse inter Apocrypha computat*.

In the margin of Tobias we also read *non est canonicū*. Judith has no marginal note. The fragments of Esther are separated from the main text of the book and printed at the end of it, each with Jerome's preface. To Job, in addition to Jerome's preface, we have another, headed *argumentum incerti authoris*. To the Psalter there are two prefaces in addition to Jerome's, each headed *alius prologus*. Wisdom is headed *Liber Sapient. Liber Sapientiae apud hebraeos nusquā est*. Ecclesiasticus, in addition to Jerome's prologue, has a second which is worth recalling. It is headed *Incipit prologus Rhabani in librum Ecclesiasticum*, and is as follows:—

'Librum Iesu filii Sirach dicit se Hieronymus reperisse apud hebraeos: nō ecclesiasticum ut apud latinos: sed parabolas praenotatum: cui iuncti erant Ecclesiastes et canticum canticorum, ut salomonē non modo librorum numero; sed et materiae genere coaequaret, librum vero sapientiae se non reperisse apud eos: sed magis graecam adolere eloquentiam quē nonnulli philonis esse affirmant. Ecclesiasticus vero sicut ecclesiastes ecclesiae utilissimus est: qui congregator vel collector interpretatur sicut ille cōcinator. Sed ecclesiastes ad Christū refert et ad quemlibet praedicatorē ecclesiasticus. qui propter excellentiā virtutū suarū panaeretos. id est omnium virtutum capax appellatur. Cuius tanta claritas tātaq̄ latinitas est: ut ipse sibi commentasit.'

Ecclesiasticus is followed by the prayer of Solomon, headed *Oratio Salomonis* without any preface or note, and this by Isaiah. Then comes Jeremiah with Jerome's prologue and a short paragraph headed *vita eiusdem*. Then follows Lamentations.

Baruch follows immediately on Lamentations, and is headed *Praefatio in librū Baruch prophetae*.

'Liber iste q̄ barech noīe praenotatur in hebraeo canone nō habet: sed tantum in vulgata aeditione: similiter et epistola hieremiae. Propter notitiam aut legentiū hic scripta sunt: quia multa de christo novissimis temporibus indicant.'

The so-called additions to Daniel are curiously enough incorporated in the text without note or comment. To the two books of Maccabees are appended Jerome's prologue and also a second one headed *alius prologus* as follows:—

'Machabaeorū libri licet nō habeantur in canone hebraeorū: tamen ab ecclesia inter divinūs voluminē annotantur historias. Praenotat aut praelia inter hebraeorum duces gētesque persarum: pugnam

quoque Sabbatorū et nobiles Machabaei triumphos: foedus quoque amicitiarū cū romanorū ducibus atque legationū. Machabaei septem fratres ab una matre Machabaea noīe geniti: custodiētes legem patris traditione: non manducantes carnē porcinā: ob hoc ab Antiocho rege sevissimo in Antiochia martyrii gloria coronati sunt iū matre sua atque sepulti cum magna veneratione ibi quiescunt.'

In the New Testament Luther's order of the books (*vide infra*) is not adopted. It ends with a long paragraph with a singular heading:

'De libris utriusque testamenti: partim reiectis: aut non sine contradictione admissis: partim apocryphis: ex athanasio: tametsi mihi suspectus est titulus: Erasmo roterodamo interprete.'

Then follows a translation of Athanasius's criticism of the value of the various Bible books. It is curious that in this Bible the four Evangelists are followed by the Pauline Epistles and these by the Acts.

Let us now return to Luther. It was on Friday, April 2, 1521, that he left Worms after rejecting the Emperor's demand for a recantation unless he was refuted by scriptural testimonies or by clear arguments, for he declared he believed neither the Pope nor the Councils alone, since both had erred and contradicted each other. He claimed to have been convinced by the passages of Scripture he had cited, that his conscience was controlled by the word of God, and that it was dangerous to act against conscience. This appeal seemed to him no doubt to necessitate as speedy a translation of the Bible into the vulgar tongue as possible, so that every man might have the materials for forming a judgement on matters so nearly concerning himself, and he now hastened on with his translation of the New Testament which he deemed to be most pressingly needed. He based his translation, which was completed in three months, on the second edition of the Greek Testament of Erasmus. The first edition of Luther's New Testament appeared in September and the second in December, 1522. To this New Testament he added an introduction in which he very clearly sets out how he applied his subjective method of exegesis. It is headed *Wilchs die rechten und edlisten bucher des neuen testaments sind*. Then follows:—

'Aus disem allen kanstu nu recht urteylen unter allen buchern, und unterscheyd nehmen, wilchs die besten sind, Denn nemlich ist

Iohannis Euangelion vnnd Sanct Paulus Episteln, sonderlich die zu den Romern, und sanct Peters erste Epistel der rechte kern un̄ marck vnter allen buchern, wilche auch billich die ersten seyn sollten, Vñ eym iglichen Christen zu ratten were, das er dieselben am ersten vnd aller meysten lese, vnd yhm durch teglich lesen so gemeyn mechte, als das teglich brott, Denn ynn disen findistu nicht viel werck vnnd wunderthatten Christi beschrieben, Du findist aber gar meysterlich ausgestrichen, wie der glawbe an Christum sund, tod vnd helle vberwindet, vnd das leben, gerechtigkeyt vnd seligkeyt gibt, wilchs die rechte artt ist des Evangeli, wie du gehoret hast.

Denn wo ich yhn der eyns mangelln sollt, der werck odder der predigt Christi, szo wollt ich lieber der werck, denn seyner predigt mangelln, Denn die werck huffen myr nichts, aber seyne wort die geben das leben, wie erselbs sagt. Weyl nu Johannes gar wenig werck vō Christo, aber gar viel seyner predigt schreybt, widderumb die andern drey Euangelisten viel seyner werck, wenig seyner wort beschreyben, ist Iohannis Euangelion das eynige zartte recht hewbt Euangelion vñ den andern dreyen weyt weyt fur zu zihen vñ hoher zu hebē, Also auch Sanct Paulus vñ Petrus Episteln weyt vber die drey Euangelia Matthei, Marci vnd Luce furgehen.

Summa, Sanct Iohannis Euangeli vnd seyne erste Epistel, Sanct Paulus Epistel, sonderlich die zu den Romern, Galatern, Ephesern, vnd Sanct Peters erste Epistel, das sind die bucher, die dyr Christum zeygen, vnd alles leren, das dir zu wissen nott und selig ist, ob du schon kein ander buch noch lere nummer sehest noch horist, Darumb ist Sanct Iacobs Epistel eyn rechte stroern Epistel gegen sie, denn sie doch keyn Euangelisch art an yhr hat, Doch dauon weytter ynn andern vorheden.'

In his list of books of the New Testament printed on the back of this preface he gives the names of twenty-three which are all numbered. From these, separated by a space and unnumbered, he detaches four books, namely the Epistle to the Hebrews, those of James and Jude, and the Apocalypse, which he thus puts into a class apart. Not only so, but he takes them out of the usual Bible order and prints them together at the end of the New Testament, and in the preface to the Hebrews he says definitely :

' Bisher haben wyr die rechten gewissen hewbt bucher des newē testaments gehabt, Dise vier nachfolgēde aber habē vor zeytten eyn ander ansehen gehabt, Vnd auffs erst, das dise Epistel zu den Ebreern nicht Sanct Paulus noch eynigs Apostel sey, beweyszet sich dabey, das ym andern capitel stehet also, Dise lere ist' etc.

While he treats it as later than the Apostolic writings, and of unknown authorship, and heads it merely *Die Epistel an die Ebreer*, and professes to point out certain passages in the sixth, tenth, and twelfth chapters which are inconsistent with all the Evangelists and St Paul's Epistles, he nevertheless gives it high praise.

To the Epistles of James and Jude he prints a common preface, which begins with a very depreciatory notice of the former Epistle. *Inter alia* he says:

'... acht ich sie fur keyns Apostelschafft, vnnd ist das meyn vrsach. Auff erst, das sie stracks widder Sanct Paulum vnnd alle ander schrifft, den wercken die rechtfertigung gibt, vnd spricht, Abraham sey [etc.] ... Darumb diser mangel schleust, das sie keyns Apostel sey.

'Auff ander, das sie will Christen leutt leren, vnnd gedenckt nicht eyn mal ynn solcher langer lere, des leydens, der aufferstehung, des geysts Christi, er nennet Christum ettlich mal, aber er leret nichts vō yhm, sondern sagt von gemeynem glawbē an Gott.'

He then proceeds to define his criterion, a purely subjective one, of what a book ought to be if it was to be accepted as completely authoritative, or, in other words, canonical:

'Deñ das ampt eyns rechten Apostel ist, das er von Christus leyden vñ auffstehen vnd ampt predige, vnnd lege des selben glawbens grund, wie er selb sagt Iohan 18. yhr werdet vō myr zeugen, Vnd darinn stymmen alle rechtschaffene heylige bucher vber eyns, das sie alle sampt Christum predigen vnd treyben, Auch ist das der rechte prufeste ynn alle bucher zu taddelln, weñ man sihet, ob sie Christū treyben, odder nit. Syntemal alle schrifft Christum zeyget Ro. 3. vnnd Paulus nichts der Christum wissen will. 1. Cor. 2. Was Christum nicht leret, das ist nicht Apostolisch, wens gleich Petrus odder Paulus leret, Widerumb, was Christum predigt, das ist Apostolisch, wens gleych Iudas, Annas, Pilatus vnd Herodes thett.'

Assuredly a more elastic, uncertain, and arbitrary rule of canonicity was never invented. Presently he continues:

'Darumb will ich yhn nicht haben ynn meyner Bibel ynn der zahl der rechten hewbtbücher, will aber damit niemant weren, das er yhn setz vñ hebe, wie es yhn gelustet, denn es viel guter spruch sonst drynnen sind. Eyn man ist kein man ynn weltlichen sachen, wie solt deñ diser eyntzeler, nur alleyn widder Paulum vnnd alle andere schrifft gelten?'

In his *Tischreden*, or Commonplace book, we find him writing thus of the Epistle of St James:

'Viele haben gearbeit, sich bemühet, und darüber geschwitzet, über der Epistel S. Jacobi dass sie dieselbige mit S. Paulo verglichen. Wie denn Ph. Mel. in der Apologia etwas davon handelt, aber nicht mit einem Ernst; denn es ist stracks wider einander, Glaube macht gerecht, und Glaube macht nicht gerecht. Wer die zusammen reimen kann dem will ich mein Barett aufsetzen, und will mich einen Narren schelten lassen' (Luther *Sämtl. Werke*, Erlangen, lxii 127).

Of the Epistle of Jude he says:

'Die Epistel aber Sanct Iudas, kan niemant leugnen, das eyn austzog der abschrift ist aus Sanct. Peters ander Epistel, so der selben alle wort fast gleych sind. Auch so redet er von den Aposteln, als eyn iunger kint hernach, Vnd furet auch spruch vnd geschicht, die yñ der schrift stehend stehen, wilchs auch die alten veter bewegt hat, dise Epistel aus der hewptschrift zu werffen, Datzu so ist der Apostel Iudas ynn kriechische sprach nit komē, sondern ynn Persen landt, als man sagt, das ia nicht kriechissch hatt geschrieben. Darumb ob ich sie wol eysse, ist doch eyn vnnotige Epistel vnter die hewbtbücher zu rechnen, die des glawbens grund legen sollen.'

In regard to the Apocalypse Luther in the preface to the book says:

'An diesem buch der offnbarung Iohannis, las ich auch yderman ynes synnes walden, will niemant an meyn dunckel odder urteyl verpunden haben, Ich sage was ich fule, Myr mangelt an diesem buch nit eynerley, das ichs wider Apostolisch noch prophetisch hallte, uffs erst vnnd aller meyst, das die Apostell nicht mit gesichten vmbgehen, sondern mit klaren und durren wortten weyssagen, wie Petrus, Paulus, Christus ym Euangelio auch thun, denn es auch dem Apostolischē npt gepurt, klerlich vñ on bild odder gesicht vō Christo vñ seynem un zu reden. Auch so ist keyn Prophet ym allten testament, schweyg yn neuen, der so gar durch vnd durch mit gesichten vnd bilden handelt, das ichs fast gleych bey myr achte dem vierden buch Esdras, vnd aller dinge nicht spuren kan, das es von dem heyligen geyst gestellet sey. Datzu dunckt mich das alltzu viel seyn, das es so hartt solch seyn eygen buch, mehr denn keyn ander heylige bucher thun Endlich, halt dauon yderman, was yhm seyn geyst gibt, meyn geyst kan sich yñ das buch nicht schicken, Vñ ist myr die vrsach gnug, das ich seyn nicht hoch achte, das Christus drynnen widder geleret noch erkandt wirt, wilchs doch zu thun fur allen dingen eyn Apostel schuldig ist, wie er sagt Act. 1. yhr solt meyne zeugē seyn, Darumb bleyb ich bey den buchern, die myr Christum hell vñ reyn dar geben.¹

¹ This was published in 1522. In his complete Bible of 1534 Luther modified his previous preface to Revelation. He then writes: 'So lange solche weissagunge

In these statements Luther affirmed that the Bible needed no warranty from the Church, but warranted itself; that it was in fact an impertinence to attempt to buttress or defend a divine message by human testimony of any kind, and that the Almighty had given to His faithful people the innate power of recognizing and accepting without doubt or fear the divine and inspired character of any book.

It must be said that an appeal from history and tradition to the personal inspiration and direct illumination of every good Christian man on such a subject, seems to me an appeal both to a dangerous and to a very uncertain tribunal; unless we are to understand that every good Christian man is divinely protected against the frailties of human error, and becomes infallible when he has to decide questions of dogma and faith. This last postulate would assuredly be hard to equate with the incessant clamour of rival Christian sects fighting over almost every conceivable issue in religion.

It is perfectly clear from these facts that Luther had not only definitely cut himself off from the Church, but had entirely discarded the Church's, and everybody else's, Canon of the Bible, and also the criteria by which that Canon had hitherto been determined. It was no question with him of accepting or rejecting the Hebrew Canon of the Old Testament, and sheltering behind the arguments of Jerome. It was a definite breach with all Church tradition in East and West, in respect even of the New Testament itself. Nor did he attempt like Karlstadt to make a scientific analysis of the evidence *pro* and *contra*, apart altogether from his own personal equation and the influences of his pre-conceived theories. Basing his views as to what was the essence

vngedeutt bleibet, vnd keine gewisse auslegung krigt, ists eine verborgene stumme weissagung, vnd noch nicht zu jrem nutz und frucht komen, den sie der Christenheit geben sol, wie denn auch diesem Buch bisher gegangen, Es haben wol viel sich dran versucht, Aber bis auf den heutigen tag nichts gewisses auff bracht, etlich viel vngeschickts dinges, aus jrem kopff hinein gebrewet. Vmb solcher vngewissen auslegung vnd verborgen verstands willen, haben wirs bisher auch lassen ligen, sonderlich weil es auch bey etlichen alten Vetern geachtet, das nicht Sanct Iohannes des Apostels sey, wie in libro. iij. Hist. Ecclesi. xxv. stehet, In welchem zweifel wirs fur vns auch noch lassen bleiben, Damit doch niemand gewehret sein sol, das ers halte für Sanct Iohannis des Apostels, odder wie er wil. Weil wir aber dennoch gerne die deutung odder auslegung gewis hetten, wöllen wir den andern und höhern geistern vrsachen nach zu denken geben, etc.

of Christianity upon his own interpretation of Paul's theological position, especially on the subject of Justification by Faith, he poured contempt and ignominy on at least four books of the New Testament which he considered to contain teaching inconsistent with that of Paul, and placed the books in question in a suspense account at the end of the New Testament; thus basing his Canon on the preposterous pedestal of his own arbitrary whim, or rather upon the arbitrary choice of every chance reader of the Bible who might answer the description of a godly man.

Let us now turn to Luther's treatment of the Old Testament. On this also he had views which were very personal to himself. He claimed that the virtue of an Old Testament book must be measured entirely by its bearing on evangelical doctrine, as he says 'Wir erleuchten die alte Heilige Schrift durch das Evangelium' (*Werke* iv 1728), and adds quite frankly, in his commentary on the Psalms, 'Quodsi adversam Scripturam verse sunt contra Christum nos urgemus Christum contra Scripturam.' He accordingly measured the canonicity of the various books by this test.

The first volume of Luther's translation of the Old Testament was published in 1523 at Wittenberg. It contains only the Pentateuch, but on the back of the title-page is a list of the contents of the whole Bible, as he no doubt intended eventually to issue it. In this list, after the twelve minor prophets, and therefore at the end of the Jewish Canon of the Old Testament, we have the following list of books, printed without any heading, and separated by an interval from the other books: Thobia, Iudith, Baruch, Esra, Das buch der Weyssheyt, Weyseman, Machabeus.

It is quite plain therefore that in 1523 Luther had, in regard to the Old Testament, fully adopted the principle, which he afterwards carried out, of separating the so-called apocryphal books into a special and inferior class, and printing them apart at the end of the canonical books of the Old Testament.

The second volume of Luther's first edition of the Old Testament was published in 1523, or early in 1524, and contains the historical books from Joshua to Esther in the following order: Joshua, Judges, Ruth, Samuel, Kings, Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah and Esther. As Panzer has noticed, the book of Esther in the table of contents to the volume is put before Ezra and Nehemiah.

The third part of the same Bible was also first published in 1521, and contains the book of Job, the Psalter, and the books attributed to Solomon. In the list of books at the beginning of this volume the Prophets are also given, shewing that it was probably his original intention to include them, but, as he confesses, he found the book of Job more difficult than he expected, and therefore postponed it. The books are printed in this order: Job, the Psalter, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Canticles.

In 1525 Tyndale printed his New Testament, the text of which, as has been shewn by several writers, was largely dependent on that of Luther. What is more important is, that, as I pointed out in my previous paper, he copied Luther in printing the four critical books, which the latter had placed at the end of the New Testament, and he defined them in his prefixed list in the same way. He does not mention Luther, but he has the latter's prefaces in view in his own. Thus in regard to the Epistle to the Hebrews he says: 'Whether it were Paul's or no I say not, but permit it other men's judgements; neither think I it to be an article of a man's faith, but that a man may doubt of the author. . . . But spite of these doubts this epistle ought no more to be refused for a holy, godly and catholic than the other Catholic scriptures.'¹

In regard to the Epistle of James, he says 'Though it were refused in old times and denied by many to be the Epistle of a very Apostle, and *though also it lay not the foundation of the Church of Christ*, methinketh it ought of right to be taken for Holy Scripture'.

'As for the Epistle of Judas,' he says, 'though men have and yet do doubt of the author, I see not but that it ought to have the authority of Holy Scripture.'

Meanwhile there appeared in the years 1524-1526 at Strassburg an edition of the Aldine Greek Bible under the auspices of the reformers. In the *Ratio Partitionis* in this Bible, as pointed out by Dr Nestle, we have the interesting and remarkable heading:

'Proinde in partitione & serie voluminum sequuti sumus. M. Lutherum, unum illum & præstantissimum sacrarum literarum PHOENICEM.'

¹ It is a noteworthy fact that in the list of contents of the first edition of Tyndale's Testament, of which only a fragment remains, the Epistle to the Hebrews is not attributed to St Paul and is merely headed 'the pistle to the Ebraes'. There is no extant table of the contents to the second edition, but the book itself is headed there the 'pistle off Paul unto the Hebraes'.

qui eū ordinē, quem hic uides, in Germanica sua Bibliorum uersione, obseruauit. Vnde & quos Apocryphos uocant libros, omnes ad finem in unū fascem collegimus, sunt enim tales, qui in hebraeis Biblijs non sunt quique in ordinem redacti, in omnibus fide digni non sunt. Quos et eo consilio seiunximus, ut qui uolet in priuū libellū seponere queat.'

Accordingly on pp. 264 ff of the third volume of this work we have the heading ΑΠΟΚΡΥΦΟΙ αὐτὴ παρ' Εβραίων (*sic*) ἐκ τοῦ τῶν ἀξιολόγων ἀριθμοῦ συγκαθίσταται. Then follow Tobit, Judeth (*sic*), Baruch, the Epistle of Jeremiah, the Song of the Three Children, Esdras, Wisdom, Sirach, Susanna, the Dragon, the three books of the Maccabees, and Josephus on the Maccabees (*op. cit.*, see also *Septuaginta* iii (1899) 7 and 8; iv (1903) 14). It does not contain the Prayer of Manasses, and very oddly it contains the fourth, but not the third, book of Esdras.¹

It seems plain, from the fact that Luther's translation of the Apocrypha was not printed till 1534, that is to say, until eight years after the appearance of the Strassburg Greek Bible, that the above reference to his arrangement of the Apocrypha merely meant that the editor had followed Luther's example in separating the so-called apocryphal books from the rest and printing them together, instead of in their usual order in the Greek Bibles; for the list of apocryphal books given by Luther in the volume cited, and that given in the Strassburg Aldine Bible, are not the same.

There is a curious equation between the lists, however, which I have not seen noticed. In Luther's he inserts the enigmatical name 'Esdras' between Baruch and Wisdom, where if the name occurred at all we should expect to find Esdras III and IV. It is curious, as we have seen, that in the Strassburg Bible only one of these two books is in fact printed, i.e. the book of Esdras IV, so that in that particular Bible the only book in the so-called Apocrypha whose absolute claim to be in the Canon is indisputable is left out altogether.

It is curious that this Bible, which follows Luther in regard to the Old Testament Canon, and also adopts the order of the Prophets in the Hebrew Bible, ignores Luther's treatment of the New Testament books.

¹ On the other hand, it claims to give us a 4th and additional book of Maccabees for the first time. In the table of contents these books are thus described Μακκαβαίων λόγοι τρεῖς. Ἰωσήφου περὶ μακκαβαίων.

To return to Luther; in 1532 he issued the Prophets in a fourth volume, forming part iv of his complete Bible. They were printed in the following order: Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Michah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi. In Daniel he follows the Hebrew text, excluding the so-called additions. This completed what he deemed to be the canonical books. Those he styled apocryphal he had many years before, as we have seen, printed a translation of the Prayer of Manasses. In 1529 he published a translation of the so-called Wisdom of Solomon, about which he wrote to Spalatin:

'Ego verti librum sapientiae dum raucatione . . . cruciarer: is statim exhibet meliorē faciē, quam sit in Latinis et Graecis originalibus.'

In 1533 he published a translation of Jesus Sirach and also of the first book of Maccabees, together with Susanna and Bel and the Dragon.

About the same time he brought out a translation of the book of Judith, of which a reprint appeared at Magdeburg in 1534 (see Scholl *Geschichte der Teutschen Bibel-Uebersetzung D. Martin Luthers* p. 71).

The Apocrypha were originally intended to form the fifth part of Luther's translation of the Old Testament. That part never appeared separately, but in the first complete edition of Luther's Bible, which appeared in two folio volumes in 1534, the Apocrypha are printed at the end of the Old Testament books. It is noteworthy that the list of apocryphal books given at the beginning of this Bible does not quite agree with that printed on the fly-leaf of the edition of the Pentateuch above mentioned. The two lists are as follows:—

Pentateuch of 1523-4	Bible of 1534
Thobia	Iudith
Iudith	Das buch der Weisheit
Baruch	Tobia
Esra	Iesus Syrach
Das buch der Weyssheyte	Baruch
Weyseman	Maccabeorum
Machabaeus	Stücke jnn Esther vnd Daniel

It will be specially noticed that the name Esra has dropped

out in the latter list, and Luther in fact nowhere printed the third and fourth books of Esdras nor the third or fourth of Macca-bees. The Prayer of Manasses, although not named in either list, is duly printed at the end of the apocryphal books, each of which had a preface.

There is, however, no justification given for separating the Apocrypha from the other Bible books except the general heading 'Apocrypha. Das sind Bücher: so nicht der heiligen Schrift gleich gehalten: vnd doch nützlich vnd gut zu lesen sind'.

Let us now consider some of Luther's judgements upon the Old Testament books. He did not scruple to extend his sifting process, from the books he called apocryphal, to some at least of those which were fully accepted by the Jews in his time, while he speaks very slightly of others. Thus in regard to the books of Kings and Chronicles he says in his *Tischreden*:

'Die Bücher der Könige gehen hundert tausend Schritt fur dem, der die Chronika beschrieben hat, denn er hat nur die Summa und führnehmsten Stück und Geschicht angezeigt, was schlecht und gering, hat er ubergangen; darumb ist den Büchern der Könige mehr zu gläuben denn der Chroniken' (Luther *Sämtl. Werke*, Erlangen, lxii 132).

Again, he says in the same work:

'Liber Esther, quamvis hunc habent in canone, dignior omnibus me iudice, qui extra canonem haberetur';

and further we read:

'Und da er, der Doctor, das ander Buch der Maccabäer corrigirte, sprach er; Ich bin dem Buch und Esther so feind, dass ich wollte, sie wären gar nicht vorhanden; denn sie judenzen zu sehr, und haben viel heidnische Unart' (*ib.* 131).

Of Ecclesiastes again he says:

'Diess Buch sollt völliger sein, ihm ist zu viel abgebrochen, es hat weder Stiefel noch Sporn, es reitet nur in Socken, gleichwie ich, da ich noch im Kloster war' (*ib.* 128).

Speaking of its attribution to Solomon he says:

'So hat er selbst das Buch, den Prediger, nicht geschrieben, sondern ist zur Zeit der Maccabäer von Sirach gemacht. Es ist aber ein sehr gut Buch' (*ib.* 128).

In his preface to Proverbs he says of the Canticles:

'Item, das hohelied Salomo siehet auch als ein gestickt Buch, von andern auch Salomos Munde genommen. Daher auch keine Ordnung

in diesen Buchern gehalten ist; sondern eins ins andre gemenet, wie sie es nicht alles zu einer Zeit, noch auf einmal von ihm gehört haben: wie solcher Bücher art seyn muss.'

Again, in his *Tischreden* he says of the Prophet Jonah:

'Diese Historia des Propheten Jonas ist so gross, dass sie schier ungläublich ist, ja, lautet lügerlich und ungereimter, denn irgend der Poeten Fabeln eine, und wenn sie nicht in der Bibel stünde, so lacht ichs wie einer Lügen. Denn wenn man ihm will nachdenken, wie er drei Tage in dem grossen Bauche des Wallfisches gewesen sei, da er doch in dreien Stunden hätte können verdauet, und in des Wallfisches Natur, Fleisch und Blut verwandelt werden . . . heisst das nicht mit im Tode leben? also, dass gegen diesem Mirakel das Wunderzeichen rothen Meer nichts sei. Es geht auch eben närrisch zu. Darnach da er nu erlöset und errettet war, fährt er an zu zörnen und expostuliren, und sich unnütz zu machen umb eines geringen Dinges willen, nämlich umb ein Gräslein. Es ist ein gross Geheimniss; ich schäme mich meiner Auslegung uber dieser Propheten, dass ich den Häupthandel und Zweck des Wunderwerks so schwächlich gerühret habe' (*op. cit.* 148).

Again, later on in paragraph 2684 he says:

'Diese Historie (von Jonas) soll uns der höchsten Trost einer und ein Zeichen der Auferstehung der Todten sein, sie ist sehr lügerlich; ich selbst gläubts nicht, wenns nicht in der heiligen Schrift stünde. Also pfleget Gott die Seinen zu demüthigen. Aber er (Jonas) ward darnach viel ärger, wollte Gott meistern, ward zum grossen Todtschläger und Mörder, der da wollt eine so grosse Stadt, darinnen so viel Volks war, gar vertilgen. Das ist mir ein Heiliger!'

In regard to some of the apocryphal books he has some words to say. Thus in his *Tischreden* he says:

'Das Buch, so man nennet Ecclesiasticus, ist also verfälscht, dass fur das Wort Jesus das Wörtlin Nisus, Griechisch Νῆσος, das ist Insula, geschrieben und gesetzt ist worden. Denn Ecclesiasticus, der das Buch gemacht hat, ist ein rechter Gesetzprediger oder Jurist, lehret, wie man einen feinen äusserlichen Wandel führen soll; ist aber kein Prophet, weiss noch lehren von Christo nichts. Denn das Evangelium ist eine Lehre vom ersten und andern Gebot, und nicht uber das dritte Gebot in der ersten Tafel Mosi, denn es achtet des Sabbaths oder Feiertags nicht, weil derselbige nur ein Zeitlang gewähret, und umbs Predigt-ampts willen geordnet ist, dass man Gottes Wort lehren und warten soll' (*ib.* 127-128).

Of the third and fourth of Esdras he says :

‘Das dritte Buch Esdrae werfe ich in die Elbe. Im vierten Buch, darinne was den Esra geträumet hat, sind schöne und sonst auch gute Pösslin ; als : Der Wein ist stark, der König stärker, die Weiber noch stärker, aber die Wahrheit am allerstärksten’ (*ib.* 129-130).

In this paragraph Luther confounds the title of the two Esdras books.

In his preface to Baruch he again speaks of these two books :

‘... weil so gar nichts darinnen ist, das man nicht viel besser in Aesops oder noch geringeren Büchern kann finden ohne das im 4. Buch dazu eitel Träume sind.’

Of the book of Judith he says :

‘Aus allen Historien der h. Schrift kann ich nicht nehmen, dass das Buch Judith eine Historie sei ; dazu wird auch darinne nicht das Land angezeigt, in welchem es geschehen soll sein ; sondern wie die Legenden der Heiligen gemacht sind, also ist auch diess Poema und Gedicht gemacht von einem frommen Mann, auf dass er lehrete, dass fromme, gottfürchtige Leute, unter welchen Judith, das ist, das Königreich der Jüden, in welchem man Gott bekannte, dem Holoferne obsiegete, überwunden, das ist, alle Reich der Welt ; und dass alle Tyrannen ein solch Ende bekämen, und gehet ihnen, wie Holofernes, nämlich, dass sie von einem Weibe erwürgt werden und umbkommen. Und hat der Meister solches Buchs Judith nur gewollt, dass es eine Figur und Bedeutung sein solle. ... Darumb dünkt mich, Judith sei ein Tragödia und Spiel, darinnen beschrieben und angezeigt wird, was für ein Ende die Tyrannen nehmen. Tobias aber ein Komödia, in der von Weibern geredet wird. Diese ist ein Exempel des Haus-Regiments ; jene aber des weltlichen, in welchem angezeigt wird, wie es in einem Regiment pfleget zuzugehen’ (*ib.* 130 and 131).

These extracts shew what Luther’s criterion of canonicity was, and how unflinchingly he applied it to the books contained in the Church’s Canon.

The facts constrain us to conclude, that with all his vigour and effectiveness as a combatant and as a destructive agent, Luther, in giving no stronger support to the Bible as the final court of appeal for Christianity than his own personal caprice and judgement, has planted the churches which bear his name on the sands. By substituting the Bible for the Church as the *ultima lex* of Theology he put a tremendous strain upon that book. There was one way in which he might logically have tried to carry out

his plan. He might have refused entirely to discuss the question of canonical authority, and simply accepted the Bible from the Church as a primitive document sanctioned by time and prestige and having the *prima facie* claim to authority which attaches to a document fourteen centuries or more old, which had been accepted by all Christians and was in no wise a mere Roman document. Having accepted it on these terms he might then have constructed and built upon it the theological scheme with which he proposed to replace that of the Church he had left. This he would not do. With him it was an essential postulate that mere Tradition (however old) or Church authority went for nothing. He probably thought that if he were to appeal to Tradition his severance from the Church would seem to many an unpardonable schism. His appeal was continually and explicitly to the continuing inspiration of the Holy Spirit in the heart of every godly man, which he taught had been promised and which he held would save him from error and be a lantern to his feet continually.

It was on this ground that he claimed to take the library of books sanctioned as authoritative by the Church, and to judge each individual book by his subjective test of its leading men to Christ and sustaining his cardinal doctrine of Justification by Faith. Those books which stood this test he allowed to be canonical, and those which did not he threw out on to the dust-heap and labelled them apocryphal, or else he poured terms of contumely upon them and refused to acknowledge their authority. It is not to be wondered at that the later Lutherans, who found themselves sorely smitten in their controversies by having no better criterion for their Bible books than the *ipse dixit* and personal caprice of their strong-willed founder, should have tried in various ways to qualify his position in the matter, and to plant their Bible Canon on a firmer pedestal than the needs of Luther's theological polemics and his personal view of what did and what did not lead men to Christ.

To us who live outside the Lutheran fold and have our own domestic difficulties in regard to the Canon, which enable us perhaps to survey our neighbour's vineyard with a more neutral eye, it would in fact seem that no scheme of Christian Theology or Philosophy can stand whose chief pedestal is so fragile as the

Lutheran Bible theory. To substitute one Pope for the scores of Popes who have created the Roman polity, is not a very promising change in such a difficult and critical matter as re-settling on a new basis the true criterion of Biblical authority. To accept a Bible from any man's hands as irreproachable and infallible, because he has told us that the books he has sanctioned have the full adhesion of his personal judgement and conform to his subjective notions of what the books ought to be, is to abandon history and criticism and to hand ourselves over tied hand and foot to an absolutely unauthorized dogmatic autocrat. That the position which is so illogical should have survived so long, and so dominated a people particularly proud of their analytical acumen in such matters, is indeed surprising. Far better surely is the older test which, if not complete, is at least workable, namely, that we should patiently endeavour to discover the Biblical Canon of Christ and His Apostles and of the primitive Church they founded, and to abide by that.

I should like to complete this survey in another paper, when I hope to deal with the question of the Biblical Canon among the so-called evangelical Churches of the Continent, and their children the old English Puritans and the modern English dissenters.

HENRY H. HOWORTH.

Notes and Corrections on the previous paper (J.T.S. Oct. 1906, pp. 1 sqq.).

P. 4, l. 12. The lections from the O.T. here referred to are printed at the end of the editions of Tyndale's N.T. of 1534 and onwards. They are contained among the 'pistles which are red in church after the vse of Salisburie vpon certain days of the yere', and consist of Ecclus. xv on S. John the Evangelist's day, Ecclus. xxiv on 'the Conception and Assumption of our Lady', and Wisd. v on 'S. Philip and S. James' day'.

P. 5, l. 27. For 1636 read 1536.

P. 6, l. 3. The colophon to Coverdale's first Bible says 'Prynted in the year of our Lord m.d.xxxv. and fynished the fourth day of October'.

P. 19, ll. 19 and 20. This reads ambiguously: the canticle in question was of course transferred to the Prayer Book from the Sarum Breviary.

P. 26, l. 32. For thirty-first read thirty-fifth.

P. 36, l. 33. 'The first Bible' ought to read 'the first English Bible': a German Bible was published in 1743 at Germanstown.

DOCUMENTS

CODEX TAURINENSIS (Y). VIII.

11. . ΕΥΤΕΡΩΙ *ΕΤΕΙ *ΕΠΙ ΔΑΡΕΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ . . ΗΝΙ ΤΩΙ
 *ΕΚΤΩΙ ΜΙΛΙ ΤΟΥ ΜΗΝΟΣ *ΕΓΕΝΕΤΟ . . *ΕΝ ΧΕΙΡΙ *ΑΓΓΑΙΟΥ
 ΤΟΥ ΠΡΟΦΗΤΟΥ ΛΕΓΩΝ*

[εἰπὼν πρὸς] ζοροβαβέλ τὸν τοῦ σαλαθιὴλ . . οὐδα καὶ πρὸς ἰησοῦν τὸν τοῦ
 2 . . ἱερέα τὸν μέγαν λέγων ²τά . . ντοκράτωρ λέγων ὁ λαὸς οὗ . . ἦκει
 3 ὁ καιρὸς τοῦ οἰκοδο . . κον ^{κν} καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος ^{κν} . . [ἀγγαίου] τοῦ προ-
 4 φήτου λέγων ⁴εἰ καί[ρως] . . τοῦ οἰκεῖν ἐν οἰκοῖς ὑμῶν [κοιλοσταθμοῖς ὁ δὲ]
 5 οἶκος οὗτος ἐξηρῆ[μωται] ⁵ . . ἄδε λέγει ^{κν} παντοκρά . . . ρδίας ὑμῶν εἰς
 6 τὰς . . ⁶*****ατε πολλὰ καὶ εἰσηνέγ[κατε ὀλίγα ἐφάγετε] καὶ οὐκ εἰς
 πλησμονήν ἡν περιεβάλ[εσθε καὶ οὐκ ἐθερμάνθη]τε ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ
 7 ἐν εἰς ἀποδεσμὸν τετρυνημένον ⁷τάδε λέγει . . κράτωρ θέσθε τὰς
 8 καρδίας ὑ[μῶν εἰς τὰς] ὁδοὺς ὑμῶν ⁸ἀνάβητε ἐπὶ τὸ [ὄρος καὶ κο]ψατε
 ξύλα καὶ οἷσατε καὶ οἰ[κοδομήσα]τε τὸν οἶκον καὶ εὐδοκήσω ἐν . . ἐνδο-
 9 ξασθήσομαι εἶπε ^{κν} ⁹ . . τε εἰς πολλὰ καὶ ἐγένετο ὀλίγ[α] . . χθη εἰς τὸν
 οἶκον καὶ ἐξεφ[ύσησα αὐτά] διὰ τοῦτο τάδε λέγει ^{κν} παν . . θ' ὦν ὁ οἶκός

I. 4 Chrys. *De Anna* Serm. iii 4

Inscr Αγγαίος i BNA Q 22

I. 1. δαρειον] δαριον B (δαρειον B*) NA του 1^ο] om 153 228 (hab 228^a) εν
 χειρι αγγαίου] om 233 δι αγγαίου Σ αγγαίου] αγγεου B* (-γαίου B^{ab}) N λεγων
 (ειπον)] + δη A Q 36 153 hab sub ~ Syro-Hex τον 1^ο] om 62 147 ιησους]
 om 153 λεγων 2^ο] om 62 86 147 2. λεγων] om N? (postea revoc) 86 153
 ras 22 ηκει] ηκεν 48 233 ο καιρος] om ο Q* (hab Q^a) 3. (αγγαίου)] αγγεου N
 4. ει και(ros) ad fin com] υμεις μεν οικειτε εν οικois κοιλοσταθμοis (ai κυκλοσταθμοis)
 ο δε οικος μου ηρημωται Chrys οικειν] οικοδομειν 153 υμων] om N^a (postea
 revoc) A Q 233 (κοιλοσταθμοis)] ολοσταθμοis 62 ωροφωμενοis Aq [ωροφω-
 Syro-Hex ουτος] υμων B ημων 48 μον ουτος 228 (Syro-Hex = Y) εξηρη-
 (μωται)] εξερημωται A Q* (εξηρ. Q^a) 6. *****ατε] pr διοτι ταδε λεγει κν
 παντοκρατωρ (seq ras i lit) A *****ατε—ολιγα] OL^a = Y εισηνεγ[κατε]]-γκετε
 Q^a και 2^ο] om N¹^{a,b} εις 2^ο] es A* (eis A¹) περιεβαλε[σθε]] περιεβαλλεσθε 228
 (εθερμανθη]τε] εθερμανθητε N* (εθερμανθ. N^c) αποδεσμον] δεσμον BNA Q L (ex 22 36
 51 97 228) τετρυνημενον] τετρεπημενον N* (τετρυν. N^{a,b}) 7. τας καρδιας]
 sup ras A* (τας] οδους] om τας N* (hab (N^{c,a}, c,b) οδους sup ras pl litt A*
 8. επι] εις BN* (επι N^{c,b}) 48 62 86 147 το] om N* (hab N¹(v¹⁰)) (κο]ψατε]
 κοψετε N* (-ψατε N^{c,a}, c,b) και οισατε] om BNA Q 48 153 233 Syro-Hex τον]
 om 62 147 ειπε]]-πεν BNA Q v ras 22 λεγει 228 9. εγενετο] εγενοντο A
 ολιγ(a)] pr εις 228 εξεφ(υσησα)] εφυσησα 153 ταδε λεγει ad fin com] OL^c

- 10 μου ἔστιν ἔρη . . ὥκατε ἕκαστος εἰς τὸν οἶ . . ¹⁰ . το ἀνέξει ὁ οὐνός ἀπὸ
 11 δ' ῥόσου καὶ ἡ γῆ στε¹λεῖται τὰ ἐκφόρια αἰ²ντῆς ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ¹¹ καὶ ἐπάξω
 ῥομφαίαν ἐπὶ [τὴν γῆν καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ] ὄρη καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν σίτο[ν] . . καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ
 12 ἐλαιον [καὶ ἐπὶ πάντα ὅσα ἐκ]φέρει ἡ γῆ καὶ ἐπὶ [τοὺς ἀνθρώπους] . . νη²
 καὶ ἐπὶ πάντα . . . ρῶν αὐτῶν ¹² καὶ ἤ[κουσεν] . . ὁ τοῦ σαλαθιῆλ ἐκ
 [φυλῆς] ἰούδα καὶ ἰη³σοῦς ὁ τοῦ . . . πάντες τοῦ θν αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν
 λόγων ἀγγα[λου] τοῦ προφήτου καθότι ἐξαπέστειλεν [αὐτὸν κῶ ὁ] θς
 13 αὐτῶν πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐ[φοβ]ήθη ὁ λαὸς ἀπὸ προσώπου κυ⁴ ¹³ καὶ εἶ . .
 14 [ἀγγ]ελος κυ⁵ ἐν ἀποστολῇ κυ⁶ τῷ λαφῷ ἐγὼ εἰμι μεθ' ὑμῶν λέγει κῶ ¹⁴ καὶ
 ἐξήγγει . . ζοροβαβέλ τοῦ σαλαθιῆλ ἐκ [φυλῆς] ἰούδα καὶ τὸ πᾶν ἰησοῦ τοῦ
 ἰωσε . . ρέως τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ τὸ πᾶν τῶν . . ν παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ εἰσῆλ-
 15 θον . . ἔργα ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ κυ⁷ παντο . . αὐτῶν ¹ τῇ τετραδί καὶ εἴκα . . τοῦ ΙΙ
 ἔκτου τῷ δευτέρῳ ἔ[τει] . . τοῦ βασιλείως τῷ ἐβδόμῳ μη[νί] . . τοῦ μηνὸς
 16 ἐλάλησε κῶ . . προφήτου λέγων ² εἶπὸν . . τοῦ σαλαθιῆλ ἐκ . . οὖν τὸν
 17 αὐτὸ ἰωσεδὲκ . . καὶ πρὸς πάντας τοὺς . . . ³ τίς ἐξ ὑμῶν . . . [ἐν] τῇ δόξῃ
 τοῦ τοῦ . . . πῶς ὑμεῖς βλέπετε αὐτὸν νῦν⁴ καθὼς οὐχ ὑπάρχοντ . . ὑμῶν⁵
 18 ⁴ καὶ νῦν κατίσχυε ζοροβ[αβέλ λέγει] κῶ καὶ κατίσχυε ἰησοῦ ὁ τοῦ ἰωσ . .
 ρεὺς ὁ μέγας καὶ κατισχυέτω πᾶς . . γῆς λέγει κῶ παντοκράτωρ καὶ . . ὅτι
 ἐγὼ μεθ' ὑμῶν εἰμι λέγει κῶ παιτ***** καὶ ὁ λόγος μου ὃν διεθέ-

OL^c=Y εστιν] *pr os* N^{a,b}(b⁷)v^{id} rurs *de* *hab sub* * Syro-Hex 10. (OL^c
OL^c=Y ανεξει] *وَصَلَحَ* Syro-Hex (στελίζεται) υποστέλειται BNA Q 48 153
86 48 86 147 (σέλ, 147^a) 153 228 233 + δουναι 228 (εφ υμας] *om* BNA Q 48 153
228 233 Syro-Hex 11. (και) επαφ—(την γην] OL^c OL^a=Y ρομφαιαν]
ερασια Aq ΣΘ (και επι τα) ορη] *om* OL^c OL^a και επι τον σιτο(ν)—ελαιον]
OL^c OL^a=Y σιτο(ν)] *σιον* N^a (σιτον N^{a,b}, c^b) το] τον 147 (και επι παντα
εκ) φερει η γη] *om* OL^c OL^a (επι παντα οσα] *om* επι παντα BNA Q 48 153 228
233 *om* επι 86 και επι (τους ανθρωπουσ) *ad fin com*] OL^c OL^a=Y 12. και
η(κουσεν) *ad fin com*] (OL^c=Y *εξε*: domini dei *pro* του θυ: verbum *pro* των λογων:
dominus *pro* (κω ο) θυ: dei *pro* κυ) η(κουσεν)] *ν* ras 22 ο 1^o] *om* 147 228 εκ]
pr o A (και ιη)σουσ—σαλαθηλ εκ (φυλης) ιουδα *in com* 14] *om* Q* (*hab* Q^{meslatr}:
item *hab* και ιησουσ . . . εξαποστειλεν αυτον κω ο θυ αυτον *pro* Q^{(7)mesur} τον θυ]
om] του 62 αυτον 1^o] αυτον Q^{me} (postea -των) 153 αγγαι(ον)] αγγειον N *pr* του
48 62 233 εξαπεστειλεν (αυτον)] απεστειλεν 228 om αυτον 153 αυταν 2^o] αυτου
153 13. (αγγ)ελος κυ] αγγελος N* (*om* N^{a,b}, c^b) εν αποστολη κυ] εν αγγελιοις
κυριου B Q (*om* Q^{me}) 22^a 48 95 153 185 228 ο αγγελος κυριου N^{a,b} αγγελος κυριου N^{a,b}
om A 233 Syro-Hex (: *وَصَلَحَ* *وَصَلَحَ* Syro-Hex^{me}) τω λαω] + λεγων
22 36 51 62 86 97 147 228^{sup 11a} 14. το παα ιησου] sup ras (seq ras) A^b
παντοσ] *om* Q* (*hab* Q^{me}) 153 228 *hab sub* ~ Syro-Hex εισηλθον] εισηλθεν N*
(-λθον N^a) εισηλθε 95 185 εν τω οικω] *om* 153
II. 1. τετραδι] τεταρτη Q* (τετραδι Q*) 147 (ετει)] *om* Q* (*hab* Q*) τω
εβδομο μη(νι)] τω μηνι εν εβδομο BN 48 95 185 om του 22 ελαλησε]-σεν BA Q
ελαβην N* (ελαλησεν N^a) 2. του 1^o] *om* B (*hab* B^{abv}) *pro* παντα] *om*
pro 22 3. (εν) τη δοξη αυτου] *om* 147 αυτον] αυταν 86 4. κατισχευ 1^o—
κατισχευ 2^o] *om* 62 (ζοροβ(αβελ)] ζοροβαβελ N* (ζορ. N^a) ζορομβαβελ 51 (λεγει)
κω 1^o] + παντοκρατωρ 22 36 62 86 97 147 ιησου ο του] ιησουσ του A^{id} *om* 153
κατισχυετω] κατισχευ 228 παντοκρατωρ] *om* BNA QΓL (εκ 51) Syro-Hex
λεγει κω 2^o—λεγει κω 3^o] *om* 95 185 εγω μεθ υμων] μεθ υμων εγω BN Q 48 95 185
233 παντ*****] *pr o* BN* (*om* N^{a,b}) 48 86 95 185 και ο λογωσ μου *ad fin com*]

μην**** (*) τῶν ὑμῶν ἐκ γῆς αἰγύπτου οὐκ ***** (?)
 5,6 [καὶ τὸ πᾶν] ἐφέστηκεν ἐν μέσῳ ὑμῶν [θαρσεῖτε ὁ διότι] τάδε λέγει κῷ
 7 παντοκράτωρ . . . [σεῖ]ω τὸν οὐνὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν . . . καὶ τὴν ξηράν[†] καὶ
 συσσει[σω] . . . καὶ ἥξει τὰ ἐκλεκτὰ πᾶν . . . καὶ πλησῶ τὸν οἶκον . . . κῷ
 8,9 παντοκράτωρ[†] [ἐμὸν τὸ ἀργύριον καὶ] ἐμὸν τὸ χρυσίον λέγει . . .⁹ π
 μεγάλη ἐστὶν ἡ δόξα τοῦ οἴκου τούτου ἡ ἐσχάτη ὑπὲρ τὴν πρῶτην] . . .
 τῶρ καὶ ἐν τῷ τό . . . λέγει κῷ παντοκράτωρ . . . εἰς περιποίησιν πατρί
 10 τῷ κτίζοντι τοῦ] ἀναστῆσ . . .¹⁰ . . . εἰκάδι τοῦ ἐνάτου μηνὸς ἔτους δευ . . . ἐπὶ
 11 δαρείου ἐγένετο λόγος κῷ πρὸς . . . τὸν προφήτην λέγων¹¹ τάδε λέγει . .
 12 τοκράτωρ ἐπερώτησον τοὺς [ιερεῖς] νόμον λέγων.¹² εἰὰν λάβῃ ἄνθρωπος
 κρέας [ἄγιον] ἐν τῷ ἄκρῳ τοῦ ἱματίου αὐτοῦ καὶ [ᾄψῃται] τὸ ἄκρον τοῦ
 ἱματίου αὐτοῦ ἄρτου ἢ ἐψέματος ἢ οἴνου ἢ ἐλαίου ἢ παρ[ι]τὸς βρώματος
 13 εἰ ἀγιασθήσεται καὶ ἄπε . . . εἰς καὶ εἶπαν οὐχί .¹³ καὶ εἰ[πεν ἀγγαῖος] εἰὰν
 ᾄψῃται μεμαμμένος [ἐπὶ ψυχῇ] ἀπὸ πάντων τούτων εἰ μιαν[θήσεται καὶ]
 14 ἀπεκρίθησαν οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ [εἶπαν μιανθήσεται] .¹⁴ καὶ ἀπεκρίθη ἀγγαῖος

II. 9^a Chrys. *Ad Theod. laps.* i 13

om BNAQΓL (exc 22 36 51 97 153 228) 86 τον λογον ον διεθεμην υμιν εν τω εξελθειν
 υμας εκ της αιγυπτου (απο αιγυπτου 36 51) 22 36 51 97 153 228 ~~Λαβετε~~ ~~και~~ ~~ο~~ ~~λογος~~ ~~μου~~
 : ~~Λαβετε~~ ~~και~~ ~~ο~~ ~~λογος~~ ~~μου~~ Syro-Hex^{ms} [Field] [και ο λογος μου
 ον διεθεμην υμιν εξελθοντων υμων εκ γης αιγυπτου ουκ εφοβηθητε Y (!)] 5. (κ^{αι} ~~και~~ ~~ο~~ ~~λογος~~ ~~μου~~ ~~εστε~~)
 πᾶν) — υμων] et spiritus meus instat in medio vestrum OL^a (το) om Γ (θαρσει
 και ο λογος μου ον διεθεμην υμιν εξελθοντων υμων εκ γης αιγυπτου θαρσειτε (ται 62) ~~και~~ ~~ο~~ ~~λογος~~ ~~μου~~
 μη φοβεισθε (-σθαι 62) 62 86 147 pr θαρσειτε και μη φοβεισθε 86 6. ταδε] ~~και~~ ~~ο~~ ~~λογος~~ ~~μου~~
 BNGΓL Syro-Hex παντοκρατωρ] pr ο N* (improb ο N^{a,b}) (σε)ω σε ~~και~~ ~~ο~~ ~~λογος~~ ~~μου~~
 BNAQΓ 48 153 228 233 7. συσσει(σω) συσσεισ B (συσσ. B^{ab}) NAQ (συσ
 Q^a) Γ εκλεκτα επιλεκτα Γ πλησων πληρωσ A Γ 228 εμπλησων 36 8. (αρ
 ριον) αργυρον 22 (αργυριον 22^a) 9. εστιν η δ(οξα) — π(ρωτην)] εσται γαρ η δοξα ~~και~~ ~~ο~~ ~~λογος~~ ~~μου~~
 του οικου τουτου η εσχατη υπερ την εμπροσθεν Chrys εστιν] εσται BNAQΓL (ε) ~~και~~ ~~ο~~ ~~λογος~~ ~~μου~~
 36 97 om 95 185) (κτισοντι)] κτισαντι Γ 10. του ενατου μηνος] μηνι τω ενατ
 A Γ τω μηνι τω ενατω Q 233 δαρειου] δαριου B* (δαρειου B^{ab}) NAQ* (δαρειου Q^a) ~~και~~ ~~ο~~ ~~λογος~~ ~~μου~~
 11. επερωτησον ad fin com] interroga sacerdotes dicens OL^f επερωτησον] + δ
 N^{a,b} 48 95 153 185 228 νομον] om 62 147 12. εαν λαβη ανθρωπος ad fin com] ~~και~~ ~~ο~~ ~~λογος~~ ~~μου~~
 Si alligaverit homo carnem sanctam in summo vestimento et tetigerit summitas
 vestimenti aliquam creaturam panis aut vini aut olei si sanctificatur? et respon-
 derunt sacerdotes et dixerunt non OL^f αγιον] αγριον N^{a,vid} και (αψηται) — αυτου
 2^o] om 62 αρ(του)] pr του 62 147 (postea del) (η εψε)ματος η οινου] η οινου η
 εψεματος N^{a,b} (vid) η εψ. τ(ου) οινου Γ^{vid} (εψε)ματος] εψηματος N^{a,b} (βρω)ματος
 αρωματος 62^a 147^a ει] om Nⁱ (postea revoc) 153 ειπαν] ειπον L (exc 48 233)
 86 ουχι] ου BNAQΓ 48 153 228 233 13. και ει(πεν αγγαῖος) ad fin com]
 et dixit dominus si tetigerit inquinatus in anima horum aliquid si inquinabitur?
 et dixerunt sacerdotes inquinabitur OL^f (αγγαῖος)] αγγεος N μεμαμμενος
 μεμασμενος N Γ + ακαθαρτος BN (om N^{a,b}) Γ (228 adscript in mg post ψυχῃ) + η
 ακαθαρτος A Q μεμαμμενος (επι ψυχῃ)] επι ψυχῃ η ακαθαρτος 36 om επι ψυχῃ 51 86
 (pon post αψηται 62 147) ~~Λαβετε~~ ~~και~~ ~~ο~~ ~~λογος~~ ~~μου~~ Syro-Hex (επι ψυχῃ)] ψυχῃ επι
 ψυχῃ A ψυχῃ επι ψυχῃ Q απο] επι BNG 48 παντων] παντος BNAQΓ 48
 62 86 147 153 228 233 οι ιερεῖς] om 228 (ειπαν)] ειπον L (exc 48 233) 86
 14. και απεκριθη — (το εθνος τουτο)] Et dixit dominus si (sic OL^{co}) et populus
 hic (iste OL^{co}) et sic gens ista OL^f OL^{co} (αγγαῖος) αγγεος N (ου)τως 1^o] ουτος

καὶ εἶπεν οὕτως ὁ λαὸς οὗτος καὶ [οὕτως τὸ ἔθνος τοῦτο] ἐνώπιον ἐμοῦ
λέγει . . . πάντα τὰ ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν αὐτῶν καὶ ὅς ἐάν ἐγγίῃ ἐκεῖ μian[θή-
σεται ἕνεκεν τῶν] λημμάτων αὐτῶν . . . θήσονται ἀπὸ προ[σώπου] πονηριῶν
15 αὐτῶν καὶ ἐμισεί[τε ἐν πύλαις ἐλέγχοντας] ¹⁵ καὶ νῦν θέσθε δὴ ἐπὶ τὰς
καρδίας ὑμῶν[ν] . . . ἡμέρας ταύτης καὶ ὑπεράν[ω] πρὸ τοῦ θείναι λίθον ἐπὶ
5 λίθον ἐν τῷ . . . ¹⁶ τίνες ἦτε ὅτε ἐνεβάλλετε εἰς . . . [κριθῆς] εἴκοσι σάτα καὶ
ἐγένετο δέκα ***θῆς σάτα καὶ εἰσπορεύεσθε εἰς . . . ὃν ἐξαντλήσαι πεντή-
7 κοντα . . . καὶ ἐγένοντο εἴκοσι ¹⁷ ἐπάταξα [ὑμᾶς] ἐν ἀφορίᾳ καὶ ἐν ἀνεμο-
φθορίᾳ . . . χαλάξῃ πάντα τὰ ἔργα τῶν . . . ὑμῶν καὶ οὐκ ἐπιστρέψατε . . . λέγει
8 κῶ παντοκράτωρ ¹⁸ [τάξατε δὴ] τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν ἀπὸ τῆς . . . ταύτης καὶ
ἐπέκεινα ἀπὸ . . . δος καὶ εἰκάδος τοῦ . . . ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμέρας ἧς [ἐθεμελιώθη
9 ὁ ναῶς] κῶ θέσθε ἐν ταῖς . . . ¹⁹ ἐτι ἐπιγνωσθήσεται . . . ἐτι ἡ ἀμπελος καὶ
10 ὁ . . . ξύλα τῆς ἐλαίας . . . πον ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμ . . . [εὐλογῇ]σω ²⁰ καὶ ἐγένετο
11 . . . τὸν προφήτην ἐν τῇ τετράδ . . . τοῦ μηνὸς λέγων ²¹ εἰπὸν πρὸς . . . τὸν
τοῦ σαλαβιῆλ ἐκ φυλῆς ἰούδα λέγων[ν] ἐγὼ σείω τὸν οὐν[ον] καὶ τὴν [γῆν] καὶ
22 τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ τὴν ξηράν ²² [καὶ κα]ταστρέψω θρόνους βασιλέων καὶ

28* οὗτος[ν] οὕτως 62 228 τουτο[ν] om 36 (hab sup lin ab al man) το 62 εμου
Q 147 233 (αὐτῶν) 1° αὐτον 95 185 (ος εαν) ἐγγίση ἐκεῖ μian[θήσεται]
mnis qui illic (et si illuc OL^{co}) accesserit inquinabitur OLⁱ OL^{co} (καὶ ὅς εαν) Q
ae os an Q 153 228 καὶ ὅς εαν 233 ἐγγίση[ν] ἐγγίση N λημμάτων[ν] πλημμελημάτων
ενεκεν τῶν[ν] λημμάτων ad fin com] hab sub ~ Syro-Hex λημμάτων[ν] πλημμελημάτων
2 86 147 λημμάτων 233 αὐτῶν 2° om Γ (πονηριῶν) ποναν BN (πονηριῶν) N^{ca}
Q Γ 36 48 153 228^{ms} 233 (لحمته Syro-Hex) (ἐλέγχοντας) ἐλέγχοντα 48 153
28 15, δη] om 95 153 185 ἐπὶ 1° εἰς BN (ἐπὶ N^{ca}) 48 ὑμῶν[ν] om 95
85 ὑπεραν[ω] προ] επανω A 16, οτε ἐνεβάλλετε] om οτε 86 ἐνεβαλετε 228
νεβαλλετε 233 (κριθῆς) 1° post : 2 fort litt ras Aⁱ om 22 36 51 (hab 51*) 95 153
85 228 pon post σατα 1° 62 86 97 147 ἐγένετο] ἐγενετο BNAQL (exc 22 36
5 97 185) δεκα ***θῆς σατα] κριθῆς δεκα σατα BN (δεκα σατα κριθῆς N^{ca}) A Q Γ
8 233 δεκα σατα κριθῆς QL (exc 48 233) κριθῆς 1° 2° hab sub ~ Syro-Hex
εἰσπορεύεσθε] εἰσπορευετο 95 185 εἰσπορευετε 153 πεντηκοντα] ν' N ἐγενοντο]
γενοντο BNAQL 22 48 62 86 147 233 ἐγενετο 153 228 εικοσι] pr εἰς N 153 228
17, επαταξα (υμας)] pr καὶ Q om υμας 36 (hab 36*) + εν μαχαιρα καὶ 228^{ms} εν
αφορια] εν απορια N* (αφ. N^{ca}) 233 εν αφορια A εν ρομφαια 36 om εν 62 om 153
καὶ 1° om 153 ανεμοφθορια] -ρεια 153 χαλαξη] post ζ ras aliq 22 παντο-
κρατωρ] om BNAQLQL (exc 22 36 51 95 97 185) 18, (ταξατε)] υποταξατε BN
(ταξατε N^{ca}, N^{ca}) 48 ρι καὶ νυν 228 ταυτης] ἐκεινης 62 86 147 (ἐθεμελιωθη)]
θεμελιωται BN 48 153 228 19, ἐτι 1°] εἰ BN 48 εἰ ἐτι N^{ca} A Q QL (exc 48)
ἐπιγνωσθησεται] ἐπεγνωσθησεται B* (ἐπιγν. B^{ab}) ἐπιγνωσθη N* (ἐπιγνωσθησεται N^{ca})
ἐπιγνωσεται 97 ἐπιγνωσθησεθε 233 ἐτι 2°] om A 233 ξυλα] φυλλα N* (ξυλα
N^{ca}) (εὐλογῇ]σω) καὶ επανω εὐλογῇσω αὐτα A 20, εν τη] om BNAQ 48 153
228 233 λεγων—(λεγων) in com seq] om 153 228 (hab 228^{ms} ab al man) 21, τον]
om 147 ἐγὼ σείω] pr ἐτι απαξ 22 36 51 62 86 95 97 147 185 228^{ms} ἐγὼ
σείω ad fin com] OLⁱ=Y σείω] σισω N^{ca} (σείω) σείω 233 καὶ την (γῆν)] om 51
(καὶ την) θαλασσαν—ξηραν] hab sub ~ Syro-Hex 22, καὶ (ἐξολοθρευσω) δυναμιν
βασιλεως] om N* hab ξ ἐξολοθρευσω δυναμιν βασιλεων N^{ca}, N^{ca} (vid) (postea ras) hab sub
* 22 97 hab sub ~ Syro-Hex (ἐξολοθρευσω)] ολεθρευσω BN 48 153 ἐξολοθρευσω
AQ 228* βασιλεως] βασιλεων BNAQL (exc 95 97 185) hab sub * 22 εθων] pr
ων BNAQ 36 48 228 233 (καὶ καταστρεψω ad fin com] OLⁱ=Y αρματα] αρμα

[ἐξολοθρεύσω] δύναμιν βασιλέως ἐθνῶν [καὶ καταστρέψω] ἄρματα καὶ ὑψάτας [καὶ κατα]βήσονται ἔπποι καὶ ἄνα . . . αὐτός ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ πρὸς τὸν
 23 ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ· ²³ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκεῖ . . . κράτωρ λήψομαι σε . . . τοῦ
 σαλαβιῆλ τὸν δοῦλόν μου λέγει κῶ καὶ] θήσομαι σε ὡς σφραγίδα διότι
 σὲ ἡρέτ]ισα λέγει κῶ παντο . .

I 1: ¹ ἐν τῷ ὀγδόῳ μηνὶ ἔτους δευτέρου ἐπὶ δαρείῳ
 ἐγένετο λόγος κῶ πρὸς Ζαχαρίαν τὸν τοῦ Βαραχίου
 γιόν Ἀδδῶκ τὸν προφῆτη . .

2,3 ² ὠργίσθη κῶ ἐπὶ τοὺς πατέρας ὑμῶν . . λην· ³ καὶ ἐρεῖς πρὸς αὐτοὺς [τάδε λέγει
 κῶ] παντοκράτωρ ἐπιστρέ . . λέγει κῶ τῶν δυνάμεων καὶ [ἐπιστραφήσο]
 4 πρὸς ὑμᾶς λέγει κῶ τῶν [δυνάμεων ⁴ καὶ] μὴ γίνεσθε καθὼς οἱ π . . [ἐνε]
 λουν αὐτοῖς οἱ προφῆται [ἐμπροσθεν λέγοντες τὰ]δε λέγει κῶ παντοκράτ
 ῶς ἀπὸ τῶν ὁδῶν ὑμῶν [τῶν πονηρῶν καὶ] ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπιτηδευ . . [πονηρ]
 καὶ οὐκ ἤκουσαν [καὶ οὐ προσέσχον τοῦ] εἰσακοῦσαί μου λέγει [κῶ] παντ
 5 κράτωρ ⁵ οἱ πατέρες ὑμῶν ποῦ εἰσ[ιν καὶ οἱ προφῆται μὴ εἰς] τὸν αἰῶνα ζήσ
 6 . . ⁶ . . μου καὶ τὰ νόμμά [μου δέχεσθε] . . τέλλομαι κατέλαβε
 τοὺς πατέρας ὑμῶν καὶ . . σαν καὶ εἶπον καθὼς παρα[τέτακται κῶ] παντ
 κράτωρ τοῦ ποιῆσαι [ἡμῖν κατὰ] τὰς ὁδοὺς ἡμῶν καὶ κατὰ [τὰ ἐπιτηδ]εύματα

86 αναβας] + αυτω Ν^{ab} (postea ras) + και κατα|στρεψω πασαν την δυναμιν αυτων και καταβαλω τα ορια αυτων και ενισχυω τους εκλεκτους μου Α (κατα)βήσονται αναβησονται Α Q* (λ' καθης, [sic] Q^{ms}) 22 51 97 147* αναβησονται 233 ρομφαία] εις ρομφαιαν 62 86 147 23. εν τη ημερα ad fin com] OL¹ = Y (exc: om) ως: om λεγει κῶ 2^o) ληψομαι] ληψομαι BNA σε] om Ν* (hab Ν^{ca,cb}) ως] ει Α 147 ως σφρα(γίδα)] ωσφραγίδα Ν σφρα(γίδα)] ras aliq 22 διوتي] οτι (ηρετ)ισα] ηρετισαμην Ν* (postea ηρετισα) om 62 ηρετσα 86 147

Subscr Αγγαιος (-γειος Ν) i BNAQ αγγαιος οτιχ ρις 22

Inscr Ζαχαρίας ia BAQ om Ν* Ζαχαρίας Ν^{ab} Ζαχαρίας ia 22

I. I. δευτερ(ου)] β' Ν δαρειου] δαριου NAQ* (δαρειου Q*) κῶ] om 62 147 (τον) του βαραχιου] παππος Σ υιον] υιον 51 αδδωκ] αδδω BNAQ L (exc 36 95 97 185) αδωκ (sic infra) 36 εδδω (sic infra) 95 97 185 (αδδωκ 228* αδδω 228) 2. υμων] ημων Α μεγαλην] hab sub ~ Syro-Hex 3. ερεις] ερει 51 62 147 λεγει κῶ των δυναμεων 1^o) λεγει κῶ παντοκρατωρ Ν* om Ν^{ca} (om παντοκρατωρ etiam Ν^{cb}) Q 36 233 hab sub ~ Syro-Hex λεγει κῶ 2^o—προς υμας] om 62 και (επιστραφῶ)μαι προς υμας] επιστρεψατε προς με Ν* (η επιστραφ. προς υμας Ν^{ca,cb}) των (δυναμεων) 2^o) παντοκρατωρ AQ 62 233 hab sub ~ Syro-Hex 4. (ενε)καλουν] ενεκαλεσαν BNAQ 48 233 εκαλεσαν 228 οι προφηται (εμπροσθεν)] οι εμπροσθεν οι προφηται (οι 2^o eras) 62 147 (εμπροσθεν)] pr οι Ν^{ca} AQ 22* 36 51 97 228 233 δη] om BNAQ L (exc 22 36 51 97 228) 86 (και) απο—(πονηρ)ων 2^o] sup ras Α και ουκ ηκουσαν] και ουκ εισηκουσαν BN 48 228 om AQ 233 (και ου προσεσχον)] ουδε προσεσχον 62 147 και ουδε pr. 86 μου] om 62 147 (παντοκρατωρ)] om BNAQ 48 228 233 και ουκ εισηκουσαν μου λεγει κυριος 86^{ms} 5. εισ(ιν)] εισι Q* (ν ras 22) (εις)] om BNAQ 48 (228^{superscr}) 233 6. (δεχεσθε)] δεχεσθα 62* 95 147* 185 κατελαβον] κατελαβosan BNAQ 48 233 πατερας] προφητας 147 ειπον] ειπαν BNAQ 48 233 παρα(τετακται)] παρατετακτο Q του] om 62 147 (ημιν) 1^o] om AQ 233 ημιν Ν* (ημιν Ν^{ca,cb}) 147 ημων 1^o] ras Ν* (ημων Ν^{ca,cb}) υμων AQ 51 233 και κατα (τα επιτηδ)ευματα (ημων)] om 62 (ημων) 2^o] υμας

7 [ἡμῶν οὕτως] ἐποίη[σεν ἡμῶν] 7 τῇ τετράδι καὶ εἰκάδι τῷ ἐν[δεκάτῳ μηνί]
 οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ μῆν σαβάτ ἐν [τῷ δευτέρῳ ἔτ]ει ἐπὶ δαρείου ἐγένετο λόγος
 [κῦ πρὸς ζακα]ρίαν τὸν τοῦ βαραχίου υἱὸν ἀδδῶ τὸν πρ[ο]φήτην λέγων
 8 ἑώρακα . . . ἰδοὺ ἀνὴρ ἐπιβεβηκὼς [ἐπὶ ἵππον πυρρ]ὸν καὶ οὗτος ἰσθήκει
 ἀνὰ [14 litt. ?] ἑὼν κατασκίων καὶ ὁ . . . πυρροὶ καὶ ψαροὶ καὶ ποι[κίλοι
 9 καὶ λευκοί] 9 καὶ εἶπον τί οὗτοι κῆ . . . γελος ὁ λαλῶν ἐν ἔμοι . . . αὐτα
 10 καὶ ἀπεκρί . . . εἰ ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν ὁρέ . . . οὗτοί εἰσιν οὓς ἐξάπεστειλεν
 11 κῶ περι[ο]δεύσαι τὴν γῆν 11 καὶ . . . γέλω κῦ τῷ ἐφεστῶ . . . καὶ εἶπον περιω
 2 δεύσαμεν τὴν γῆν πᾶσαν . . . πᾶσα ἡ γῆ κατοικεῖται καὶ ἦσαν . . . 12 [καὶ]
 ἀπεκρίθη ὁ ἄγγελος κῦ καὶ εἶπ . . . παντοκράτωρ ἔως τίνος οὐ μὴ [ἐλεήσης]
 3 τὴν ἡλὴμ καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἰούδα [ἀς ὑπε]ρείδες τοῦτο ἐβδομηκοστὸν ἔ[τος] 13 καὶ
 ἀπεκρίθη κῶ παντοκράτωρ τῷ . . . λαλοῦντι ἐν ἔμοι ῥήματα [καλὰ καὶ λόγους]
 4 παρακλητοῦς 14 καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς μὲ ὁ ἄγ[γ]ελος ὁ λαλῶν ἐν ἔμοι ἀν[ά]κραγε
 λέγω τάδε λέγει κῶ παντοκράτωρ [14 litt. (?)] σιών καὶ τὴν ἡλὴμ ζῆλον
 5 [μέγαν] 15 καὶ ὀργῇ μεγάλην ἐγὼ ὀργίζομαι ἐπὶ [τὰ ἔθνη τὰ συνε]πιτιθέμενα
 6 ἀνθ' ὧν [ἐγὼ μὲν ὠργίσθην] ὀλίγα αὐτοὶ δὲ συνεπ[έ]θεντο εἰς κακά 16 διὰ
 τοῦτο τάδε λέγει κῶ [15 litt.] ἐν οἰκτιρμῷ καὶ ὁ οἶκ . . . θήσεται ἐν

I. 7 Theod. In Dan. ix 12. Chrys. De Legislat. vi. In Psal. ci 2. 15^b In
 s. xiii 6

Q 51 233 Θ (οὕτως) ὡσαύτως Aq Σ (ἡμῶν) 2^o υμῖν 51 Θ 7. (Theod
 Y exc: του ενδεκατου μηνος προ τω ενδεκατω μηνι): ομι του: υιον προ υι(ον): ομι
 εγαν] εικαδι] προ τη 86 τη] ομι Q 36 τω ενδεκατω μηνι] προ εν 233 εν]
 8 95 185 δαρειου] δαριου N του] ομι 62 υι(ον)] υιον 51 λεγων] ομι 51
 εωρακα] εωρακα B* (εωρ. B*) A Q* (εωρ. Q^a vid) (επι ιππον)] ειππον N* (επι ιππον
 εα, c, b) εφ ιππον A (πυρρ)ον] πυρον N* (πυρρον N^{a, c, b}) ουτος] ουτως 62
 σθηκει] ειστηκει B^{a, b} Q* (ιστηκει B* Q*) 62 εσθηκει N* ειστηκει N^{a, b} (ιστηκει N^{a, b})
 κατασκιον] δ μυρσινεωσαν 86^{me} πυρροι] πυροι N* (πυρρ. N^{a, b}) και ψαροι] ομι
 N^{a, b} 95 185 (hab 228^{supra} in abal man) και ψαροι ad fin com] και ποικιλοι και λευκοι
 και ψαροι 62 86 147 ποι(κιλοι)] ξανθοι Aq 𐤀𐤃𐤁𐤏𐤃 Syro-Hex 9. ειπον]
 ηπα BNA Q 𐤀𐤁𐤏𐤃 (exc 48 228 233) κῆ] κυριε μου Aq αδανι Θ 10. (εξαπεστειλεν)]
 εξαπεσταλκεν N^{a, b} (postea εξαπεστειλεν) A Q (περιο)δεύσαι] προ του A Q* 36 233
 περιωδεύσαι Qⁱ (vid) me 11. και 1^o] ομι 95 185 ειπον] ειπαν A Q 233 περιω
 δεύσαμεν] περιωδευκαμεν A την γην πασαν] πασαν την γην BNA Q 48 228 233 ομι
 πασαν 62 86 147 πασα η γη] εγπασα (vid) η γη 62 12. (Theod = Y exc
 περιειδες προ (υπε)ρειδες Chrys = Y exc ποτε προ τινος) (και) 1^o] ομι 95 185
 ελεησης)] ελεησεις A ελεησει 62 πολεις] πολις N* (-λεις N^{a, b}) (υπε)ρειδες]
 περιειδες N* υπεριδες N^{a, c, b} A 13. (και απε)κριθη—(καλα)] 4 lineas obelis
 totavit et in mg adscr ου κ' π' Εβρ' B^{a, b} 14. και ειπ(εν)—εμοι] OL^a = Y και
 ιπ(εν)] hastulam adpinx B* αν(ακραγε)] ανεκραγε 95 185 (14 litt [1]) σιων και
 την ηλ(ημ) εζηλωκα (-σα N) την ιερουσαλην και την σιων (σιων B^a N A Q*) BNA Q 48
 228 233 εζηλωκα (1 lit ras 22) την σιων και την ηλ(ημ) 𐤀𐤁𐤏𐤃 (exc 48 228 233) zelatus sum
 iherusalem et sion OLⁱ 𐤀𐤁𐤏𐤃 𐤁𐤏𐤃 𐤁𐤏𐤃 Syro-Hex 15. (και οργη)
 μεγαλη—ανθ αν] OLⁱ = Y exc: add vobis post (συνε)πιτιθεμενα (οργη) μεγαλη]
 οργην μεγαλην BNA Q 𐤀𐤁𐤏𐤃 (exc 22 36 51 95 97 185) εγω 1^o] ομι 36 (hab 36*)
 οργιζομαι] οργισομαι N^{a, b} (vid) (postea οργιζομαι) (συνε)πιτιθεμενα] + υμιν
 228^{supra} in abal man αν] ν superscr 22 (εγω μεν) ad fin com] OLⁱ = Y (εγω
 μεν)] μεν εγω B 48 233 ομι εγω 36 (hab 36*) Chrys (ωργισθην)] οργισθην Q*
 (ωργ. Q*) συνεπ(εθεντο)] συνεπειντο 22 (θεν superscr ab al man) 16. εν 1^o] εν

17 αὐτῇ λέγει . . καὶ μέτρον ἐκταθήσεται ἐπὶ ἰλημ ἔτι ¹⁷ καὶ] εἶπε πρὸς μὲ
 ὁ ἀγγ[ελος ὁ λαλῶν ἐν ἐμοί] ἀνάκραγε λέγων . . . τωρ ἔτι διαχυθήσεται
 18 . . . κῶ ἔτι τὴν σιών καὶ αἵρετιεῖ ἔτι . . ¹⁸ καὶ ἦρα τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς μου [καὶ
 19 εἶδον] καὶ ἰδοὺ τέσσαρα κέρατα· ¹⁹ καὶ εἶ[πα πρὸς τὸν ἀγγελον τὸν λαλοῦντα
 ἐν ἐμοί . . κῆ καὶ εἶπε πρὸς μὲ ταῦ . . τα τὰ διασκορπίσαντα τὸν . . [καὶ]
 20,21 τὸν ἰηλ καὶ ἰλημ· ²⁰ καὶ ἔ . . [τέ]σσαρας τέκονας· ²¹ καὶ εἶπον . . ταὶ
 ποιῆσαι κῆ καὶ εἶπε [16 litt.] ατα τὰ διασκορπίσαντα [τὸν ἰουδαν καὶ
 τὸν ἰηλ . κατῆξαν καὶ οὐδεὶς [αὐτῶν ἦρεν κεφ]αλήν καὶ ἐξῆλθον οὗτοι τοῦ
 . . . ας αὐτῶν τὰ τέσσαρα . . [τὰ ἔθνη] τὰ ἐπαυρόμενα κέρας . . [δ]ιασκορπί-
 II 1,2 σαι αὐτὴν ¹ καὶ . . . ὡς μου καὶ εἶδον καὶ . . . ἰ αὐτοῦ σχοινίον γε· ² . . πρὸς
 αὐτόν· ποῦ σὺ . . . ὅς μὲ διαμετρῇ . . . πληλίκον τὸ πλάτος [αὐτῆς ἔστιν καὶ
 3 πηλίκον] τὸ μῆκος ³ καὶ . . . ἐμοὶ εἰστήκει καὶ ἀγγελος ἕτερος ἐξεπορεύετο
 4 εἰς συνα[ντησιν] αὐτῷ ⁴ καὶ εἶπε πρὸς αὐτὸν λέγων . . λάλησον πρὸς τὸν
 νεανίσκον ἔ . . κατακάρπως κατοικηθήσεται . . πλήθους ἀνῶν καὶ κτηνῶν
 5 [τῶν ἐν μέσῳ αὐ]τῆς· ⁵ καὶ ἐγὼ ἔσομαι αὐτῇ λέγει [κῶ τεῖχος πυρὸς] κυκλό-
 6 θεν καὶ εἰς δόξαν ἔσομαι . . αἱ[τῆς]· ⁶ ὦ ὦ φεύγετε ἀπὸ γῆς β . . ὅτι ἐκ τῶν
 7 τεσσάρων ἀνέμ . . ξω ὑμᾶς λέγει κῶ· ⁷ εἰς σιών ἀνασώζεσθε οἱ κα[τοικοῦντες]

B*^{fort} (ras aliq in v B¹) οικτιρῶ] οικτιρῶ A Q* (οικτιρῶ, Q^a) με^{ρον}
 καναν Aq σπαρτιον Θ εκταθ(ησεται)] εκτεθησεται A 17. ειπε] -πεν B A Q
 προς με—(εν εμοι)] obelo notavit et in mg ου κ' π' ΕΒρ' adscr B^a hab sub ~ Syro- He
 προς με] om 233 ανακραγε] pr ετι 48 86 228 ετι την σιων] om ετι 62 86
 σιων B* Q* (σιων B^b Q^a) αιρετιει] pr ετι N Q* videt1 (vid) mg + κς A ετι 3^o
 BNQ 48 147^a (om 147) ετι 62 18. (ειδον)] ιδον N^o A τεσσαρα] τεσ
 NAQ 19. ει(πα)] ειπεν 36 ειπον 51 62 86 95 97 147 185 τον αγγελον]
 sub ~ Syro-Hex λαλουντα] λαλουντα N* (-λουντα N^{ca}) κῆ] hab sub ~ Syro-I
 και ειπε ad fin com] obelis notavit et in mg adscr ου κ' π' ΕΒρ' B^a (?) ειπε]
 BNAQ (v ras 22^a) (και τον ιηλ] om 95 (hab 95^{me}) και ιλημ] om A Q 233
 την ιλημ L (ex 48 228) hab sub ~ Syro-Hex 20. (τε)σσαρας] τεσσαρες N^o
 (-ras Q^a) τεκονας] τεκονες N* (-vas N^{ca}, c.b) 21. ειπον] ειπα BNAQ
 228 233 κῆ] om BNAQ 22 48 228 (hab 228^a) 233 διασκορπισαντα] om ρ 1
 (ιουδαν)] ιουδα 36 48 86 97 228 233 τον ιηλ] την ιλημ 62 147 pon post κατῆξαν
 185 κατῆξαν] κατεαξαν BNAQ L (ex 97 κατῆξεν) ουδεις (αυτων)] δεις αυτα
 Q* (ουδ. αυτ. Q^a) ουδεν τουτων 233 ηρεν] v ras 22^a και εξηλθον] και εξηλθοσα
 BN 22 48 εισηλθον A Q 233 Syro-Hex Syro-Hex^{me} οουτοι] αυτο
 22 36 95 97 185 228 τεσσαρα] τεσσαρε N¹ A Q* (τα εθνη)] om A* (hab A¹)
 κερας] om 51 (hab 51^a) (δ)ιασκορπισαι] διασκορπησαι Γ*
 II. 1. ειδον] ιδον NAΓ 22 36 48 97 σχοινιον] σχοινιον N 2. συ] σοι N* (συ
 N^{ca}, c.b) πηλικον 1^o—(πηλικον) 2^o] om 62 (αυτης)] αυτο 147 (αυτης 147^a)
 3. εισηκει] ιστηκει B (ειστηκει B^{ab}) NAQ Γ συνα(ντησιν) αυτω] απαντησιν αυτου
 NAQ 233 συναντησιν αυτου 228 4. ειπε] -πεν BNAQ (-πε Q^a) Γ (v ras 22^a)
 λεγων] om N* (hab N^{ca}) νεανισκον] νεανιαν BAQ Γ 48 62 86 147 233
 Syro-Hex Syro-Hex^{me} κατακαρπως] -πος Q^a 36 147 228 ατειχιστως Σ ει
 πλατος Θ Syro-Hex κατοικηθησεται] κατοικησεται N* (-κηθη-
 σεται N^{ca}) κατοικησεται 62 (των)] om BNQ (hab Q^{me}) 48 86 228 5. λεγει]
 φησιν A Q* (φησι Q^a vid) Γ 233 (τειχος)] τοιχος 86 εσομαι 2^o] εσω και Γ
 (αυ)της] αυτων A Γ 6. ω ω] sem tant 62 απο] εκ Q 233 γης] της 62
 7. εις σιων ad fin com] OL^a = Y σιων] σιων B Q (σιων B^b Q^a) ; item 19

8 θυγατέρα βαβυλωνῶνος ὁ δῖος] τάδε λέγει κ̄ παντοκράτωρ . . πέσταλκέ με
ἐπὶ τὰ ἔθ . . ὑμᾶς διότι ὁ ἀπτόμε[νος ὑμῶν ὡς ὁ ἀπτό]μενος τῆς κόρης τοῦ
9 [ὀφθαλμοῦ αὐτοῦ ὁ δῖος] ἐγὼ ἐπιφέρω [τὴν χεῖρά μου ἐπ' αὐτοὺς] καὶ
ἔσονται σκῦλα [τοῖς δουλεύουσιν αὐτοῖς] καὶ γνώσεσθε ὅτι κ̄ [παντοκράτωρ
10 ἀπε]σταλκέ με . . ¹⁰ τέρπ[ου καὶ εὐφραίνου θύγα]τερ σιών διότι ἰδο[ὺ ἐγὼ
11 ἔρχομαι καὶ κατα]σκηνώσω ἐν μέσῳ . . ¹¹ ξονται ἔθνη πολλὰ . . . καὶ
ἔσονται αὐτῷ εἰς λαόν· καὶ κα[τασκη]νώσουσιν ἐν μέσῳ σου καὶ γνώσῃ . .
12 αυτοκράτωρ ἐξαπέσταλκέ με . . σέ· ¹² καὶ κατακληρονομήσει κ̄ τὸν ἰσὺδαν
13 τὴν] μέριδα αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀγίαν γῆν [καὶ αἰρετιεῖ ἔ]τι τὴν ἰλημ . . ¹³ εὐλα-
βεῖσθω πᾶσα [σὰρξ ἀπὸ] προσώπου κ̄ν· ὅτι ἐξεγέργεται ἐκ [νεφελῶν ἀγίων]
1 αὐτοῦ· ¹ καὶ ἔδειξέ μοι κ̄ν . . [ἰ]ερέα τὸν μέγαν ἐστῶτα πρὸ . . ἔλου κ̄ν· καὶ III
2 ὁ διάβολος εἰστή[κει] . . τοῦ τοῦ ἀντικείσθαι αὐτῷ· ² καὶ . . τὸν διάβολον
ἐπιτιμῆσαι . . ε· καὶ ἐπιτιμῆσαι κ̄ ἐν σοὶ . . ἦν ἰλημ· οὐκ ἰδοὺ τοῦτο . .
3 [ἐξέσπα]σμένος ἐκ πυρός· ³ καὶ . . ε· ἰμάτια ῥυπαρὰ καὶ [εἰστήκει πρὸ
4 προσώπου] τοῦ ἀγγέλου· ⁴ καὶ ἀπε[κρίθη καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς] τοὺς ἐστηκότας
πρὸ . . . ν ἀφέλετε τὰ ἰμάτια τὰ ῥυπαρὰ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ· καὶ εἶπε πρὸς . . .

II. 10, 11 Theod. Graec. Affect. Chr. x De Orac.

S. (OL^a = Y) (διότι) ταδε—υμᾶς] OL^{int} = Y λέγει] λει N^a λεγι N^{c.a} διότι
ο αποτμε(vos) ad fin com] quia qui tetigerit vos ac si pupillam oculi mei tangat
OL^{int} (ο αποτ]μενος 2^a) om o B Q 62 147 της] om 62 147 9. (διο)τι
αδον ad fin com] ecce ego iniciam manum meam super eos et erunt in praedam his
qui serviunt illis et scient quoniam Dominus omnipotens misit me OL^a ιδου] om
Q^a (hab Q^{ms}) 95 185 (δουλεύουσιν)] δουλευσασιν A Q 228 233 σκυλευουσιν 62 147^a
(δουλεύουσιν 147) ܐܠܗܝܝܢ Syro-Hex^{ms} (ܐܠܗܝܢ ܐܠܗܝܢ Syro-Hex in textu)
(αυτοις)] αυτης Γ αυτους 86 147 γνωσεσθε] γνωσονται N^a (-σεσθε N^{c.b}) οτι]
διο]τι A Q Γ 233 κ̄ν] ρ̄ γ̄ ε̄μι N^a (improb N¹(vid) c.a, c.b) (απε]σταλκε] -κεν
B N A Q (-κε Q^a) Γ (ν ras 22^a) απεστειλε 233 10. (Theod = Y) (θυγα]τερ]
θυγατηρ N^a (-τερ N^{c.b}) διο]τι οτι N (εγω)] om A 36 62 228 και 233 11. κα(τα-
σκη]νωσουσιν] κατασκηνωσει Theod γνωση] επιγνωση B (γνωση N^a postea rurs
επιγνωση) A Q Γ 48 62 (γνωση 62^a) 86 147 (γνωση 147^a) 228 233 (Theod = Y) εξ-
απε]σταλκε] -κεν B N Q Γ (ν ras 22^a) απεσταλκεν A απεσταλκε Theod 12. (την)
μεριδα] τη μεριδι B ρ̄ γ̄ και N^{c.a} (postea ras) 86 147 228 επι την αγιαν γην] επι την
γην την αγιαν B N A Q Γ 228 233 om γην 48 13. OL^a = Y ex c omnis terra ρ̄ γ̄
παισα (σαρξ): om αυτου (σαρξ)] σαραξ N^a (απο)] πο N^a (απο N^{c.a}) οτι] διο]τι
A Q Γ 228 233 εκ (νεφελων αγιων) αυτου] εκ κατοικησεως αγιας αυτου 86
III. I. εδειξε] -ξεν B N A Q (-ξε Q^a) Γ (ν ras 22^a) μοι] εμοι 147 (ι]ερεα] + illum
O L^a + ܐܠܗܝܢ Syro-Hex πρὸ] om 22 (hab 22^a) και ο διαβολος] και σαταν Aq Σ Θ
(diabolus OL^c) ειση]ται B N A Q Γ (ειση]ται B^{ab} Q^a Γ^b(vid)) του
αντικεισθαι] om του A (adversari OL^c) 2. τον διαβολον] τον αντικειμενον Aq (dia-
bolus OL^a) επιτιμῆσαι 1^o—[ιλημ] imperet in te dominus qui elegit hierusalem OL^a
ουκ ιδου τουτο ad fin com] μητι ουχι ουτος δαλος ερρυσμενος απο πυρος Aq ουχ ορας αυτον
ουκ δαλον εξηρμενον εκ πυρος Σ τουτο] το B^a (του]το B^a?^b) (εξε]σπα]σμενος] εξε-
σπα]σμενος B^a (εξε]σπασμ. B^b(vid)) ερρυσμενος 86 3. (OL^c = Y ex c: faciem ipsius ρ̄ γ̄
προσωπου] (ειστη]κει)] ιστη]κει B N A Q Γ (ειστη]κει B^{ab} Q^a Γ^b(vid)) του αγγελου]
om του Q^a (hab Q^{ms}) + κ̄ν Q 4. (OL^c = Y ex c: om απο σου] και απε]κριθη)]
om 147 (ειπεν)] ειπα A ειπε Q^a (ν ras 22^a) τους εστηκοτας] τους εστατας N^a
(τους εστηκοτας N^{c.b}) τον εστηκοτα Q αφε]λετε] αφε]λε Q^a (-λε]τε Q^a) (τα ρυπα]ρα)]
ρ̄ γ̄ sup ras A^a om τα 97 ειπε] -πεν B N A Q (ν ras 22^a) απο σου] om B N A Q

- 5 ἀπὸ σοῦ τὰς ἀνομίας αὐτὸν ποδήρη· ⁵ καὶ ἐπίθετε μίτραν καὶ κίδαριν καθάραν
ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ· καὶ περιέ***** ἱμάτια καὶ ἐπέθηκαν μίτραν
***** καθάραν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ ***** λος κῦ εἰστήκει
6,7 ⁶ καὶ διεμαρτύρατο . . . κῦ πρὸς τὴν λέγων· ⁷ τάδε λέγει κῶ π . . . ἔὰν ἐν ταῖς
ὁδοῖς μου πορεύσῃ [καὶ ἔὰν τὰ] προστάγματά μου φυλάξῃς [καὶ σὺ δια-
κρι]νείς τὸν οἶκόν μου· καὶ ἔὰν δια[φυλάσσης] τὴν αὐλὴν μου καὶ δώσω
8 σοι . . . νους ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ἐστηκότων τούτων ⁸ ἀκουε δὴ ἰησοῦ ὁ ἱερ-
ὸς μέγας σὺ . . . οἱ καθήμενοι πρὸ προσώπου σου διότι ἄνδρες τερατοσκό-
9 εἰσὶ [διότι ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἄγω] τὸν δούλόν μου ἀνατολ[ί]ν ⁹ διότι ὁ λίθος
δε[δω]κα πρὸ προσώπου ἰησοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν λίθον τὸν ἑνα ἐπὶ τὰ ὀφθαλμοῖς εἰς
ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ὀρύσσω βόθρον λέγει κῶ παντοκράτωρ καὶ ψηλα[φ]ήσω πᾶ-
10 τὴν ἀδικ . . . ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μᾶ ¹⁰ ἐν . . . λέγει κῶ παντοκράτωρ συγκαλέσει
IV 1 ἕκαστος τὸν πλησίον αὐτοῦ . . . ὑπακάτω τῆς συκῆς αὐτοῦ· ¹ καὶ . . .
ὁ ἄγγελος ὁ λαλῶν ἐν ἐμοὶ καὶ ἐξηγεί[ρε] με ὅν τρόπον ἐξεγερθῇ ἄνθρωπ-
2 ἐξ ὑπνου· ² εἶπε πρὸς μέ τί σὺ βλέπεις; καὶ . . . κα καὶ ἰδοὺ λυχνία χρυ-
ὄλη καὶ . . . ἐπάνω αὐτῆς καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ λύχνοι [ἐπάνω αὐτῆς] καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπαρ-
3 στρίδες τοῖς . . . ἄνω αὐτῆς· ³ καὶ δύο ἐλαῖαι . . . ἰα ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ λαμπαδίου . . .
- 48 233 OL^c Syro-Hex ποδήρη] πορηδῆ (sic) N 5. καὶ ἐπιθετε—κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ 1^o
OL^c = Y exc: omi μιτραν καὶ μιτραν καὶ omi B N A Q 48 233 Syro-Hex
περιε*****—κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ 2^o] καὶ ἐπέθηκαν κίδαριν καθάραν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ κα
περιεβαλον αὐτον ἱματία B L (exc 22 36^a 51 62 97 147 = Y) omi καὶ ἐπέθηκαν κιδ. καθ.
ἐπὶ τὴν κεφ. αὐτοῦ N* (hab N^{c,b}) 228 233 καὶ περιεβαλον αὐτον ἱματία καὶ ἐπέθηκαν κιδ.
καθ. ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ A Q omi αὐτον 36 97 (Syro-Hex = B) εἰστήκει] ἰστήκει
B N A Q (εἰστήκει B^{ab} Q^a) 6. πρὸς τὴν λέγων] λέγων πρὸς ἰησοῦν A 7. εἰ
ἐν] ἐν B (ean B^{ab}) N ean A 233 (Syro-Hex = Y) πορεύσῃ] πορεύη B N A Q 22 45
51 (-σει 62) 233 (ean) 2^o] ἐν B (improb B^{ab}) N A Q 48 233 omi 185 (τα
προσταγμάτων] τοῖς προσταγμασιν B N A Q (-σι Q^a) 48 233 omi 185 μου 2^o] omi 185
φυλαξῇ] φυλαξῇ B 48 228 φυλασση N^{c,b,vid} (postea φυλαξῇ reuoc) A Q 233 + ἐν ται
οδοῖς 95 omi 185 (διακρί)νεῖς] -νης 86 δια(φυλασσης)] φυλαξῇ καὶ γε A διαφυλαξῇ
καὶ γε Q διαφυλαξῇ 62 86 228^a 233 -ξεῖς 147 (τουτων)] pr a N* (improb Nⁱ)
8. ἰησοῦ] ἰησοῦς B προσω(που σου)] omi σου B 48 86 (αν)δρες τερατοσκοποι].
τερατος Aq . . . θαυμαστοι Σ ܡܝܚܝܝܐ Syro-Hex^{me} sine nom εἰσὶ] εἰ|σει N* (εἰ 1^o
sup ras Nⁱ) εἰσιν N^{c,a,c,b} A Q* (-σι Q^a) (αγω)] επαγω N^{c,b} omi 228 (hab 228^a)
ἀνατολ(ην)] ἀνατολῇ (ras plur litt) 22 + ὄνομα αὐτῷ 36 (sup ras 97 228) + nomen ei
est OL^c 9. (διότι ὁ λίθος)—ὀφθαλ(μοὶ εἰσιν)] OL^c = Y exc: ipsum pr τῶν
(διότι ὁ λίθος)] omi ο 22 36 95 97 185 228 διότι ἰδοὺ ὁ λίθος 62 147 διατι ἰδοὺ ὁ λίθος 86
(δε)δωκα] εδωκα B N A 48 95 185 (ἰησοῦ)] pr του 22 48 86 228 ἐπτα] ζ' N
(ορυσ)σω βοθρον] διαγλυφω ανοιγματα αὐτῆς Aq γλυφω γαρ τὴν γλυφὴν αὐτον Σ (al τὴν
γλυφὴν αὐτῆς Σ Θ) hab sub Σ Syro-Hex παν(τοκράτωρ)] 62 86 (hab 86^{me}) 147
10. (συγκαλέσεται)] συγκαλέσετε B (συγκ. B^{ab}) N συγκαλέσετε A Q* vid (-σατε Q^a saltem)
48 62 86 147 233 τῆς συκῆς αὐτοῦ] omi τῆς B N A Q L (exc 22 36 51 97) omi αὐτοῦ
B N A Q 48 (228^{sup} 11a) 233 Syro-Hex
- IV. 1. ἐξηγεί(ρε)] ἐξηγῇ B ἐξηγειρεν N A Q* (-ρε Q^a) ἐξεγερθῇ] pr οταν B N A Q
L (exc 62 147) ἐξερθῇ A^{vid} ὑπνου] pr του 228 2. εἶπε] -πεν B N A Q (v ras 22^a)
επανω αὐτῆς 1^o] ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν αὐτῆς Σ καὶ ἐπτα λυχνοὶ (επανω αὐτῆς)] καὶ λυχνοὶ επανω
αὐτῆς ἐπτα 62 147 228^{sup} 11a omi 185 λυχνοὶ] λυχνι N* (-χνοι Nⁱ) ἐπαρυστριδες]
επαρυστιδες Nⁱ (παρ. N* -στριδας N^{c,b}) A εππιρυται Aq επιχυτρες Σ 3. —

4 ἐξ εὐωνύμων· ⁴καὶ ἐπη .. [εἶπον] πρὸς τὸν ἄγγελον τὸν λαλοῦν . . . τί ἐστι
 5 ταῦτα κῆ· ⁵καὶ ἄπε . . ὦν ἐν ἐμοὶ καὶ εἶπε πρὸς [μὲ λέγων οὐ γινώσκεις] τί
 6 ἐστὶ ταῦτα; καὶ εἶπον . . ⁶. θη καὶ εἶπε πρὸς μὲ [λέγων οὗτος ὁ λόγος κῆ]
 πρὸς ζοροβαβὲλ λέγων οὐκ ἐν δυνάμει μεγάλη οὐδὲ ἐν ἰσχύϊ ἀλλ' ἡ [ἐν
 7 πνι μου λέγει κῆ παντ]οκράτωρ· ⁷ τίς εἶ σὺ [τὸ ὅρος τὸ μέγα τὸ πρὸ προ]σ-
 ὤπου ζοροβαβὲλ [τοῦ κατορθῶσαι καὶ] ἐξοίσω τὸν λίθον τῆς [κληρονομίας
 8,9 ἰσότη]τῃ] χάριτος χάριτα αὐ[τῆς]· ⁸. . . πρὸς μὲ λέγων ⁹ αἱ χεῖρες ζοροβαβὲλ
 ἐθεμελίωσαν [τὸν οἶκον] τοῦτον· καὶ αἱ χεῖρες αὐτοῦ ἐπιτελ[έσουσιν αὐ]τὸν
 10 καὶ ἐπιγνώσεσθε διότι κῆ παντ . . ἐξαπέσταλκε με πρὸς ὑμᾶς. ¹⁰ δι[ότι τίς
 ἐξου]δένωσεν εἰς ἡμέρας μικράς; καὶ χαρήσονται καὶ ὄψονται τὸν λίθον τὸν
 [κασσιτέρινον] ἐν χειρὶ ζοροβαβὲλ· ἐπτα οὗ[τοι οφθαλμοὶ κῆ] εἰσιν οἱ ἐπι-
 11 βλέποντες ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν] ¹¹ καὶ ἀπεκρίθην καὶ εἶπον . . δύο ἐλαίαι
 12 αὗται αἱ ἐκ δεξι[ῶν τῆς λυχνίας] καὶ αἱ ἐξ εὐωνύμων αὐτῆς· ¹² . . σα ἐκ
 δευτέρου καὶ εἶπον . . δύο κλάδοι τῶν ἐλαίων [οἱ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν τῶν] δύο
 13 μυζωτήρων . . . των καὶ ἐπαναγόντων [τὰς ἐπαρυστρίδας] τὰς χρυσᾶς· ¹³ καὶ

IV. 6, 7^a Theod. In Ezech. xxxix.
 Theod. Quaest. in Gen. i.

10^c Chrys. *Sone manum tuam*. Sermo. ii

4. (εἶπον)] εἶπα A Q L (exc 22 228) ἐστι]-ιν B N A Q (-i Q^a) κῆ] om 228 (hab
 228^{ms}) κυριε μου A Σ αδωνι Θ 5. εἶπε]-πεν B N A Q (ν gas 22^a) προς (με λεγων)]
 om A ἐστι]-ιν B N A Q (-i Q^a) (εἶπον)] εἶπα B N A Q 5-6. (ου γινωσκεις) τι-
 προς με (λεγων)] om N* (hab N^a ms inf rescir N^c b ms sin/str) 6. καὶ εἶπε] om 62 86 147
 εἶπε]-πεν B N A Q (-πε Q^a) (ν gas 22^a) (οὗτος ο λόγος)-εν ισχυι] Theod = Y
 ζοροβαβελ] ζοβαβελ N* (ζοροβαβελ N^c b vel etiam antea) (ουκ)] pr και 97 (εν) 1^o
 > sup gas B? ἀλλ η] ἀλλα 22 62 228 ἀλλ Theod (εν πνι) ad fin com] Theod = Y
 7. (το μεγα)] om το 62 (προ)] om 86 95 97 147 185 Theod τον λιθον της (κληρονομιας)]
 τον πρωτεοντα Αq τον ακρον Σ τον πρωτον Θ (ισοτητα) χαριτος χαριτα αυ(της)]
 εξισωσει χαριτος . . Αq . . προς χαριν αυτης Σ . . καταπανσις καταπανσις αυτη Θ
 χαριτα] om 95 185 8. — 9-10. εθεμελιωσαν-εν χειρι ζοροβαβελ] om Q^a (hab
 Q^{ms}) 9. αι χειρες ζοροβαβελ-επιτελ(εσουσιν) om OLⁱ = Y εθεμελιωσαν]
 -σεν B Q (-σαν Q^{ms}) επιτελ(εσουσιν)] επιτελουσιν A επιγνωσεσθε] επιγνωση
 B N A Q Γ 48 228 233 επιγνωσουσι 62 147 διοτι] om 36 51 62 86 95 97 147 om εγω
 185 εξαπεσταλκε]-κεν B N Q Γ (ν gas 22^a) εξαπεστειλεν A απεσταλκε 233 υμας]
 σε B N A Q Γ 48 228 233 10. δι(οτι τις)-μικ(ρας)] τις γαρ εξηυτελισε την ημεραν
 των μικρων Σ μικ(ρας)] μικρας L (exc 48 228 233) (χαρησονται] χαρουνται
 B N* Q (χαρησονται N^a b Q^{ms}) 48 233 χαρισονται 147 (κασσιτερινον)] κασσιτεριον
 N* (κασσιτερινον N^a b) κασσιτερον Αq τον κεχωρισμενον (s. αποκεχωρισμενον s.
 διακεχωρισμενον) Σ αριθμον Θ επτα ουτ(οι) ad fin com] ουτοι εισιν οι επτα οφθαλμοι
 κυριου οι επιβλεποντες επι πασαν την γην Chrys επτα] ζ' N (κῆ)] om B A Γ (hab
 Γ^a sup gas) 48 233 (Syr-Hex = Y) εισιν] + κῆ A ei sup gas Γ^a οι] om 228
 11. απεκριθην]-θη 62 εἶπον] εἶπα B A Q Γ L αι εκ δ.] om αι Γ^a 62 147 (της
 λυχνιας] και εξ ευωνυμων] υμων N* (της λ. και εξ ευων. N^a b) αι εξ] om αι B N A Q Γ
 L (exc 51 228) αυτης] om B (hab B^a pr asterisc non inst B^b) N A Q Γ 48 86 228
 233 (Syr-Hex = Y) 12. εἶπον] εἶπα B N A Q Γ L (οι εν ταις χερσιν) ad fin
 com] οι ανα χειρα των δυο επιχυτηρων (των χρυσων) των εκκενουνται αφ εαυτων . . Σ
 (ταις χερσιν)] om ταις Γ μυζωτηρων] 62 147 μυζωτηρων 86 επαναγοντων]
 επαγοντων 22 (επαναγ. 22^a) (τας)] pr επι 62 86 147 (επαρυστριδας)] επαρυστιδας

- V 14 εἶπ[εν πρὸς μέ οὐκ οἶδας] τί ἐστὶ ταῦτα; καὶ εἶπ . . .¹⁴ . οὗτοι οἱ δύο υἱοὶ τῆς
 1 [πιστοῦτος παρεστήκα]σι τῷ κῶ πάσης [τῆς γῆς] ¹ [καὶ ἐπέστρεψα] καὶ ἦρα
 2 τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς [μου καὶ εἶδον καὶ] ἰδοὺ δρέπανον πετ[όμενον] ² καὶ εἶπε
 3 πηχῶν εἴκοσι καὶ [πλάτου]ς πηχῶν δέκα ³ καὶ εἶπε πρὸς [μέ αὐτῇ] ἡ ἀρὰ
 ἡ ἐκπορευομένη ἐπὶ προ[σωπον] πάσης τῆς γῆς διότι πᾶς ὁ κλέ[πτῃς ἐκ]
 4 [θανάτου ἐ]κδικηθή[σεται καὶ] πᾶς ὁ ἐπιόρκος ἐκ τούτου ἔως
 5 ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ οἴκου αὐτοῦ καὶ . . . ὃν καὶ τὰ ξύλα αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς . . .⁵ καὶ
 ἐξῆλθεν ὁ ἄγγελος ὁ λα . . . εἶπε πρὸς μέ ἀνάβλεψον . . . καὶ ἶδε τί
 6 ἐκπορεῖ[όμενον τοῦτο] ⁶ καὶ εἶπον τί ἐστὶ; καὶ εἶπε . . . κπορευόμενον
 7 εἶ . . . αὐτῶν ἐν πάσῃ τῇ . . .⁷ . . . ὃν μολίβου εξαίρομε . . . ἐκάθητο ἐν μέσ
 8 τοῦ [μέτρου] ⁸ . . . ἡ ἐστὶν ἡ ἀνομία· καὶ [ἔρριψε αὐτὴν ἐν μέσῳ] τοῦ μέτρου κ
 9 ἔρριψε τὸ τάλαντον τοῦ μολίβου εἰς τ[ὸ στόμα] αὐτῆς ⁹ καὶ ἦρα τοὺς ὀφθαλ

V. 2-4 Chrys. *De Paenit.* v3^a *Ad Pop. Antioch.* xix 2

N* (-στριδας N^c (nondum ca)) 13. (μέ) + λεγῶ N^{a,b} 228 + ο αγγελος Γ ἐστι
 -ιν BNA Q Γ (ν ras 22^a) 14. οὗτοι οἱ ad fin com] OL^{ter} = Y οὗτοι] + εἰσι
 Γ 62 86 147 δυο] δυοι N + οι 233 (πιστοῦτος) στιπνοῦτος Aq ελαιου Σ λαμ
 προτητος Θ (παρεστήκα)σι -σιν BNA Q (-σι Q^a) παραστηκουσιν Γ ρρ οι N^{a,c} (ο sup
 ras Γ) 36 51 62 95 97 147 185 228^a τω] om BN 48 86 95 185
 V. 1. (OL^a = Y) ηρα] οἶδα 62 (καὶ εἶδον) ad fin com] . . . διφθερα πετομενη
 Aq Θ καὶ εἶδον ως εἰλημα πετομενον Σ εἶδον] ἰδον A Γ 62 147 πετ(ομενον)] ε 2^o
 sup ras η ut vid A^a πετωμ. Γ^a 2. εἶπε] -πεν BNA Q (-πε Q^a) Γ (ν ras 22^a) + αἱ N
 βλεπεις] opas Chrys (εἶπα)] εἶπον Chrys (εγωρω)] tr A om Chrys (πετο)μενον
 om 62 86 147 μηκος A Q Γ 233 Chrys + αυτω Chrys μηκος ad fin com]
 OL^a = Y πηχων 1^o 2^o] πηχεων BNA Q Γ L Chrys (πλατου)ς] πλατος A Q Γ
 147 233 Chrys 3. καὶ εἶπε -της γης] OL^a = Y εἶπε] -πεν BNA Q (-πε Q^a) Γ (ν ras
 22^a) προς με] κυριος Chrys αυτη] + εστιν (al om) Chrys η ἀρὰ] ασαντας Aq
 Θ οι ορκοι Σ προ(σωπον)] προσωπου A Q 36 πασης] om Chrys διоти ad fin com]
 quia omnis fur et perius ex ea usque ad mortem punietur OL^a ο κλε(πτῃς)] om
 ο Γ Chrys εως θανατου εκδικηθη(σεται) 1^o] εκδικηθ. εως θαν. Chrys εκδικη
 θη(σεται) 1^o] δικην δωσει Σ πας ο επιορκος ad fin com] om Chrys εως (θανατου)
 2^o] om B 48 εκ θαν. 22 (Syro-Hex = Y) 4. (OL^a = Y εκ: materiam pro τα
 ξυλα lapidem pro τους λιθους) καὶ εξοισω—παντοκρατωρ] om Chrys εξοισω]
 εξοισω (sic) N αυ(το)] αυτα A^b αυτους 62 86 147 εισελευσεται] εισελευσομαι A
 κλεπτου] πλεπου N* πλεπτου N¹ (vid) (κλεπτου N^c) τω ονοματι] το ονοματι Γ* το ονομα
 του θεου Chrys επι ψευδει] επι ψευδη 147 εν ψευδει Chrys μεσω] ρρ τω Chrys
 5. εἶπε] -πεν BNA Q (-πε Q^a) Γ (ν ras 22^a) τι] om BN (hab N^a) A Q Γ 48 95 97
 185 228 233 (Syro-Hex = Y) εκπορευ(ομενον)] ρεν sup ras Γ? 6. εἶπον] εἶπα
 BNA Q Γ ἐστι] -ιν BNA Q (-ι Q^a) Γ εἶπε] -πεν BNA Q (-πε Q^a) Γ (ν ras 22^a)
 αυτων] αυτου N* (-των N^{a,c}, c.b) 7. μολιβου] μολυβου N 147 μολιβδου 62 86 228
 (μετρου)] ταλαντου A (λαντ sup ras A^b) 8. ερριψε 1^o 2^o] 1^o -εν B^b A Q Γ: 2^o
 A Q (-ψε Q^a) Γ 22 (αυτην)] αυτην Θ (εν μεσω)] εις μεσον L (εκς 233) το
 ταλαντον] τον λιθον BNA Q Γ 22 48 τον λιθον (το ταλαντον superscr) 228 λιθον 233
 του μολιβου] του μολυβου 95 185 om 233 το] ο B* (το B^{a,c}) 9. καὶ εἶδον] καὶ

.. εἶδον καὶ ἰδοὺ δύο γυναῖκες ἔκπο . . ναι καὶ πᾶν ἐν ταῖς πτέρυνξιν ἃ . . αὐται
 εἶχον πτέρυγας ὡς πτέρυγες***** καὶ ἀνέλαβον τὸ μέτρον ἀνὰ μέσον . .
 10 ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ ὄννου¹⁰ καὶ εἶπον . . γελον τὸν λαλοῦντα ἐν ἐμοὶ ποῦ . .
 11 [ἀποφείρονται τὸ μέτρον; ¹¹ καὶ εἶπε πρὸς μέ οἰκοδομηταὶ αὐτῷ οἰκίαν ἐν
 γῇ β[αβυλῶνος καὶ] ἐτοιμάσαι καὶ θήσουσιν αὐτὸ . . τοιμασίαν αὐτοῦ
 1¹ καὶ ἐπ[έστρεψα] . . τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς μου καὶ εἶ[δον καὶ ἰδοὺ] . . τα ἐκ VI
 2 πορευόμενα ἐκ . . τὰ ὄρη ἦν ὄρη χαλκᾶ² . . τῷ ἵπποι πυρροὶ καὶ . . τέρφ
 3 ἵπποι μέλανες³ . . τρίτῳ ἵπποι λευκοὶ . . τετάρτῳ ἵπποι ποικίλοι ψαροὶ]
 4⁵ . . κρίθην καὶ εἶπον πρ . . τα ἐν ἐμοὶ τί ἐστι ταῦτ . ⁵ . . ὁ ἄγγελος
 ὁ λαλὼν ἐν [ἐμοὶ καὶ εἶπε πρὸς μέ ταῦτα ἐστ] οἱ τέσσαρες ἄνθρωποι τοῦ ὄννου
 6 οἱ . . οὐκ ἔστιν παραστήναι τῷ κῶ πάσης . . ⁶ ἐν ᾧ ἦσαν οἱ ἵπποι οἱ μέλανες
 ἐξ[επορεύοντο] ἐπὶ γῆν βορρᾶ καὶ οἱ λευκοὶ ἐξεπο[ρεύοντο κα]τόπισθεν αὐτῶν
 7 καὶ οἱ πυρροὶ ἐξ[επορεύοντο] ἐπὶ γῆν νότον⁷ καὶ οἱ ποικίλοι καὶ *****
 *****ρεύοντο καὶ ἐζήτουν καὶ ἐπε***** περιοδεῦσαι τὴν γῆν καὶ εἶπε
 8 ***** περιοδεῦσαι τὴν γῆν καὶ πε***** γῆν⁸ καὶ ἀνεβόησε
 καὶ ἐκάλε***** πρὸς μέ λέγων ἰδοὺ οἱ ἐκ . . γῆν βορρᾶ ἀνέπασαν
 εἶδον ΝΑΓ 22 86 om 62 147 εκπο . . ναι] εκπορευομενοι N^{vid} (-ναι N¹) ταῖς τοῖς N^{*}
 (ται N¹) εἶχον] εἶπον N^{vid} (εἶχον N¹) πτερυγας] -γες N^{vid} (-γας N¹) ὡς
 πτερυγες***** εποπος B Q Γ 48 ὡς πτερυγας εποπος Q^{ms} 22 51 62 86 95 185 228
 233 ὡς πτερυγας 36 97 ὡς περ 147 ἐρωδιον Aq Σ Θ [? ? ? ? ? ? ? ?] Syro-Hex
 10. εἶπον] εἶπα B N A Q Γ που] του N^{vid} (που N¹) (ἀποφε)ρουσι] -σιν B N A Q
 (-σι Q^a) Γ 11. αὐτῶ] αὐταῖς 62 86 147 αὐτο 95 185 ἐν γῇ] ἐπὶ 62 86 147
 αὐτο] αὐτῶ Γ^{*}
 VI. 1. ἐπ[έστρεψα] insep ἐπὶ N^{*} (ἐπεστρ. N¹ (vid) et postea) εἶ[δον] ἰδον A Γ 62 147
 (καὶ ἰδον)] om 51 95 97 185 ἦν] om 233 2. πυρροὶ] πυροὶ N A 3. ποικίλοι)]
 πελιδνοὶ Σ Θ (ψαροὶ)] καρτεροὶ Aq 4. ἐστὶ] -ιν B N A Q (-ι Q^a) Γ 5. (εἶπε)] -πεν
 B N A Q (-πε Q^a) Γ (ν gas 22^a) (πρὸς μέ)] om B N^{*} (hab N^{ca} postea del) A Q Γ 48
 228 233 (ταῦτα)] οὗτοι A (ἐστ)] ἐστὶν B N Γ εἰσιν A Q οἱ 2^o] om B N^{*} (hab
 N^{ca} postea del) A 22 48 153 καὶ οἱ 228 τῶ κῶ] ἐν κῶ Γ^{vid} 6. οἱ ἵπποι οἱ
 μέλανες] om οἱ 1^o N 86 228 οἱ ἵπποι οἱ πυρροὶ 62 86 147) ἐξε(πορευοντο) 1^o—
 οἱ λευκοὶ] om 51 (hab 51^{ms}) ἐπὶ γῆν βορρᾶ] ἐγγὺς βορραν N^{*} (ἐπὶ γῆν βορραν
 N^{ca}, c^b) ἐπὶ γῆς βορραν 62 86 147 ἐπὶ γῆς βορρα 95 185 καὶ οἱ λευκοὶ] καὶ οἱ
 μέλανες 62 86 147 αὐτῶν] om N^{*} (hab N¹) αὐτον Γ καὶ οἱ πυρροὶ] καὶ ποικίλοι
 B N A Q Γ [excl καὶ οἱ πυρροὶ 22 51 95 185 καὶ οἱ λευκοὶ 62 86 147) ἐξε(πορευετο)
 3^o ad fin com] om 97 7. καὶ οἱ ποικίλοι καὶ *****] καὶ οἱ ψαροὶ B N A Q Γ [excl
 (excl καὶ οἱ ποικίλοι καὶ ψαροὶ 22 51 95 185 καὶ οἱ ποικίλοι ψαροὶ 62 86 147 καὶ ψαροὶ 97)
 πυρροὶ Aq συνεσφιγμένοι (s. συσφικτοὶ) Σ ισχυροὶ Θ *****ρεύοντο] ἐξεπορευοντο ἐπὶ
 γῆν νοτον καὶ ἐξεπορευοντο 22^a (22^a = Y) καὶ ἐζήτουν] om B A Q Γ (ἐζήτουν N^{ca}
 gas et superscr ἐπὶ γῆν νοτον N^{ca} gas omnia N^{ca}) 48 228 233 ἐπε***** περιο
 δεῦσαι] ἐπεβλεπον του πορευεσθαι του περιοδεῦσαι B 22 48 ἐπεβλεπον του N^{*} (ἐπεβλεπον
 του περιοδεῦσαι N^{ca}, c^b) ἐπεβ. του πορ. καὶ περιοδ. A Q Γ 233 ἐπεβαλον του περιοδεῦσαι
 86 καὶ ἐπε***** [Syro-Hex^{ms} καὶ εἶπε ad fin com] om 147 233
 εἶπε] -πεν B N A Q Γ (ν gas 22^a) περιοδεῦσαι 2^o] περιοδεύσατε B N A Q Γ [excl
 περιοδεύετε 228 τὴν γῆν 2^o] ᾧρ πασαν 62 καὶ πε***** γῆν] om 62 185
 8. ἀνεβόησε] ἀνεβόησαν B ἀνεβόησεν B^{ab} N A Q (-σε Q^a) Γ (ν gas 22^a) ἐκάλε (12 litt. ?)
 ε] ἐλαλήσεν B N A Q Γ 48 228 233 ἐκάλεσε με 22 36 51 62 86 95 97 147 185 λέγων]
 om 228 γῆν 1^o] τὴν N^{*} γῆς Q Γ 233 ἀνέπασαν] ᾧρ καὶ B 48 γῆν 2^o] γῇ

- 9, 10. . γῆν βορρᾶ⁹ καὶ ἐγένετο . . . ν¹⁰ λάβε τὰ ἐκ τῆς αἵμα . . ἀρχόντων
καὶ παρὰ τῶν [χρησίμων αὐτῆς] καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἐπεγνωκό [20 litt.] δαὶ καὶ
παρὰ τωβί [14 litt.] καὶ εἰσελεύσῃ σὺ ἐν τῇ . . ν οἶκον ἰωσίου τοῦ σοφο
11. . βαβυλῶνος¹¹ καὶ λήψῃ . . καὶ ποιήσεις στέφανον . . . φαλὴν ἰησοῦ τοῦ
12 ἰωσεδεκ τοῦ ἱερέως τοῦ μεγάλου¹² . . πρὸς αὐτὸν τάδε λέγει κῶ παν . .
ἰδὸν ἀνὴρ ἀνατολὴ ὄνομα αὐτῷ . . κάτωθεν αὐτοῦ ἀνατελεῖ καὶ οἰκ[οδομήσῃ
13 τὸν] οἶκον κῶ. ¹³ καὶ αὐτὸς λήψεται ἀρετὴν . . καὶ κατάρξει ἐπὶ θρόνου α . .
14 ὁ ἱερεὺς ἐκ δεξιῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ βο . . ἔσται ἀνὰ μέσον ἀμφοτέρων¹⁴ . . ἔσται
15 καὶ . . κῶ κῶ. ¹⁵ καὶ οἱ μακρὰν ἀπ . . . κοδομήσουσιν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ κῶ καὶ
γνώσε[σθε] ὅτι κῶ παντοκρά . . πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ ἔσται [ἐὰν ἀκούοντες ἐξέτε-
VII 1 κοί]σῃτε τῆς φωνῆς κῶ [τοῦ θῦ ὑμῶν] ¹. ετο ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ ἔτει . . . λ¹
2 ἐγένετο λόγος . . [τε]τράδι τοῦ μηνὸς . . [ὅς ἐστιν χασε]λεύ² καὶ ἀπέσ-
3 λε[ν] . . ἀρβεσεῖρ ὁ βασιλε . . ἐξυλάσασθαι τὸν . . ³ . . ῶ οἴκῳ κῶ πα-
κράτορος καὶ . . ε προφῆτας λέγων εἰσελήλυθεν ὧ[δε ἐν τῷ] πέμπτῳ μ[ην]

VI. 12^{ab} Theod. *Quaest. in Num.* iii12^{ab} Chrys. *De Mund. Creat. Orat.* 5

ΒΝΑ QΓ 48 228 233 9.— 10. αὐτῆς] της γης 95 185 των] οἱ 86 επεγνωκο
litt. 1) δαι και παρα τωβι (14 litt. 1)] επεγνωκοταν αυτην (αυτων Α) ΒΝΑ QΓ 48 228 233
επεγνωκοταν αυτην X παρα ελδαι και παρα τοβιου και παρα αιδειου 22 επεγν. αυ
παρα ελδαι και παρα τωβιου και παρα ιδειου 36 sic sine και 1° 51 sic sub X 97 εγνωκο
αυτην και παρα ελδαι και παρα τωβιου και παρα αιδειου 62 86 ανεγνωκοταν αυτην παρα
ελδαι και παρα του τωβιου και παρα ιδεου 95 185 εγνωκοταν αυτην και παρα ελδαι
και παρα τοβιου και παρα ιδειου 147 . . παρα ολδα και παρα τωβια και παρα ιδεα Α
αυαδ? ολδα? Syro-Hex 147 200 . . Syro-Hex^{ms} εισελευσ[η]
ελευση (-σει 62) 86 147 11. ληψ[η] λημ[η] ΝΑ Q λημ[ω] Γ* ληψ[ω] Γ
στεφανον] στεφανους Β (ου rescr N¹ prius ην ut vid) Α QΓ 48 86 233 του
ιωσεδεκ] hab σηδ ~ Syro-Hex 12. ανατολη] αναφυη Αq βλαστημα Σ (Chr
Theod = Υ) ανατελει] ανατελλι Ν* (-τελει Ν^{a,b}) ατελει Q* (ανατ. Q*) ανατελ
Chrys και οικ[οδομησει τον] οικον κῶ] 147 200 Syro-Hex
13. ληψεται] λημ[η]ται ΒΝΑ Γ* (ληψ. Γ*) λειψεται 62 αρετην] επιδοσητα (α
ευπρεπειαν αλ δοξαν) Αq καταρξει] καταζει Ν* (-ρξει Ν^{a,b}) θρονου] pr του
ΒΝΑ Q* (om Q*) Γ 22 48 62 86 147 228 ο] om 86 233 δεξιαν αυτου] ο
αυτου 95 185 14. τοις υπομενουσι] τω ελεμ και τω τωβια και τω ιδεα Αq 8
οραντι ενυπνια και τω τωβια και τω ιδεα Σ υπομενουσι] πομενουσιν sup ras Β^b (-
Β^b vid Q*) υπομενουσιν Β* ΝΑ Q* Γ + αυτον Α υιου] τοις υιοις Α QΓ 15. κ
οι μακραν—(κῶ) 1° om 62 τω] om Γ (γνωσε)σθε] επιγνωσεσθε Α (-σθε
sup ras Α*) QΓ 233 οτι κῶ] διоти κυριος ΒΝΑ (διоти κῶ sup ras Α*) QΓ 48 228
233 (ακουοντες)] εισακουοντες ΒΝ* (εισακουσαντες Ν^a postea reuoc εισακουοντες
Α QΓ 48 228 233 (υμων)] ημων Ν* (υμων Ν^{a,b})
VII. 1. εγενετο] pr και 62 147 (τε)τραδι] τη τετραδι και εικαδι Α os] ο 62 86 14
(χασε)λευ] χασιλευ Ν¹ (Ρασ. vel potius Γασ. Ν*) χασιλευ Γ* (χασιλευ Γ*) 62* 147
χασαλευ 51 86 2. απεστειλε(ν)] εφασπεστειλεν Β (improb εφ Ν¹ mox reuoc) Α Γ 22
48 95 185 233 εφασπεστειλαν Q αρβεσειρ] αρβεσερ Ν^a (-σειρ reuoc Ν^{a,b}) αρβεσειρ
αρβεσεε Q αρβεσειρ 62 αρβαθ σαγερ 228 Syro-Hex 3. λεγων] om 22 36 51
62 97 147 εισεληλυθεν] pr ει Α Γ 22 36 51 97 228^{sup} 112 pr η Q (εν τ)ω πεμπτω μ[ην]
το αγιασμα] εν τω νι τω πεμπτω το αγιασμα ΒΝ QΓ 48 95 185 228 233 το αγιασμα

4 τὸ ἁγίασμα ἢ νη*****αθότι ἐποίησα ἤδη ἱκανὰ ἔτη· 4. . λόγος κυ
 5 παντοκράτορος πρὸς ***** 5 εἰπὲ πρὸς πάντα τὸν λαὸν τῆς . . ρὸς
 τοὺς ἱερεῖς λέγων ἐὰν νηστεύ . . ησθε ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ καὶ ἐν τῷ *****
 6 ***** ἰδοὺ ἐβδομήκοντα ἔτη . . ηστεύκατε· 6 καὶ ἐὰν φάγ[ητε ἢ πίητε] οὐχ
 7 ὑμεῖς ἐσθίετε καὶ ὑμεῖς πί[νετε] 7. . λόγοι εἰσὶν οὓς ἐλάλησε κυ . . ροφητῶν
 τῶν ἔμπροσθεν . . τοικουμένη καὶ εὐθηνού . . [αὐ]τῆς κυκλόθεν καὶ ἡ ὁ . .
 8, 9 κατωκείτο· 8 καὶ ἐ . . ζαχαρίαν λέγων 9 τα . . . [παντοκρά]τωρ κρίμα
 δίκαιον [κρίνατε καὶ ἔλεον] καὶ οἰκτιρμὸν ποιεῖτε [ἐκαστος πρὸς τὸν πλ.]ησίον
 10 αὐτοῦ· 10 καὶ χή . . . ροσῆλυτον καὶ πέ[νητα μὴ καταδυναστεύ]ετε καὶ κακίαν
 11 ἐκαστος τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ μὴ [μνησικακεῖ]τε ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν.
 11 κα[ι ἡπειθ]σαν τοῦ προσέχειν καὶ ἔδωκα[ν νῶτον αὐτῶν] παραφρονούντα
 12 καὶ τὰ ὧ[τα αὐτῶν ἐ]βάρυναν τοῦ μὴ εἰσακούειν 12 [καὶ τὴν καρ]δίαν αὐτῶν
 ἔταξαν ἀπειθῇ [τοῦ μὴ εἰσακούειν τοῦ νόμου μου καὶ τῶν λόγ[ων ὧν

VII. 5^b Adv. Iud. iv 5 5^c, 6 Hom. iv 7 9, 10 Hom. iv 7 10^b Adv
 Por. Antioch. xx 2

τω μ. τω π. A το ἁγίασμα] το αφαιρισμενον Aq η νη*****] om BNA Q Γ 48 95
 185 228 233 Syro-Hex η (ει 51) νηστευσω 22 36 51 62 86 97 147 228^a ἐποιησα] -σεν
 B N Γ 48 95 185 233 -σαν A Q 228 ἡδη ικανα ετη] (حدا) (مدا) (مدا) Syro-
 Hex^{me} ετη] τ rescr N¹ (επη N^a vid) 4. παντοκρατορος] των δυναμεων BNA Q Γ
 18 95 185 228 233 προς (10 litt. ?) προς με λεγων BNA Q Γ 48 86 95 185 προς με
 L H (exc 48 86 95 185) 5. ειπε] ειπον B N Γ H (exc 22 36 51 97 228) ειπον δη Q
 ταυτα] απαντα B 22 48 62 86 95 185 om Γ 233 ιερεις] + της γης Q εν τω
 πεμπτω και εν τω (14 litt. ?) εν ταις πεμπταις η εν ταις εβδομαις και BNA Q Γ 48 95
 185 228 233 εν τω πεμπτω και εν τω εβδομω και 22 36 51 62 86 97 147 Aq Σ Θ
 η] και A 62 147 Chrys και εαν Q πητε] πιετε 36^a πινητε Chrys εσθιετε
 σθετε B N^a (εσθιετε N^a curs εσθετε) Γ 48 62 95 185 233 εσθιητε 147 (εσθιετε Chrys)
 υμεις πι(νετε)] om υμεις B N Γ H (exc 22 36 51 97 228) Chrys πινητε 147 7. εισιν]
 om 62 86 147 (αν)της αυτων A 48 8.— 9. (OL^a OL¹ = Y exc: fratrem
 pro τον πλησιον) (παντοκρα)τωρ] + λεγων Q Γ 228 233 (κρινατε)] κρινεται N^a
 [κριναται N^a, c, b) κρινετε H (exc 22 36 86 97 228^a) (ελεον)] ελεος B N^a (ελεον
 N^c, b) A Q Γ 48 233 ελαιον 62 (Chrys = Y) οικτιρμον] οικτειρμον B^a A Q Γ^a
 [οικτιρμ. B^b Γ^a) ποιετε] ποιησατε 62 (προς τον πλ.)ησιον] προς τον αδελφον
 BNA Q Γ 86 48 228 233 μετα τον πλησιον Chrys 10. και χη . . . (καταδυναστευ)ετε]
 OL^a OL¹ = Y exc pauperem per potentiam pro πε(νητα) πε(νητα)] om 228 (hab
 228^{me}) (μη καταδυναστευ)ετε] μη καταδυναστευσητε Q μη καταδυναστευητε 51 228
 nolite obprimere OL^a OL¹ et nolite nocere OL¹ (Chrys = Y) και κακιαν ad fin
 com] OL^a = Y et malitiam unusquisque non reminiscatur fratris sui in corde suo
 OL¹ et ne unusquisque malitiae fratris sui meminerit sed nec proximi OL¹ του
 αδελφου αυτου] τω αδελφω αυτου Q 22 36 51 97 228^a Chrys (al του αδελφου αυτου)
 pr μετα (al om) Chrys μη (μνησικακει)τε] μη μνησικακειτω BNA Q Γ 86 48 86
 233 + του αδελφου αυτου Q 11. κ(αι ηπειθ)σαν ad fin com] et dissuaserunt ne
 observarent et dederunt dorsum stultitiae et aures suas OL¹ (ηπειθ)σαν] επηισθαν
 N^a ηπιθ. N¹ προσεχειν] προσχειν Q^a vid (προσ. Q¹) (νωτον)] ωμον Σ Θ (αυτων) 10^a
 om BNA Q Γ 48 228 233 Syro-Hex παραφρονουντα] παραφρονοντα N^a (-νοντα N^a)
 του παραφρονειν Γ ανυποτακτον Σ απειθ θ τα] superscr 22 om 62 147 12. (και την
 καρ)διαν—(εισακου)ειν] OL¹ = Y (την καρ)διαν] τας καρδιας N^a (την καρδιαν N^a, c, b)
 απειθ] απιθ Γ^a απειθ Γ^a μοx απειθειν (εισακου)ειν] εισακουσαι A μου] om 62

ἐξαπέστειλε κ̄ παντοκράτωρ ἐν π̄νι αὐτοῦ ἐν] χερσὶ τῶν προφητῶν τῶν . .
 13 ἐγένετο ὁργὴ μεγάλη παρὰ . . ρος. ¹³ καὶ ἔσται ὃν τρόπο . . [καὶ οὐκ εἰσὶ
 14 τωρ ¹⁴ καὶ ἐκ]βαλὼν αὐτοὺς εἰς π̄αν . . . γνωσαν καὶ ἡ γῆ ἀφ̄ . . σθεν αὐτῶν ἐκ
 VIII 1 διοδ[εύντος καὶ ἐξ ἀναστρέ]φοντος καὶ ἔταξ̄ . . νισμον. ¹ καὶ ἐγέ . . ρος
 2 πρὸς μὲ λέγων ² . . τωρ ἐξήλωσα τ̄ ἡν ἰλημ καὶ τ̄ ἡν σιών ζῆ]λον μέγαν καὶ
 3 θι[μῶ μεγάλῳ ἐξήλωσα αὐτήν] ³ τάδε λέγει κ̄ ἐπ[ιστρέψω] . . ἐν μέσῳ
 ἰλημ καὶ κληθήσεται . . ις ἀληθινῇ καὶ τὸ ὅρος κ̄ παντο . . ὅρος ἀγιον
 4 ⁴ τάδε λέγει κ̄ παντο . . καθίσονται πρεσβύτεροι καὶ πρε[σβύτεροι] ἐν ταῖς
 πλατείαις ἰλημ ἕκαστος . . ν αὐτοῦ ἔχων ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ . . μερῶν.
 5 ⁵ καὶ αἱ πλατεῖαι τῆς πό . . ἥσονται παιδαρίων καὶ κορα . . ὦν ἐν ταῖς
 6 πλατείαις αὐτῆς. ⁶ . . οκράτωρ εἰ ἀδυνατήσῃ ἐ . . ταλοῖπων τοῦ λαοῦ
 7 τούτου . . κείναις μὴ καὶ ἐνώπιον . . λέγει κ̄ παντοκράτωρ. ⁷ [τάδε λέγει
 κ̄ παντ]οκράτωρ ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ σῶζω . . ἡς ἀνατολῶν καὶ ἀπὸ [γῆς] δυσμῶν
 8 ⁸ καὶ εἰς]άξω αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν γῆν [18 litt. (?)] νώσω ἐν μέσῳ ἰλημ . . .
 9 καὶ ἐγὼ ἔσομαι αὐτοῖς . . ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ ⁹ τὰ . . . κατισχυέτωσαν αἱ
 . . ντων ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις . . τοὺς ἐκ στόματος τῶν προφητῶν ἀφ̄ ἧς
 10 ἡμέρας . . ται ὁ οἶκος κ̄ παντοκράτορος καὶ . . φ' οὐ ᾤκοδόμηται. ¹⁰ διότι
 πρὸ τῶν . . κείνων ὁ μισθὸς τῶν ἀνῶν οὐκ ἦν . . καὶ ὁ μισθὸς τῶν κτηνῶν
 οὐχ ὑπάρξει καὶ τῷ] ἐκπορευομένῳ καὶ τῷ εἰσπορ . . κ ἦν εἰρήνῃ ἀπὸ τῆς
 11 θλίψεως . . λῶ πάντας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἕκαστον . . ὦν αὐτοῦ. ¹¹ καὶ ἔνιν

86 147 ταν λογ(ων)] τους λογους BNA Q Γ 36 48 228 233 + μου 228 ²²⁸ } ουτ
 BNA Q Γ 36 48 228 233 (εξαπε)στειλε]-λεν BNA εξαπεσταλκεν Q Γ 22 (ν ras ²²⁸
 51 62 86 95 97 147 185 ταν προφ.] ομι ταν 62 95 147 185 οργη] ορμη Α (pc ²²⁸
 et in mg adscr A¹) 13. (και ουκ ειση)κουσαν-κεκ(ραζονται)] ομι 22 ²²⁸ } ταν
 22^{ms}) αυτου] ομι B 48 86 αυταν 22 ουτας] ουτω Q^a si OL¹ εισακουσω] + α ⁶²
 Α Q Γ 36 228^a 233 + eos OL¹ (Syr-Hex = Y) 14. αυτους] + ως εν λαιλαπι 3ι ⁶²
 86 95 147 185 228^a διοδ(ευντος)] διοδευσαντος 22 (αναστρε)φοντος] αναστρεφου ⁶²
 N* (-στεφοντος N^{c,a})

VIII. 1. προς με] ομι BN* (hab N^{c,b} postea ras) A Q Γ 48 95 185 228 233 (Sy ⁶²
 Hex = Y) 2. εξηλωσα 1^o] εξηλωκα B Q 48 εξηλησα (sic) N ⁶² } ιλημ] pr obel ⁶²
 et in mg adscr ου κ' π' ΕΒρ' B^a (και την σιων)] ομι 147 (σιων)] σιων B* ⁶²
 (σιων B^b Q^a) (εξηλωσα) 2^o] εξηλωκα B 36 48 228 3. κ̄] + παντοκρατωρ N ⁶²
 επι(στροφω)] pr και Α Q Γ 233 αληθινη] pr η B και 2^o] + ρ N* (improb N^{1,vid} ⁶²
 postea ras) ορος 2^o] ομι N* 4. καθισονται] καθισσονται BNA Q Γ 22 (εξ 9 ⁶²
 185) πρεσβυτεροι] πρεσβυτερου N* (-ροι N^{1,c,b}) πρε(σβυτεροι)] πρεσβυτε N ⁶²
 (-τεροι N^{c,a}) τη] ομι Α 5. αι] ομι 228 αυτης] αυτων N* (αυτης N^{c,a,c} ⁶²
 185) Syro-Hex 185 Syro-Hex^{ms} 6. ει] pr διοτι Α ⁶² } αδυνατησει] ⁶²
 αδυνατωσει N* (-τησει N^{1,c,a}) 7. (ταδε λεγει κ̄ παντ)οκρατωρ] ομι 36 ⁶² } σαιζω] ⁶²
 ανασωζω Α Q Γ 36 233 (δυσμων)] + ηλιου 62 86 147 8. εις την γην . .] ομι ⁶²
 BNA Q Γ 48 95 185 228 233 εις την γην αυτων 22 36 51 62 86 97 147 228^a ⁶² } και ⁶²
 εγω] καγω B εν δικ.] ομι εν 228 9. παντοκρατορος] παντοπατορος (sic) N ⁶²
 ωκοδομηται] ωκοδομηθη N* (-μηται N^{c,b}) 10. προ] πρω N* (προ N¹) ην 1^o ⁶²
 εσται BNA Q Γ 48 86 233 11. Syro-Hex^{ms} (υπα)ρξει] υπαρχει Α Q Γ ⁶²
 86^{ms} υπηρχεν 22 36 51 62 86 95 97 147 185 (και τω) εκπορευομενω] και τω εκ sup ⁶²
 ras N¹ ην 2^o] εσται BNA Q Γ 48 228 (ην 228^a) 233 11.— 12. (αλλ η)] αλλ ⁶²

ὁ κατὰ . . . ἐμπροσθεν ἐγὼ ποιῶ τοῖς κ . . . οὐ τούτου λέγει κ̄ παντοκρ . .
 '[ἀλλ' ἢ δαίξω] εἰρήνην ἢ ἀμπελος δώσ . . τῆς καὶ ἡ γῆ δώσει τὰ γαστή-
 ρα αὐτῆς καὶ] ὁ οὐνός δώσει τὴν δρόσ . . ρονομήσω τοῖς κατα[λοιποῖς
 οὐ λαοῦ μου πᾶν]τα ταῦτα. ¹³ καὶ ἔσται ἐν . . . ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν οἶκος ἰ . . .
 ὡς διασωσω ὑμᾶς . . . θαρσεῖτε καὶ κατισχνέ . . . ¹⁴ διότι τάδε λέγει
 ὁ . . . διενότην τοῦ κα . . . ροργίσαι με τοὺς π . . . αἱ οὐ μετενόησα.
¹⁵ οὕτως παρατί . . . διανενόημαι ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις . . . τοῦ καλῶς ποιῆσαι τῇ
 λῆμ καὶ [τῷ οἴκῳ] ἰούδα· θαρσεῖτε. ¹⁶ οὗτοι οἱ λόγοι οὗς . . . λέιτε ἀλήθειαν
 καστος πρὸς τὸν . . . τοῦ· ἀλήθειαν καὶ κρίμα εἰρηνικὸν κρίνατε [ἐν ταῖς
 τῷ]λαῖς ὑμῶν ¹⁷ καὶ ἕκαστος τὴν κ[ακίαν τοῦ πλ]ησίον μὴ λογιέσθε ἐν
 αἷς καρδί . . . ὅρκον ψευδῆ μὴ ἀγαπᾶτε [διότι ταῦτα πάντα ἐμίσησα λέγει
 ὁ κ̄ παν[τοκράτωρ ¹⁸ καὶ] ἐγένετο λόγος κ̄ παντοκρά [14 litt.] ὡν ¹⁹ τάδε
 ἐγεί κ̄ παν[τοκράτωρ νηστεία] ἢ τοῦ τετάρτου καὶ νηστεία [ἢ τοῦ πέμπτου
 αἱ] νηστεία ἢ τοῦ ἐβδόμου καὶ [νηστεία ἢ τοῦ δεκάτου] ἔσονται τῷ οἴκῳ
 ὑδὰ [εἰς χαρὰν καὶ εἰς] εὐφροσύνην καὶ εἰς ἔορ . . . [εὐφ]ρανθήσεσθε καὶ
 ἦν [ἀλήθειαν καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἀγαπήσατε. ²⁰ τὰ . . . ὡρ· ἐτι ἤξουσι λαοὶ

II. 16^a Chrys. In Psal. cxviii. i 7 17^a Ad Pop. Antioch. xx 3 17^a In
 cxviii. i 7 19 De Munda. Creat. Orat. ii 7

η αμπ.] μη αμπ. N* (η N^{a,b}) και η γη—(και) ο] omi N* (hab N^{a,b}) την] 47
 (μου)] + τουτου B N* (om N^{a,b}) 48 62 (παν)τα ταυτα] tr B N 48 228
 ικος] pr o 48 86 283 διασωσω] διασω N* (διασωσω N^{a,b}) θαρσεῖτε] θαρρειτε
 5 14. με] om Q* (superscr Q*) 15. τη] την B N* (της N^{1,4,6} (vid))
 ' 48 62 86 147 283 omi 228 (τω οικω)] τον οικον B N A Q Γ 48 228 283
 οικου]da N* (ιουδα N^(vid)) θαρσειτε] animae quiescitote OL¹ 16. (OL¹
 ecc: et iudicium pacificum et iustum pro altheian και κριμα ειρηνικον)
] αληθιαν N αληθειαν εκαστος] tr 147 εκαστος] εκαστο N* (-στος N¹)
 ιαν 2^o] omi A Q 22 36 51 95 97 185 αληθας 62 86 147 hab sub ✕ Syro-Hex
 τον] δικαιον A + και δικαιον 36 228 κρινατε] κρινετε A Q 228 233 (τυ)λαις]
 is 36 17. (OL¹ OL^{1,4,6} = Y ecc: proximi tui (sui OL^{1,4,6}) pro (του πλ)ησιον;
 juisque ne recogitit OL^{1,4,6} = Y ecc: pro μη λογι(εσθε) την κ(ακίαν)] omi 228 (superscr
 an) (του πλ)ησιον] + αυτου B N A Q Ξ (ecc 22 36 51 97 228) Chrys τω
 ον 51 97 λογι(εσθε) λογι(εσθω Chrys ορκον ψευδη μη αγαπατε] Chrys = Y
] ψυδην N* (ψευδη N^{1,5}) (ταυτα πα)ντα εμσησα] .l ✕ 𐤒𐤓𐤕𐤓𐤕𐤓𐤕
 𐤒𐤓𐤕𐤓𐤕 Syro-Hex in 𐤒𐤓𐤕𐤓𐤕 (ταυτα πα)ντα] tr A 51 97 147 283 παν(το-
 ρ)] omi 228 18. παντοκρα (14 litt.) ὡν] παντοκρατορος προς με B N* παντ. προς
 γων N^{a,b} A Q Ξ 19. ταδε] omi B N* (hab N^{a,b}) (νηστεία) η του τεταρτου
 στεια η και δεκατου)] νηστεια (νηστια quater N) η τετρας και νηστεια η πεμπτῃ
 στεια η εβδομη και νηστεια η δεκατη B N A Q 48 228 283 Chrys (omi και νηστεια
 1μη Chrys.) νηστεια η του τεταρτου και η του πεμπτου και η του εβδολου και η του
 20 Aq ΣΘ (𐤕𐤓𐤕𐤓𐤕 𐤕𐤓𐤕𐤓𐤕 𐤕𐤓𐤕𐤓𐤕 𐤕𐤓𐤕𐤓𐤕 𐤕𐤓𐤕𐤓𐤕 𐤕𐤓𐤕𐤓𐤕 𐤕𐤓𐤕𐤓𐤕 Syro-
 𐤕) η του τεταρτου] η τεταρτη 36 228 εσονται] εσται Chrys τω οικω
 τω ιουδα οικον 228 υμιν Chrys (εις) ευφροσυνην] omi eis B N Ξ (ecc 22 36 51
 7 228 283) (hab Chrys) (ευφ)ρανθήσεσθε] εστε N* (ευφρ. N^{a,b}) hab sub 𐤕
 Hex (αληθειαν και ειρ)ηνην αγαπησατε] pacem et veritatem diligete OL¹ omi
 (ρ)ηνην Chrys 20. ετι] τι N* (ετι N^{a,b}) ἤξουσι] -σιν B N A Q πολεις].

7 καθελὼ ὕβριν αὐτῶν . . ν⁷ καὶ ἐξαρῶ τὸ αἷμα αὐτῶν ἐκ [τοῦ στόμ]ατος αὐτῶν
καὶ τὰ βδελύγματα [αὐτῶν ἐκ] μέσου ὀδόντων αὐτῶν καὶ ὑπο . . ται καὶ
οὗτοι τῷ θῷ ἡμῶν καὶ [ἔσονται ὡς] χιλιάρχος ἐν τῷ ἰούδα καὶ [ἀκκαρῶν] ὡς
8 ὁ ἱεβουσαῖος⁸ καὶ ὑποστή . . ὦ μου ἀνάστημα τοῦ μὴ δια[πορεύεσθαι
μὴ]δὲ ἀνακάμπτειν καὶ οὐ μὴ . . οὐς οὐκέτι ἐξελαύνων διό . . νῦν ἐώρακα ἐν
9 τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς μου⁹ καὶ [ρε σφόδρα θύγατερ] σιών κήρυξε θύγατερ [ἰλημ
ἰδὺν ὁ βασιλ]εύς σου ἔρχεται σοι δίκαι[ος καὶ σώζων αὐ]τὸς πρῶτος καὶ ἐπι-
10 βε[βηκῶς ἐπὶ ὑποζύγι]ον καὶ πῶλον νέον¹⁰ καὶ [ἐξολοθρεύσει ἄρμα]τα ἐξ
ἐφραίμ καὶ ἱσραὴλ ἐξ ἰλημ καὶ ἐξ[ο]λοθρευθήσεται τόξον [πολεμικὸν καὶ
πλη]θος καὶ εἰρήνη ἐξ ἔθνων καὶ κατάρξει ὑδάτων ἀπὸ θαλ [17 litt] καὶ
11 ἀπὸ ποταμῶν ἕως διεκβολῶν γῆς¹¹ καὶ σὺ ἐν αἷματι δια[θήκης σου] ἐξα-
12 πίστευας δεσμούς σου ἐκ λάκ[κου] οὐκ ἔχοντος ὕδωρ¹² καὶ καθίσεσθε
ἐν ὀχυρώματι δέσμοι τῆς συναγωγῆς . . μᾶς ἡμέρας παροικεσίας σου

IX. 9 Chrys. *Contra Iud.* iv. In Ioan. Hom. xlii 4 9, 10 Theod. *Graec. Affect.*
Chr. x De Orac.

αζωτω] ζω 2° resc N¹ αζωτοῖς 95 185 7. εκ (στομ)ατος—βδελυγματα (αυτων)]
om 185 (του στομ)ατος] om του BNAQ 48 228 233 (αυτων) 3°] αντου A
οδοντων] οδων N* (οδοντ. N^{c,e}) ημων] ημων N* (ημων N^{c,a,e,b}) (ως) 1°] pr και Q*
(om Q*) χιλιάρχος] -χοι 51 τω ιουδα] om τω BNAQ 48 228 233 (ακκαρων)]
insep ar N* (p improb N¹ postea ras) o] om 62 147 8. αναστημα] αναστεμα
A Q* (-στημα Q*) Γ αναστημα του μη δια(πορευεσθαι)] καλων στρατειας παρα-
γινωσκεις Σ εωρακα] εωρακα B^b N Q* Γ^a εν] om A 233 μου 2°] om Q* (hab Q*)
9. (σφοδρα)] σφοδα N* (-δρα N^c) θυγατερ 1° 2°] -τηρ N* (-τερ N^{c,a,e,b}) σιων]
σειων B* NA Q* Γ (σιων B^b Q* Chrys Theod) κηρυξε ad fin com] dicite filiae
Sion ecce rex tuus venit tibi iustus et salvans mitis sedens super asinum indomitum
O L^c (Chrys = Y εκς: om δικαιοι και σωζων αυτος: πραυς pro πραος) (Theod = Y εκς:
πρωι pro πραος) σου 22 om 48 62 86 147 228 αυτος πραος ad fin com]
αυτος πραυς και επιβεβηκωι επι ονου και παλυν νιου οναδος Aq αυτος πτωχος και επι-
βεβηκωι επι ονον και παλυν νιον οναδος Σ αυτος επακουων και επιβεβηκωι επι ονον και
παλυν νιον ονον Θ αυτος πτωχος και επιβεβηκωι επι υποζυγιον και παλυν νιον ονον
Quint πραος] πραυς BNAQ 36 48 228 233 10. (Theod = Y) (εξολο-
θρευσει)] εξολοθρευσει BAQ εξολοθρευθησετε N* (-θρευσει N^{c,a,e,b}) εξολοθρευσεται Γ
εξολοθρευσω 95 185 (αρμα)α] τοξον N* (αρματα N^{c,a,e,b}) αρμα 97 εφραιμ] εφρεμ N
(εξολοθρευθησεται)] εξολοθρευσεται BG 22 48 228 (-θρευθησεται 228*) 233 εξολοθρευθη-
σεται N* (correcturus erat -θρευσει N^{c,a} sed restit -θρευθησετε) A Q τοξον] ξον
N* (τοξον N^{c,a} nisi iam antes) pr εξ ιερουσαλημ 36 228* (και πλη)θος ad fin com] και
λαλησει ειρηνην τοις εθνεσι και η εξουσια αυτου απο θαλασσης εως θαλασσης και απο
ποταμων εως περατων της γης Aq και λαλησει ειρηνην τοις εθνεσιν ΣΘ Quint Sext
(εθνων)] εθρων N* εκθρων vel εχθρων N¹ (εθνων N^{c,a,e,b}) (και καταρξει)] και καταξει
(-αρξει N^{c,a}) om και 95 185 απο θαλ . . .] om απο θαλασσης BN (hab N^{c,a}) A Q Γ
48 62 86 147 233 απο ποταμων] om απο BN (hab N^{c,a}) A Q Γ 48 86 228 (hab
228*) 233 απο των ποταμων 22 εως διεκβολων] διεκβολας B (εως διεκβολων
N^{c,a} postea rurs διεκβολας) A Q Γ 48 228 (εως διεκβολων 228*) εως διεκβολας 22
11. (δια)θηκης] διαθης N* (-θηκης N^{c,a,e,b}) σου 1°] om A Q 228 233 δεσμιους]
δεσμονι A Q* (-μιουι Q*) Γ pr τους A Q Γ 233 σο(υ) 2°] signa v l adpinx sed rurs
ras N¹ (λακ)κου] λακκου 62 υδωρ] + εν αυτω 62 86 147 12. καθισε(σθε)]
καθησισθε B L (εκς 95 185 233 = Y) καθισεται N* (-θησεσθε N^{c,a,e,b}) Γ θησονται A

- 13 δ . . ταποδώσω σοι ¹³ διότι ἐνέτεινά σε ἰούδα ὡς τόξον ἐπλησα τὸν ἐφ . .
 ἐξεγερῶ τὰ τέκνα σου σιών ἐπὶ τὰ [τέκνα τῶν] ἐλλήνων καὶ ψηλαφήσω σε
 14 ὡς . . μαχητοῦ· ¹⁴ καὶ $\overline{\kappa\sigma}$ ἔσται ἐπ' αὐτοὺς [ὀφθήσεται καὶ] ἐξελεύσεται ὡς
 ἀστραπὴ βολίς [αὐτοῦ καὶ $\overline{\kappa\sigma}$] ὁ $\overline{\theta\sigma}$ παντοκράτωρ ἐν σάλπ[ιγγι] σαλπιά
 15 καὶ] πορεύσεται ἐν σάλψ ἀπειλῆς [αὐτοῦ ¹⁵ $\overline{\kappa\sigma}$ παν]τοκράτωρ ὑπεραστιά
 αὐτῶν καὶ κατα]ναλώσουσιν αὐτοὺς καὶ [καταχώσουσιν αὐ]τοὺς ἐν λίθαις
 σφενδόνης ***** τὸ αἷμα αὐτῶν ὡς οἶνον [καὶ πλῆσουσιν ὡς]
 16 φιάλας τὸ θυσιαστήριον· ¹⁶ . . $\overline{\kappa\sigma}$ ὁ $\overline{\theta\sigma}$ αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ ἡ . . βατα λαὸν αὐτῶν
 17 διό . . ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς αὐτοῦ· ¹⁷ [ὅτι εἴ τι ἀγαθὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ] εἴ τι καλὸν
 X 1 αὐτοῦ· σίτο . . [οἶνος εὐωδιάζ]ων εἰς παρθένους. ¹ αἰτεῖσθε παρὰ $\overline{\kappa\upsilon}$ ὑπο]ν
 καθ' ὧραν πρῶμιον καὶ ὄψιμον [$\overline{\kappa\sigma}$ ἐποίησ]ε φαντασίας καὶ ὑετὸν χειμερινόν
 2 . . οἷς ἐκάστω βοτάνην ἐν ἀγρῶ· ² διό . . θεγγόμενοι ἐλάλησαν κόπους καὶ
 [οἱ μάντις] ὀράσεις ψευδεῖς καὶ οἱ τὰ ἐνύπνι ***** ψευδῆ· μάντια παρε-
 κάλουν διὰ τοῦτο ἐξηράν]θησαν ὡς πρόβατα καὶ ἐκακῶ . . κ ἦν ἱασίς·
 3 ³ ἐπὶ τοὺς ποιμέ . . θη ὁ θυμός μου καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς [ἀμνοὺς εἰ]πισκέψομαι καὶ

IX, 16^b Theod. In Esch. xxviiiX, 3^b Chrys. In Sanct. Pent.

θησεσθε Q* (καθησεσθε Q*) pr και A Q 36 51 95 97 185 233 οχυρωματι] οχυρωματι
 BN 48 86 233 της συναγωγης] της υπομονης Aq της ελπιδος Σ παροικεισαι]
 παροικίας 22^a (-κεσίας 22^a) 62 86 147 228 σοι] om 228 (hab 228^a) 13, διoti]
 δια τουτο 95 185 ιουδα] BNA Q Γ 48 233 pr εμαντω 22 36 51 62 86 95 97 147
 185 228 om ιουδα 62 147 + εμαντω ως 1^o] om BN Q 48 228 (hab 228^a) 233 eis A Γ
 επλησα] ενεπλησα 233 τον] ται 95 185 εξεγερω] επεγειρω A Q Γ επεγειρω 62 86
 147 σου] om 22 36 51 95 97 185 σιων] σιων B (σιων B^b) επι τα (τις τα
 των] ελληνων] επι τους υιους ελληνικους (s. τα τεκνα τα ελληνικα) Aq Σ ιαουαν Θ ως 1^o] eis
 233 14. $\overline{\kappa\sigma}$ εσται] εσται $\overline{\kappa\sigma}$ A Γ 233 om εσται 22 (οφθησεται) (!)] om BNA Q Γ
 48 86 228 233 βολις (αυτου)] om αυτου BNA Q Γ 48 233 βολις αυταν 51 ο $\overline{\theta\sigma}$]
 om BNA Q Γ 48 233 παντοκρατωρ] pr o 51 62 86 95 147 185 228 (σαλπει)]
 σαλπγει N* (-πει N¹ postea gas) σαλπγει 233 πορευεται] πορευονται Λ
 εκπορευεται 95 185 πορευεται 228^a (πορευεται 228) 15. $\overline{\kappa\sigma}$] pr και 62 147
 παντοκρατωρ] pr o 62 147 αυτ(ων)] αυτους BN* (αυτων N^{c,a,b}) 48 (οι) 1^o]
 om 147 (κατα)ναλωσουσιν] -σωσιν Α και (κατα)χώσουσιν αυ]τους] om N^a
 (hab N^{c,b}) ***** το αιμα αυτων] και εκπιονται αυτους BN* 48 και εκπιονται το
 αιμα αυτων N^{c,a,b} A Q Γ L (exc 48) (Syr-Hex = Y) (ως) φιαλας] τας φ. BN 48 228 +
 ελαιον 62 86 95 147 185 το θυσιαστηριον] ως θυσ. BN Γ 48 95 185 228 om A Q
 233 ως το θυσ. 62 86 147 ως γωνιαί . . Aq Σ Θ 16. $\overline{\kappa\sigma}$ ο $\overline{\theta\sigma}$ αυτων] om ο $\overline{\theta\sigma}$ αυτων
 A Q Γ 233 Syro-Hex (hab Syro-Hex^{me}) κυλιονται] hab Γ^a (vid) (! Γ^a) επαιρονται Σ
 της] om 48 86 228 αυτου 2^o] om Theod 17. (αυτου) 1^o] pr παρ 233 (και
 ει τι καλον αυτου] om Γ αυτου 2^o] αυτων N* (-του N^{c,a,b}) pr παρ A Q 36 228 233
 (οινος)] οινια Aq

X. 1. παρ(α $\overline{\kappa\upsilon}$ υετο)ν] υετον παρ $\overline{\kappa\upsilon}$ A Q Γ 233 προμιον] προμιον B* N A Γ* (προ-
 μον B^b Γ^a) (εποιησ)ε] -σεν BNA Q Γ (ν gas 22^a) υετον 2^o] υτον N* (υετον N^{c,a,b})
 2. (μαντις)] μαντις N* (-τεις N^{c,b}) οι τα ενυπνι] om οι BNA Q Γ L (exc 36 51
 97) ***** ψευδη] ψευδη ελαλουν BNA Q Γ L (exc 22 36 51 97 ελαλουν ψευδη)
 (εξηραν]θησαν] εξηρησαν N^{a,b} 36 51 95 97 185 228^a εξηρανθησαν Σ απηραν Θ ~~exc~~ 111
 Syro-Hex ιασίς] ποιμην Aq Σ Θ 3. και 1^o] om N* (hab N^{c,b}) (αμνοὺς)] +
 μον L (exc 22 48 233) επισκεψεται] επισκεπτεται Α επισκεψασθαι Chrys και 3^o]

ἐπισκέπεται . . . οκράτωρ τὸ ποίμνιον αὐτοῦ . . . α καὶ τάξει αὐτοὺς ὡς
 4 ἵπ . . . τοῦ ἐν πολέμῳ· ⁴ καὶ ἐξ αὐ[τοῦ] ἐπέβλεψι καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἔταξε καὶ
 ἐξ [αὐτοῦ] τὸ τόξον ἐν πνι θυμοῦ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐξελεύσεται πᾶς ἐξελα[ύνων] ἐν
 5 τῷ αὐτῷ ⁵ καὶ . . . πατοῦντες πηλὸν ἐν . . . μῶ καὶ παρατάσσονται [ὅτι
 6 κσ] . . . κατασχευήσονται . . . ⁶ καὶ κατισχύσω τὸν οἶκον . . . ἰωσήφ σώσω·
 καὶ κατοικίῳ αὐτοὺς καὶ ἡγάπησα αὐτοὺς καὶ ἔσονται ὃν τρόπον οὐκ
 ἀπεστρεψάμην αὐτοὺς] διότι ἐγὼ κσ ὁ θς αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπακ[ούσομαι] αὐ[τῶν]
 7 ⁷ καὶ ὡς μαχηταὶ οἱ τ***** καὶ χαρήσεται ἡ καρδία αὐτῶν ὡς ἀπὸ
 οἴνου] καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτῶν ὄψονται κ[αὶ] εὐφρανθήσεται καὶ χαρήσεται] ἡ
 8 καρδία αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τῷ κῶ· ⁸ [σημανῶ αὐ]τοῖς καὶ εἰσδέξομαι αὐτοὺς διότι
 9 λ[υτρώσομαι] αὐτοὺς καὶ πληθυνθήσονται κα . . . πολλοί· ⁹ καὶ σπερῶ αὐτοὺς
 ἐν λ[αοῖς καὶ οἱ] μακρὰν μνησθήσονται μου κ[αὶ] ἐκθρέψουσι] τὰ τέκνα
 10 αὐτῶν καὶ στρέψουσιν· ¹⁰ *****στρέψω αὐτοὺς ἐκ γῆς αἰγύπ . . . ὡν εἰσδέ-
 ξομαι αὐτοὺς καὶ ε . . . καὶ εἰς τὸν λίβανον εἰσάξω . . . ὑπολειφθῇ] ἐξ αὐτῶν
 11 οὐδ' ἐ εἰς ¹¹ καὶ διελύσον]ται ἐν θαλάσῃ στενῇ κ[αὶ] πατάξουσιν ἐν] θα-
 λάσῃ κύματα καὶ [ξηρανθήσεται] πάν]τα τὰ βάθη ποταμῶν [καὶ καθαί-
 ρηθήσ]εται πᾶσα ὕβρις ἀσσύρίων καὶ σκῆπτρον αἰ]γύπτου περιαιρεθήσ]εται.
 12 ¹² καὶ κατισχύσω αὐτοὺς] ἐν κῶ θῶ αὐτῶν κ[αὶ] ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ κατα-
 1 καυχῇ]σονται λέγει κσ· ¹ διάνοιξον ὁ λίβανος [τὰς θύρας] σου καὶ κατα- XI

XI. 1, 2^a Theod. In Cant. Cantic. Praef. In Psal. xxviii

om N^{a,b} postea restit [π(πον)] οικον 228^{supralin} 4. εἰ 1^o-4^o] απ B N* (εἰ N^{c,b}) 48
 εἰ 1^o] απ 48 95 185 εἰ 2^o 3^o] απ L (επεβλεψει)] -ψεν 22 εταξε] -εν B N A Q Γ
 το] om B N Q* (hab Q*) Γ 22 48 95 185 + εἰ αὐτου Q* (om Q*) εν πνι θυμου] εν θυμῳ
 B N A Q Γ 48 95 185 233 εἰ 4^o] απ L (exc 228) εξελανων] ελεανων A εξερεναν
 228 pr o B N A Q Γ L (exc 22 36 51 62 97 147) εισπρασσαν Αq 5. (οτι] διоти
 B N* (οτι N^{c,b}) A Q Γ 48 86 95 185 233 (κσ)] + παντοκρατωρ A 6. σωσω]
 δασω 147 ηγαπησα] ηγαπηκα A Q Γ 233 (και ε)σονται—απεστρεψαμ(ην αὐτους)]
 και ε)σονται ως αν ει μη απασαμην αὐτους Ξ (ε)σονται] ε)σται A Q Γ απεστρεψαμ(ην)]
 απεστρεψα N^{a,b} 228 κατεστρεψα 62 απερριψα 86 απεστρεψα αὐτους εις τον οικον
 ιωδα 147 (αυ)των] αὐτοις B N* (αὐτους N¹) A Q Γ 48 95 185 233 7. και ως
 μαχηται οι τ*****] και ε)σονται ως μαχηται τον (οι 22 36 51 62 97 147 228*) εφραιμ
 φρεμ N] B N A Q Γ L και 2^o] αι N* (και N^{c,a,c,b}) (απο οινου)] εν οινῳ
 N A Q Γ 48 95 185 228 233 οφονται] οψεται A Q Γ 233 (ευφρανθησεται)]
 ησονται B N L (exc 22 97 147 233) (χαρησεται)] χαρειται B N* (χαρησεται N^{c,b})
 Q 48 95 185 233 χαρισεται Γ η καρδια αυτων] αυτω η καρδια A αυτων η καρδια
 1 Γ 8. (σημανω)] ρη και 147 συριξω Αq Ξ θ (αυ)τοις] αὐτους διоти λυτρω-
 μαι αὐτους A αὐτους 147 εισδεξομαι] εις δοξαν N^a vid διоти λ[υτρωσομαι] αὐτους]
 η A 62 147 9. αὐτους] αὐτοις 62* 147* λαοις] αλληλοις A μακραν]
 αυτων 228 κ(αι) 3^o] om B N Q Γ 22 48 95 185 228 (εκθρεψουσι)] -σιν B N A Q
 σι Q*) Γ στρεψουσιν] επιστρεψουσιν B N A Q (-σι Q*) Γ L 10. ουδ(ε εις)]
 δει 147 11. (OL^c = Y) (ξηρανθησεται)] -σονται A (παν)τα τα βαθη]
 η τα 36 τα βαθη παντα 62 86 τα βαθη παντων 147 (καθαيرهθησεται)] αφαιρεθησεται
 N A Q Γ 48 95 185 233 υβρις] ρη η Q ασσυ(ριαν)] βηματιζονται 86^m
 σκηπτρον]] σκηπτρον N* (-τρον N^{c,a}) 12. (OL^c OL^a = Y) (κατισχυσω)]
 κατισχυσω N* (κατεισχ. N^{c,a} κατ' ισχ. N^{c,b}) (αυτου)] αυτων 36 (κατακαυχη)-
 σονται] καυχησονται 62 95 185
 XI. 1. (Theod = Y) 2. ολολυξατω] ολολυξατω 228 ολολυξατω Theod πιτυς]
 VOL. VIII. C C

2 φαγέτω πῦρ τὰς κέ[δρους σο]ν² ὀλουξάτω πίτις διότι πέπτωκε [κέβρος]
 ὅτι μεγιστάνες μεγάλως ἐταλαιπώρη[σαν ὀλολ]ύξατε δρύνες τῆς βασανίτιδος
 3 ὅτι . . ἡ ὁ δρυμὸς ὁ σύμφυτος³ φωνὴ θρη . . ποιμένων ὅτι τεταλαιπώρη
 . . νη αὐτῶν φωνὴ ὠρνομένων λεόν . . ταλαιπώρηκε τὸ φρύαγμα τοῦ ἰορ .
 4,5⁴ . δε λέγει κῶ παντοκράτωρ ποί[μαινε τὰ πρό]βατα τῆς σφαγῆς⁵ ἡ οἱ
 κτησάμενοι κατέσφα[ζον καὶ οὐ μετεμέλοντο καὶ [οἱ πωλοῦντες] αὐτὰ ἔλγον
 εὐλογητὸς κῶ καὶ [πεπλουτήκαμ]εν καὶ οἱ ποιμένες αὐτῶν οὐκ ἔπασχον
 6 οὐδὲν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς⁶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐ φείσομαι . . τοικοῦντας τὴν γῆν λέγει
 κῶ [καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ παραδίδ]ωμι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἕαστον εἰς [τὰς χεῖρας τοῦ
 πλησί]ον αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς χεῖρας βα . . [κα]τακούσουσι τὴν γῆν καὶ . . [ἐκ τῆς
 7 χειρὸς αὐτῶν⁷ καὶ ποι]μανῶ τὰ πρόβατα τῆς σφαγῆς εἰς τὴν γῆν [χανααν-
 ῖτιν καὶ λή]ψομαι ἐμαυτῷ δύο ῥάβδους τὴν μίαν ἐκάλεσα κάλλος καὶ τὴν
 8 δευ[τεραν] ἐκάλεσα σχοίνισμα καὶ ποιμανῶ τὰ [πρό]βατα⁸ καὶ ἐξαρῶ τοὺς
 τρεῖς ποιμένα . . νὶ ἐνὶ καὶ βαρυνθήσεται ἡ ψυχὴ μου [ἐπ' αὐτοὺς] καὶ γὰρ
 9 αἱ ψυχαὶ αὐτῶν ἐπωρύοντο ἐπ' [ἐμέ⁹ καὶ] εἶπον οὐ ποιμανῶ ὑμᾶς τὸ ἀπο-
 θνήσκον ἀ]ποθνησκέτω καὶ τὸ ἐκλείπον ἐκλει[πέτω καὶ] τὰ καταλοιπα
 10 κατεσθιέτω ἕκαστος τὰς σάρ]κας τοῦ πλησίον αὐτοῦ¹⁰ καὶ λή]ψονται [τὴν]

9 Theod. *De Prov.* Orat. viii

πίτους Ν* διότι] ὅτι 62 86 147 Theod πεπτωκε] -κεν BNAQ (-κε Q⁹) Γ
 (Theod = Y) μεγιστάνες μεγάλως tr BNAQ Γ 48 228 233 (ολολ)ύξατε
 ολολυξετε 228 βασανίτιδος] βασανειτιδος ΒΓ ο δρυμὸς] ομι ο 62 147 3. ὠρνο-
 μένων] ὠρνομένων Ν ὠρνομένων 95 185 το φρύαγμα] τα φρυαγματα 228 υπερφρεια
 Αq ενδοξασμος Σ 4. κῶ] ομι 147 ποι[μαινε]] ποιμαινετε BNAQ Γ 48 233
 εποιμαινες 36 ποιμανε 97 ποιμενε (sic) 147 (add τε 147*) 5. (κατεσφα)ζον] κατε-
 σφαζον 95^a 185 μετεμελοντο] μετεμελλοντο Γ¹vid μετεμελοντο 62 86 147 228
 καὶ (οἱ πωλοῦντες)]—(πεπλουτήκαμ]εν] ομι 233 (πωλοῦντες)] πολουντες Γ* (πωλ. Γ')
 αὐτα ελεγον] α ε resc Γ¹ ε[πασχον]] εσπασχον Β* (επ. Β^{ab}) (επ') εν 147
 6. κῶ] + παντοκράτωρ Α (παραδίδ]ωμι] αποδιδομι 95 185 (τας χεῖρας)] ομι ται
 BNAQ 48 62 86 147 233 χεῖρα Α χεῖρας 2^o] χεῖρα Α (κα]τακούσουσι] -σιν
 BNAQ (τη]ς] ομι BNAQ 22 48 97 228 233 7. (τα προβατα τ]ης σφαγῆς] τα
 προβατα ης σφαγῆς Ν* το προβατον της σφ. Ν¹vid (τα προβατα της σφ. Ν^cb) τὴν
 γῆν] ομι γῆν Β Ν^ca, (vid) (γῆν Ν^ac.c. (vid)) Α Q 48 228 233 (χανααντιν] (I)) χανα-
 νειτιν Ν χανανιτιν Α 228 χανααν Ξ (exc 22 48 228 233) τὴν μαν—σχοινισμα] τῆς
 μαν εκαλεσα ευπρεπειαν καὶ τὴν ετεραν εκαλεσα σχοινισμα Αq τὴν μαν εκαλεσα ευπρεπειαν
 τὴν δε [μαν] εκαλεσα σχοινισμα Σ τὴν 2^o] + μεν Β μαν] μαν Q εκαλεσα I^o
 επεκαλεσα 86 κάλλος] καλας 228 δευτ(εραν)] ετεραν BNAQ Ξ (exc 22 36 51
 95 97 185) 86 (ε)καλεσα 2^o] επεκαλεσα 36 51 62 86 95 97 185 προβα(τα) 2^o] +
 μου Ν^cb 8. καὶ βαρυνθήσεται ἡ ψυχὴ μου (ἐπ αὐτοὺς)] καὶ εκολοβαθη η ψυχῃ εν
 αυτοις Αq καὶ ωλιγοψυχῃσα εν αυτοις Σ καὶ ωλιγοψυχῃσεν η ψυχῃ επ αυτοις Θ καὶ
 γαρ ad fin com] καὶ γε η ψυχῃ αυτων επερκασεν εν μοι Αq καὶ η ψυχῃ αυτων ηχμασεν εν
 μοι Σ ψυχαι] χιρες Ν* (χειρες Ν^cb sed vult etiam ψυχαι] αυτων] αυτω Α*
 (-των Α') επωρυνοντο] επορευοντο Ν επορευοντο 228^a 9. εἶπον] εἶπα BNA 48
 62 147 228 233 (Theod = Y) ποιμανω] ποιμαινω Q* (-μανω Q^a) υμᾶς] + εντευθεν
 95 185 αποθν(ησκον)] αποθνησκων Α το εκλείπον εκλει(πέτω)] το απολλυμενον
 απολλυσθω Theod εκλείπον] εκλιπον Β (-λειπον Β^a) Ν εκλει(πέτω)] εκλιπέτω Β
 (-λειπ. Β^{ab}) Ν εκλιμπαρετω Q* (-λειπέτω Q^a) καταλοιπα] λοιπα ΒΝ κατεσθιέτω
 κατεσθιέτωσαν BNAQ 48 228 (Theod = Y) εκαστ(ος)] -ον 95 185 (ται

ράβδον μου τὴν καλὴν καὶ ἀπο[ρρίψω] τοῦ διασκεδάσαι τὴν διαθήκην μου
 11 ἣν διεθέμην πρὸς πάντας τοὺς λαοὺς τῆς γῆς ¹¹ καὶ διασκεδασθήσεται ἐν
 τῇ ἡ . . καὶ γινώσκονται οἱ χαναναῖοι [τὰ πρόβατα τὰ] φυλασσόμενά μοι
 12 διότι ὁ [λόγος κῦ ἐστὶ] ¹² . . ρῶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἰ καλὸν ἐν . . [δο]τε τὸν
 13 μισθόν μου ἡ ἀπεί[πασθε] . . τὸν μισθόν μου τριάκοντα ***** ¹³ *****πε
 κῶ πρὸς μέ κάθες . . τήριον καὶ σκέψαι εἰ δόκ[ιμον] . . ἐδοκιμάσθην
 ὑπὲρ [αὐτῶν καὶ ἔλαβον τοὺς] τριάκοντα ἀργυροῦς [καὶ ἐνέβαλον αὐτοὺς
 14 εἰς τὸν οἶκ]ον κῦ εἰς τὸ χωνευτήριον ¹⁴ καὶ ἀ[πέρριψα τ]ὴν ράβδον τὴν
 δευτέραν τὸ σχοίνισμα [τοῦ διασκ]εδάσαι τὴν διαθήκην τὴν ἀνὰ μέσον
 15 [ιοῦδ]α καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον ἰηλ. ¹⁵ καὶ εἶπε κῶ . . ἔτι λάβε σεαυτῷ σκεῖν
 16 ποιμενι . . νος ἀπείρου ¹⁶ διότι ἰδοὺ ἐξεγεί[ρω ποιμ]ένα ἀπείρου ἐπὶ
 τὴν γῆν τὸ ἐκλεί[πον οὐ μὴ ἐπ]ισκεύεται καὶ τὸ ἐσκορπισμένον [οὐ μὴ
 ζητῇ]σῃ καὶ τὸ συντετριμμένον οὐ μὴ [ιάσῃται καὶ] τὸ ὀλόκληρον οὐ μὴ
 κατευθύνη [καὶ τὰ κρέα] τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν καταφάγ[εται καὶ τοὺς ἀσ]τραγάλους

σφραγῶ] *pr* προς 62 10. καὶ ληφονται—ἀπο[ρρίψω] καὶ ἐλαβον τὴν ράβδον μου τὴν
 ἐπὶ τρεῖς καὶ περικοψα αὐτὴν Aq ληφονται] λημφομαι B* ληφομαι NAQ*
 (ληφομαι Q*) *℥* *ⲙⲟⲩ* Syro-Hex τὴν καλὴν] *℥* *ⲙⲟⲩ* Syro-
 Hex^{ms} ἀπο[ρρίψω] ἀπορίψω NQ + αὐτὴν B^{ab} NAQ *℥* Syro-Hex τοὺς] *om* 36
 97 (τῆς γῆς] *om* B NAQ 48 228 (hab 228*) 233 Syro-Hex 11. διασκεδασθή-
 σεται] -ονται A καὶ γινώσκονται—μοι] . . . πτωχοὶ τοῦ ποιμνίου μου οἱ φυλασσόμενοι
 με Aq χαναναῖοι] χανανῖοι N (τα) 2^o *om* N* (hab N^{c,a}) μοι] *om* A Q 233
 με 62 95 185 ο] *om* B NAQ *℥* (exc 51 95 97 185) (κῦ) *om* A* (superscr A¹)
 (εἰσι)] -ιν B NAQ (-i Q*) 12. δοτε] + στησαντες A Q 233 (*om* Syro-Hex)
 ἡ ἀπεί(πασθε)] ἡ ἀπειπασθαι sup ras (seq ras 3 vel 4 litt) A* εἰ ἀπειπασθε 62 228
 (ἡ superscr 228) καὶ εἰαν μὴ παύσασθε Aq *Σ* . . τὸν μισθόν μου τριάκοντα *****]
 καὶ ἴστησαν τὸν μισθόν μου τριάκοντα ἀργυροῦς Aq καὶ ἐστοθισαν τὸν μισθόν μου τριά-
 κοντα ἀργυροῦς *Σ* 13. *****πε κῶ—ὑπὲρ (αὐτῶν)] καὶ εἶπε κύριος πρὸς μέ ριψὸν
 αὐτὰ (s. αὐτο) πρὸς τὸν πλαστὴν ὑπερμεγεθὴς ἡ τιμὴ ἣν ἐτιμήθη ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν Aq . . ριψὸν
 αὐτο εἰς τὸ χωνευτήριον . . *Σ* *****] -πεν B NAQ κάθες] καταθες N* (τα ras et
 iam antea improb N¹) σκεψαι] σκεψομαι B N* (σκεψαι N^{c,b}) (Syro-Hex = Y) +
 αὐτο A δοκ[ιμον]] δοκιμον N^{c,a} vid (postea -μον) Q* (-μειον Q*) 62 86 147 ἐδο-
 κίμασθην] ἐδοκιμασθῃ B* (-σθην B*) ἀργυροῦς] ἀργυρίου *℥* (exc 48 233) (καὶ
 ἐνέβαλον)] *pr* καὶ καθῆκα 62 86 147 (καὶ ἐνέβαλον) ad fin com] καὶ ἐρριψα αὐτο ἐν
 οἴκῳ κυρίου πρὸς τὸν πλαστὴν Aq καὶ ἐρριψα αὐτο εἰς τὸν οἶκον κυρίου εἰς τὸ χωνευ-
 τήριον *Σ* (τον)] *om* A 14. ἀ[πέρριψα]] ἀπείριψα NQ^{vid} ράβδον] + μου
 185 (τον διασκ)εδάσαι] ὥστε διασκ. N^{a,b} (mox revoc του) τὴν διαθήκην] τὴν
 κατασχέσιν B N (τὴν διαθήκην N^{c,b}) (Syro-Hex = Y) + μου A τὴν ἀνὰ μέσον] *om*
 τὴν B NAQ *℥* (exc 22 51 95 97 185) ἰηλ] *pr* του A Q 233 ἰηλμ 62 147 15. εἶπε]
 -πεν B NAQ σκευὴ ποιμενι(κα ποιμε)νος ἀπείρου] σκευος ποιμαῖνος ἀπείρου ποι-
 μαῖνικα A ποιμενι(κα)] ποιμαῖνικα Q^a vid 16. διότι ἰδου—(οὐ μὴ ἐπ)ισκεύεται]
 ecce ego suscito pastorem in terra qui quod aversum est non visitabit OL^c (ἰδου)
 + ἐγὼ N^{c,b} (postea ras) Q *℥* (exc 22 36 51 62 97 147 *om* ἰδου 62 147 ἐξεγεί(ρω)]
 ἐξεγερῶ 95 185 ἀπείρου] *om* B N* (ἀπείρον N^{c,a} rurs ras) A Q 48 228 233 γῆν]
 + ἀπείρον 228 ἐκλεί(πον)] ἐκλιμπανον B A Q ἐκλιπον N^{c,a} vid (ἐκλείπον N^{c,b}) (οὐ
 μὴ ἐπ)ισκεύεται] οὐ μὴ ἐπισκεψῇται B NAQ 22 48 228 233 οὐκ ἐπισκεψεται 51 62 86
 95 147 185 ἐσκορπισμένον] διεσκορπ. A Q 233 (ζητῇ)σῃ] ἐπισκεψῇται N^a vid
 (ζητῇ)σῃ] ζητῇσῃ 97 ἐκζητῇσῃ 233 οὐ μὴ (ιασῃται καὶ) τὸ ὀλόκληρον] *om* 95 185
 (καὶ τὰ κρέα)] *om* καὶ 95 185 (καὶ τὰ κρέα) ad fin com] OL^c = Y τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν]

- 17 αὐτῶν ἐκστρέψει· ¹⁷ [ὧ] . . τὰ μάτια καὶ καταλελοι[πότες] . . ατα μάχαιρα
ἐπὶ τοὺς βρα[χίονας αὐτοῦ καὶ] ἐπὶ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν αὐτοῦ [τὸν δεξιὸν
βραχί]ων αὐτοῦ ξηραίνόμενος . . [ὁ] ὀφθαλμὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ δε[ξιὸς] . . ε ἐκτε-
XII 1 φλωθήσεται· ¹ . . ὃν ἡλ· λέγει κ̄ς ἐκτείνων . . ὦν τὴν γῆν· καὶ πλάσ[σα]
2 π̄να ἀνθρώπου ἐν αὐτῷ· ² ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ τίθημι τὴν [ἰλημ ὡς πρόθυρα σ]ταλε-
μενα π̄σι τοῖς λαοῖς κύκλῳ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἰουδαίᾳ [ἔσται περι]οχή· ἐ-
3 ἰλημ· ³ καὶ ἔσται ἐν τῇ ἡ· . . νη θήσομαι τὴν ἰλημ λίθον κατ . . το-
π̄σι τοῖς ἔθνεσιν π̄ς ὁ κα[ταπατῶν αὐ]τὸν ἐμπαίζων ἐμπαίζεται κα-
4 ἐπισυναχθ[ή]σεται ἐπ' αὐτὴν πάντα τὰ ἔθνη· ⁴· τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ λέγει κ̄ς
παν[τοκράτωρ πατ]ράξω πάντα ἱππον ἐν ἐκστάσει [καὶ τὸν ἀνα]βάτην αὐτοῦ
ἐν παραφρονίᾳ . . κον ἰουδα ἀνοίξω τοὺς ὀφθαλ· . . πάντας τοὺς ἔκτοι-
5 τῶν λα[ῶν πατάξω] ἐν ἀποτυφλώσει· ⁵ καὶ ἐροῦσ· . . ἰουδα πάντες ἐν τα-
6 καρδ· . . [εὐ]ρήσομεν ἑαυτοῖς τοὺς κα . . ἐν κ̄ς παντοκράτορι· ⁶· ἡμέρ-
ἐκείνῃ θήσομαι . . δα ὡς δαλὸν πυρὸς ἐν ξύλοις καὶ ὡς λαμπα[δα] πυρὸς ἐ-
καλάμῃ [καὶ καταφάγονται ἐκ] δεξιῶν καὶ ἐξ εὐωνύμ[ων] πάντας τοὺς λαοῖς·
7 κυκλόθεν καὶ κατοικήσει [ἰλημ ἐτι καθ' ἑαυ]τήν· ⁷ καὶ σώσει κ̄ς τὰ . . ὡς
ἀπ' ἀρχῆς· ὅπ . . ου δαδ καὶ ἐπάρσεις τῶν κατοικούντων . . π̄ τὸν ἰουδα-
8· καὶ ἔσται ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ . . περασπιεῖ κ̄ς ὑπὲρ τῶν κατοικούντων . . καὶ
ἔσται ὁ ἀσθενῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐν ἐκείνῃ . . α ὡς οἶκος δαδ· ὁ δὲ οἶκος δαδ ὡς

XII. 2* Chrys. *De Mund. Creat.* Orat. ii 6 Theod. *In Is.* vi

τῶν πινῶν Αλ τῶν παχίων ΣΘ ἐκστρέφει] ἐκστρέφει Α 228 ἐκστρέφει 62 86 147
17. (ω) om 228 (ἀπὸ 228*) καταλελοι[πότες] βρ κ Α Q 233 [τοὺς βρα(χίονας)]
τον βραχίονος Q 36 51 95 97 185 228 233 βρα(χίονας αὐτοῦ) — (ο βραχίονας αὐτοῦ)
om 22 [αὐτοῦ (τῶν δεξιῶν)] τῶν δεξιῶν αὐτοῦ BNA Q 48 228 233 om τῶν 86
(ο βραχίονας) βρ κα Γ (ο) ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ ο δε(ξιὸς)] ὀφθαλμὸς ο δεξιὸς αὐτοῦ Bk om
ο δεξιὸς 233

XII. 1. λέγει κ̄ς] βρ ταδε 62 86 147 τῇ] om BNA Q Γ 48 228 233 κα]
om 95 185 (ἀνθρώπου)] αὐτοῦ Α (ἐν αὐτῷ) ἐντος αὐτοῦ ΣΘ 2. ἐγώ [ἰδω]
καὶ Chrys Theod τίθημι] θῆσω Chrys Theod ἰουδα] ἰουδα Ν (ἐστὶν)] βρ
κα Α Q 228 233 3. τῇ] τῇ 228 πασι τοῖς ἔθνεσιν] om 228 (ἀπὸ 228*)
πασι· — B Γ ἔθνεσιν] — σι Q* πας ο — ἐμπαίζεται] (πας) ο βασταζων αὐτὸς ἐπ-
ραστομενος ἀμνησθήσεται Θ (αὐ)τῶν] αὐτῶν BNA Q Γ Ε (ἐκ 22 36 51 97) ἡρ-
παζων] ἐπ. Ν ἐμπαίζεται] ἐμπαίζεται 147 228 233 (ἐπισυναχθ[ή]σεται) — στω
Α Q Γ Ε (ἐκ 36 51 62 95 97 147 185) 4. ἡμέρα — κ̄ς] βρ obel B¹ ἡμέρ]
ἡμέρα Ν* (ἡμ. Ν^{ca} καὶ καὶ) πατ[ροκράτωρ] ἀπὸ σὺδ ὡς Syro-Hex (πατ[ρ]αξω) 1^a
πατάξω 95 185 ἐν ἐκστ.] om ἐν 62 147 (ἀνα)βατῇ] ἐπ[ὶ] β] αὐτῶν Γ ἀνα[β]
ἀναβῶ BNA Q Γ 36 48 86 228 233 τῶν λα(ῶν)] τῶν λαῶν Ν* (τῶν λαῶν Ν^{ca} 1^a)
(πατάξω) 2^a] πατάξω Ν* (πατ. Ν^{ca} 1^a) pon ante πάντας 147 5. πᾶντες] om
BNA Q Γ 48 86 233 Syro-Hex (ἐν)μπαίσει] ἐνμπαίσει αὐτοῖς 62 147
καρτερήσει μοι Αλ 6. ας 1^a] om 62 233 ἐν (ἐκ)καὶ ας λαμπα[δα] πυρὸς]
om Ν* (ἀπὸ Ν^{ca}) ἐκ(καὶ) ἐκ(καὶ) Β* (ἀπὸ Β^{ca}) (ας) 2^a] om 147 (λαμπα[δα]
λαμπαδας 147 (λαμπα[δα]) + ἐκ(καὶ) 228 ἰλημ ἐτι] ἐν 233 (ἐτι καὶ ἐπ[ὶ] τῇ)
om 62 (καὶ) τῇ] + ἐν ἱερουσαλὴμ Β (asterisc superscr B*) Ν (om Ν^{ca}) Γ Ε (ἐκ
22 36 51 97 233) (Syro-Hex = Υ) 7. σώσει] δώσει Α ἐπάρσεις] — σι Ν Q 48
62 86 95 185 228 ἐπάρσεις Α ἰουδα] οἶκος ἰουδα Q ἰουδα Γ^{ca} 48 62 86 147 233
8. ὑπὲρ] om 62 147 καὶ ἐστὶν] ἀπὸ σὺδ Ν Syro-Hex οἶκος 1^a] om Β Ν Ε (ἐκ

9 . . ὡς ἄγγελος κυ ἐνώπιον αὐτῶν· ⁹ καὶ ἔ . . ἡμέρα ἐκείνη ζητήσω ἐξῆραι
 10 πάν . . ἡ τὰ ἐρχόμενα ἐπὶ ἡλμ· ¹⁰ καὶ ἐκ . . ὃν οἶκον δαδ καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς
 κατοικοῦν[τας ἡλμ] πᾶν χάριτος καὶ οἰκτιρμοῦ καὶ ἐπιβλέφονται πρὸς με
 εἰς ὃν ἐξεκέντησαν· καὶ [κόφονται ἐπ'] αὐτοὺς κοπετὸν ὡς ἐπὶ ἀγαπ[ητῶ] καὶ
 11 ὀδυνῇ]θήσονται ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς ὀδύνῃ [ὡς ἐπὶ πρωτο]τόκῳ· ¹¹ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ
 ἐκείνῃ . . οπετὸς ἐν ἡλμ ὡς κοπε [14 litt] ὡν ὁ ἐν πεδίῳ μαγεδδών·
 12 ¹² [14 litt] κατὰ φυλάς· φυλὴ καθ' ἑαυ [16 litt] καθ' ἑαυτήν· καὶ αἱ γυν . .
 13 ἑαυτὰς φυλὴ οἴκου να[θαν] . αἱ γυναῖκες αὐτῶν κα . ¹³ . [λ]ευεὶ καθ' ἑαυτήν
 καὶ αἱ [γυναῖκες] . . ἑαυτὰς· φυλὴ τοῦ συμπεῶν καθ' ἑαυτήν καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες
 14 αὐτ . . θ' ἑαυτὰς· ¹⁴ πᾶσαι αἱ ὑπολειμμέναι [φυλαὶ] φυλὴ φυλὴ καθ'
 1 ἑαυτήν· καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες* καθ' ἑαυτὰς· ¹ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ [ἔσται πᾶς] XIII

XII. 10³² De Cruce et Latrone i 4 Theod. In Dan. ix
 Mulier. § 3

12 Chrys. In

22 86 51 97 228* 233) Syro-Hex ο δε οικος δαδ] ομι ΑΓ αγγελος κυ] ομι κυ 36
 αυτων] αυτου 95 185 228 9. εκεινη] + λεγει κυριος 233 εξαραι] ρη του Α Q
 36 86 228* 233 ερχομενα] επερχομενα Α Q 36 10. δαδ] ιημ Ν δαδ Ν¹ κατοι-
 κουν[τας] οικουντας 95 185 οικτιρμου] οικτιρμου Ν οικτιρμου Α Q* και επιβλε-
 φονται] προς με εις ον εξεκεντησαν] και επιβλεφονται προς με ανθ αν καταρχησαντο
 Β Ν Α Q και επιβλ. προς με εις ον ε(ε)κεντησαν] ανθ αν καταρχησαντο Γ 228 . . συν ω
 εξεκεντησαν Α q . . εμπροσθεν επεξεκεντησαν Σ και επιβλεφονται προς με εις ον εξεκεν-
 τησαν Θ et intuebuntur in me in quem transfixerunt OL^e videbunt enim eum qui
 confixerunt (al tunc et cognoscent eum qui compugerunt al et tunc cognoscent
 eum quem pupugerunt) OL¹⁰¹⁸ οφονται γαρ εις ον εξεκεντησαν Chrys τότε οφονται εις ον
 εξεκεντησαν Theod εις ον εξεκεντησαν] ανθ αν καταρχησαντο 48 233 228
 Syro-Hex και [κοφονται επ] αυτους] και κοφονται αυτον Α q Σ Θ (κοφονται)]
 οφονται Ν* (κοφονται Ν^{ca}) (επ] αυτους] επ αυτον Β Ν Γ 48 62 86 147 233 επ αυτοις
 Q εφ εαυτους 22 36 97 επ αυτω 95 185 228 (Syro-Hex = Y) ως επι αγαπη(τω)] ως
 επ αγαπητω Β Ν Q ως επ αγαπητον Α Q 62 86 147 233 ομι επι 228 εφ εαυτοις] ομι
 Β Ν Α Q Γ 48 228 233 επ αυτον 62 86 147 Α q Θ επ αυτω 95 185 οδυνην] οδυνη
 Ν Q¹⁴ (ως επι πρωτο]τοκω] ως επι τω πρωτοτοκω Β Ν Γ 22 36 48 97 228 ως επι πρω-
 τοτοκον 62 86 147 ως επι πρωτοτοκω 95 185 ωσει επι πρωτοτοκω 233 11. εν 2°]
 ομι 62 147 ο] ομι Β Ν Α Q Γ Ε (exc 62 86 147) μαγεδδων] εκκοπτομενου
 Β Ν Α Q Γ Ε (exc 22 62 86 97^{me} 147) εκκοπτομενου ο αδελφειμων ο εν πεδιω μαγγεδων
 22 (62 86 97^{me} 147 = Y) 228 Syro-Hex 12. κατα φυλας φυλη καθ
 ιαν . .] κατα φυλας φυλας φυλη οικου δανειδ καθ εαυτην Β Ε (exc 22 51 62 86^{me} 97 147)
 sic sine φυλας 2 Ν κατα φυλας φυλας φυλη φυλη (ομι φυλη 2° Q) καθ εαυτην και αι
 γυναικες αυτων καθ εαυτας Α Q Γ . . . φυλη οικου δανιδ καθ εαυτην και αι γυναικες
 αυτου καθ εαυτας Chrys φυλη οικου να[θαν] ad fin com] φυλη οικου ναθαν καθ
 ιαυτην και αι γυναικες αυτων καθ εαυτας Chrys 13. (λ)ευει] sup ras Ν¹ ιουδα
 Ν¹ 1018 λευι Q* δανιδ 62 147 (γυναικες) 1°] γυναι πς Α του συμπεων] ρη οικου 86
 φυλη του συμπεων ad fin com] ομι 228 εαυτας ult] + φυλη οικου λευι καθ εαυτην και
 αι γυναικες αυτων καθ εαυτας 62 sic sine καθ εαυτην 147 14. Totum comma deest
 228 αι υπολειμμεναι (φυλαι)] φυλαι αι υπολειμμεναι Α Q* 86 φυλαι αι υπολειμμ.
 Q* φυλη φυλη] φυλη Β Ν (bis scr Ν^{ca}) Α Q Γ Ε (exc 86 97 147) φυλη 2°]
 228 Syro-Hex αι γυναικες*] + αυτων Β Ν Α Q Γ Ε Syro-Hex
 XIII. 1. εν τη ημερα εκεινη] εν εκεινη τη ημ. 95 185 (εσται)] pon post τοπος 95
 185 (πας) τοπος διανογομενος] φλεψ ανοιγομενη Α q πηγη διανογομενη Σ Θ τοπος]

8 πρόβατα καὶ ἐπιστρέψω τὴν [χεῖρά μου] ἐπὶ τοὺς μικροὺς ποιμένας· ⁸ καὶ
 ***** ἡμέρα ἐκείνη ἐν πάσῃ τῇ γῇ ***** αὐτῆς μέρη ἐξολο-
 9 θρευθήσε[ται] καὶ ἐκλείψει τὸ δὲ τρίτον ὑπολειφθήσε[ται] ἐν αὐτῇ] ⁹ καὶ
 διάξω τὸ τρίτον διὰ πυ . . [πυρώ]σω αὐτοὺς ὡς πυροῦται τὸ ἀρ[γύριον] καὶ
 δοκιμῶ αὐτοὺς ὡς δοκιμάζεται [τὸ χρυσίον αὐτὸ]ς ἐπικαλέσεται τὸ ὄνομα
 1 μου . . μαι αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐρῶ λαός . . τὸς ἐρεῖ κ̄σ ὁ θ̄σ μου· ¹ ἰδοὺ [ἡμέρα XIV
 2 ἔρχεται κ̄ν καὶ] διαμερισθήσεται τὰ σκῦ . . ². συνάξω πάντα τὰ ἔθνη
 . . ἐμον καὶ ἀλώσεται ἡ . . ονται αἱ οἰκίαι καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες μολυνθήσονται
 καὶ ἐξελεύσ . . μισυ τῆς πόλεως ἐν αἰχμαλωσίᾳ . . τάλοιποι τοῦ λαοῦ μου
 3 οὐ μὴ ἐξολοθρευθῶ[σιν] ἐκ τῆς πόλεως· ³ καὶ ἐξελεύσ . . παρατάζεται ἐν
 4 τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἐκείνοις . . ἡμέρα παρατάξεως αὐτοῦ ἐν ἡ[μέρα] πολέμου· ⁴ καὶ
 στηθήσονται οἱ πόδες αὐτοῦ . . μέρα ἐκείνη ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος τῶν ἐλαιῶν τὸ
 κα[τέναντι] Ἰλμ ἐξ ἀνατολῶν καὶ σχ[ισθήσεται] τὸ ὄρος τῶν ἐλαιῶν τὸ
 ἡμισυ αὐτοῦ πρὸς ἀ[νατολὰς] καὶ τὸ ἡμισυ αὐτοῦ [πρὸς θάλασσαν] χάος
 μέγα σφόδρα καὶ κλινεῖ [τὸ ἡμισυ τοῦ ὄρους πρὸς βορρᾶν καὶ τὸ ἡμισυ
 5 αὐτοῦ πρὸς] νότον φάραγξ μεγάλη ⁵ καὶ [12 litt] ἡ φάραγξ τῶν ὀρέων σου

Sygo-Hex = Y) διασκορ***** ἐκσπάσατε B ἐκπάσατε N* (εκπ. correcturus erat
 N^c sed rurs del σ) διασκορπισθητω N^{c,a} 22 51 62 95 97 147 185 διασκορπισθητων
 N^{c,b} Γ 36 228 διασκορπισθησονται Α ἐκσπάσατε διακορπισθησονται (-θητων Q^a) τα
 π̄ροβατα Q διασκορπισθησονται 86 233 evellite OL^{text} διασκορπισθησεται Chrys
 10131 Sygo-Hex τα προβατά] + της ποιμνης Α 36 97 επιστρέψω] επαξω
 B N* (επιστρέψω N^{c,b}) A Q Γ 48 228 233 superducam OL^{text} (10131 Sygo-Hex) επι
 τους μικρους ποιμενας] om ποιμενας B 48 228 233 επι ποιμενας τους μικρους N^{c,a} (improb
 postea revoc N¹) om μικρους A Q Γ OL^{text} επι τους (ποιμενας) βραχεις Aq επι τους
 μικρους Σ επι τους νεωτερους θ 10131 Sygo-Hex 10131: 10131
 4 10131: 10131 Sygo-Hex^{ms} 8. και***** ημερα εκεινη εν παση
 τη γη] και εσται εν παση τη γη B Q 48 και εσται εν τη ημερα εκεινη N^{c,b} A Γ 228^a 233
 801 10131 Sygo-Hex (Σ = Y ex 48 228^a 233) αυτης μερη] tr B (αυτης
 asterisc adpinx B* [non inst B¹]) N A Γ om αυτης Q 228 (hab 228^a) 233 εξολοθρευ-
 θησε(ται)] εξολεθρ. B N A Q Γ υπολειφθησε(ται εν αυτη) —το τρίτον in com seq]
 om 62 9. το τρίτον] το το τρίτον N* (το τρ. N^{c,a}, c^b) (πυρω)σω—(χρυσιον)]
 OL^{text} = Y δοκι(μω)] δοκιμασω 51 233 επικαλεσεται] —σειται 62 —σται 147
 αυτου] αυτω B N A Q Γ 22 48 95 185 233 κ̄σ] + 10131 Sygo-Hex

XIV. 1. (ημερα ερχεται)] ημεραι ερχονται B N A Q 36 48 86 228 233 ημεραι ερχον
 (sic) Γ^{id} 10131 Sygo-Hex (ημερα ερχεται κ̄ν)] ημερα κυριου ερχεται 62 147
 κ̄ν] pr του B N A Q Γ 36 228 233 διαμερισθησεται] —θησονται N* (-σεται N^{c,b}) A 228
 2. τα] om B Q μολυνθησονται] κοιτασθησονται 233 εξολοθ(ρευθω)σιν] εξολεθρ.
 N A Q 3. ημερα 1^o] ημεραι Α αι ημεραι Γ παραταξεως] ταξεως 62 (πο)λε-
 μου] + και παρεσται κυριος ο θεος μου και παντες οι αγιοι μετ αυτου 62 86 147
 4. (το κα)τεναντι—των ελαιων 2^o] om Α ανατολων] + ηλιου 62 86 147 το ημισυ
 αυτου (προς)] om B N 48 95 185 228 (hab 228^{ms}) Sygo-Hex χαος μεγα] sup ras
 A¹ 14 pr και 62 86 147 κλινει] sup ras A² 14 εκκλινει 62 86 147 βορραν] pr
 τον 48 86 95 185 228 (αυτου) 4^o] αυτων N* (αυτου N^{c,a}, c^b) om 62 φαραγξ
 μεγαλη] om B N A Q Γ 48 95 185 228 (hab 228^{ms}) 233 Sygo-Hex 5. και . .]
 και φραχθησεται B N Γ 22 48 95 185 και εμφραχθησεται A Q Σ (ex 22 48 95 185)
 10131 Sygo-Hex και . . και εμ(φραχθησεται)] και εμφραχθησεται η φαραγξ τω

βενιαμὴν ἕως τῆς [14 litt] υ τῆς πρώτης ἕως τῆς πύλης τῶν γωνιῶν] καὶ ἕως
 11 τοῦ πύργου ἀνεμέ[ηλ ἕως τῶν υ]ποληνίων τοῦ βασιλέως 11 [κατοικήσουσιν]
 12 ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ ἀνάθεμα [οὐκ ἔτι ἔσται καὶ κατοικῇ] κήσει ἰλημ πεποιθῆ[τως 12 καὶ
 αὕτη ἔσται] ἡ πτώσις ἦν κόψει κσ [πάντας τοὺς λαοὺς ὅσοι] ἐπεστράτευσαν
 ἐπὶ ιε [14 litt] νται αἱ σάρκες αὐτῶν ἐστηκότων ἐπὶ τῶν πόδων] αὐτῶν καὶ
 οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτῶν ῥηήσονται ἐκ] τῶν ὀπῶν αὐτῶν· καὶ ἡ
 [vide Introduction *J. T. S.* vol. vi p. 377.]

W. O. E. OESTERLEY.

(των γωνιων)] *ομι των Α* ανεμε(ηλ)] αναμεηλ B M A Q Γ Ξ (εξ ανεμεηλ 22 αναεηλ
 36 ανεηλ 97 αναμαηλ 228 (εως) ult] *ρρ και Α* 36 51 86 97 147 228^a
 11. (κατοικησουσιν) *ρρ και Ν^{a,b}* 36 51 62 97 147 Syro-Hex κατοικουσιν Α αναθεμα
 (ουκετι εσται)] ουκ εσται αναθεμα ετι Α Q Γ 233 (ετι εσται)] *τρ Β Ν Ξ* (εξ 22 36
 51 97) (κατοικησει ἰλημ πεποιθο(τας)] *habitat in hierusalem confidens OL¹*
 11-12. πεποιθο(τας)—ετι ιε . .] *ομι Ν** (hab πεποιθοτος [-τας ipse ut vid corr] . . . ετι
 ἰλημ Ν^{a,b}) 12. *OL¹ = Y* *εξ: ομι παντας: stantibus eis ρρο ε(στηκοτων)*
*κοψει] κοψη 147^a αι] ομι Ν** (hab Ν^{a,b}) *ε(στηκοτων)] εστηκοτες Ν** (-των Ν^{a,b})
 97 + αυτων Α Q 36 86^{ms} 233 (των ποδων)] τους ποδας B M A Q 48 86 (των ποδων
 86^{ms}) 95 185 228 233 (ρηησονται)] ρηησεται 147 (εκ] απο Α

NOTES AND STUDIES

ON THE IDENTITY OF BERNARD OF CLUNY.

THE identity of Bernard of Cluny, author of the mediaeval poem *De contemptu mundi* (Wright *Satirical Poets of the Twelfth Century* vol. ii pp. 1-102 (Rolls Series)), is shrouded in obscurity. He is so unimportant a figure in history that historians have not noticed him. He is of interest only to hymnologists. These writers, misled by the geographic term *Morlanensis* appended to his name in its Latin form, have assumed that he was a native of Morlaix in Brittany. Indeed, it is astonishing to what conjectures this false analogy has led some writers. Now the mediaeval Latin form of Morlaix is *Mons relix* or *Mons relaxatus* (Lallanne *Dictionnaire historique de la France*, in loco), from which it is impossible to derive the form *Morlanensis* by any process known to the Latin language. Professor Jackson in a prefatory note to Mr Henry Preble's English prose translation of Bernard's poem conjectures that he may have hailed from Morlas, near Pau, the capital of the old province of Béarn (*American Journal of Theology*, January, 1906, p. 72). This seems possible. The form *Morlanensis* is the natural adjective derived from Morlas. I hope to shew, however, that it is more probable that Bernard of Cluny came from *Murles*¹; that he belonged to the house of the seigneurs of Montpellier and was, therefore, of noble birth; that he became a monk first in the monastery of St Sauveur d'Aniane, whence he passed to the abbey of Cluny, probably during the rule of the abbot Pons (1109-1122).

The evidence for this opinion, it is admitted, is not absolute, but constructive and inferential. Yet in the entire absence of any positive information as to Bernard's place of birth its use may be permitted.²

¹ The difference between *Morlas* and *Murles* is immaterial. Spelling was not uniform in the Middle Ages. In Teulet *Layettes du Trésor* no. 166 a charter of Louis VII, dated June, 1161, is witnessed by one Guillelmus de *Murles*. Two hundred years later the Avignonese pope, Clement VI, established the college of St Martial, in connexion with the University of Montpellier, in a house acquired from Guillaume Pons de *Morlanes* (*Hist. du Lang.* ix 639), in Bas-Languedoc, in the diocese of Maguelonne-Montpellier.

² There is but one historical allusion to Bernard of Cluny known. From Martène's *Thes. Nov. Anecd.* v 1585 note it appears that some of his sermons survived him, and that he sought the criticism of abbot Peter the Venerable regarding them. Cf. Bourgain *La chaire française du XII^e siècle* pp. 77 and 194.

beginnings of the house of Montpellier are very obscure. The first of it, so far as we have knowledge, was a certain seigneur named Raymond, who in 975 acquired the town of Montpellier, which he held from the bishop of Maguelonne (*Hist. du Lang.* iv 180). The house rose to prominence in the third generation, when William V went on the first crusade in 1099, whence he returned in 1103 (his exploits are related in *Hist. du Lang.* iii 482, 491, 499, 503, 512, 515, 522, 540). A few years later, in 1105, he again took the road of the cross (*ibid.* 577). On his return from this expedition, still pining for adventure, in company with the viscount of Narbonne, he organized a successful expedition against the Saracens in the island of Minorca (*ibid.* 620-622). In January, 1121, in anticipation of his decease, William V made his will. He had three sons, of whom the eldest was not yet twenty-five, William VI, who succeeded him as seigneur of Montpellier and of Melgueil (†1162); another William, in whose favour he disposed of the châteaux of Omelas (Omelas or Olmet was a *maison forte* in the diocese of Lodève—cf. Luchaire *Cat. des actes de Louis VII* no. 461), and Pouget in the diocese of Beziers, with other fiefs in the dioceses of Beziers and Narbonne; Bernard, the third son—the subject of this sketch—and three daughters, Guillemette, Ermengarde, and Agnès. To Bernard the father left the five châteaux of Villeneuve, Pignan, Montbazen, Cournon-Sec, and Pignan, in the diocese of Narbonne. The two younger daughters were provided for in money. Guillemette, the eldest, she had made a notable marriage and brought with her as dowry to her husband five fiefs and half of her moveables. Guillemette's husband was Bernard IV, count of Angoulême, son of count Raymond-Béranger II († circa 1120), who was earlier abbot of Cluny from 1109 to 1122, a fact not without significance (*Hist. du Lang.* iv 178, where the genealogy of the family is given; cf. *ibid.* iii 644 and iv note xxxvi § 7 no. ccclxxxv). One of the fiefs which constituted the dowry was the château de *Marles*, which we believe to have been her brother Bernard of Cluny's birthplace. For details of William V's testament in *Hist. du Lang.* iii 644-645; the text of the will is in vol. v p. 92 ff). Our interest is centred upon the marriage of Bernard's sister, for the events following soon after it are to have been the turning-point in his career. Shortly after this time the ambition of the house of Toulouse, which had dominated lower Languedoc, brought the two rival houses of France, Toulouse and Provence, into collision. Alphonse, count of Toulouse, had been born in Syria, and succeeded his brother Bertrand in the title in 1122. He was a fierce and ambitious noble who coveted the lands of all his neighbours, even those of the powerful lords of Barcelona and Poitou. Alphonse-Jourdain

coveted the overlordship of Montpellier, although the seigneurs of Montpellier were ancient vassals of the count of Provence (*Hist. du Lang.* iii 458-459), and seems to have found a pretext in the marriage of Bernard IV of Melgueil into the house of Montpellier to make war upon it, claiming to be its suzerain. This pretention seems soon to have led to war with the count of Provence in the hope of gaining a foothold on the Rhone (*ibid.* iii 685-687). The details of this war are not known. The most important event seems to have been the siege of Orange, then a feudal dependancy of Provence, during the course of which the cathedral of the city was utterly destroyed. For this offence Alphonse-Jourdain was excommunicated and compelled to go to the Holy Land as a penance (*ibid.* 654-655). Henceforth the count of Toulouse claimed the title of count of Provence also, although the claim was far from having been made entirely good (*ibid.* 664-665). But the power of the seigneurs of Montpellier was broken in this war. Most of the inheritance of William V was swallowed up by the counts of Toulouse. Henceforward their history is bound up chiefly with the house of Orange through the marriage of William V's second son, William d'Omelas, to Tiburge, countess of Orange (*ibid.* 797 ff). William VI, as representative of the house of Montpellier, was compelled to permit the ferocious Alphonse-Jourdain to dispose of his lands and direct his policy (*ibid.* 684 ff). Even his own city of Montpellier once drove him out (*ibid.* 720-727). For a time he sought an elusive renown in warring against the Saracens in Spain. But finally William renounced the world in despair. He entered the Cistercian monastery of Grandselve in 1149, and died there in 1169 (*ibid.* iii 737, 741, 819). Of the younger daughters of William VI nothing is known, and the same is true of Bernard, the third son, unless the conjecture of this article be correct, that witnessing the dispossession of his house and the strife of the world, Bernard found asylum in the abbey of Cluny.

In order to sustain this thesis farther, we must have recourse to another sort of inferential evidence. It is necessary to understand something of the influence of Cluny in the valley of the Rhone. Perhaps when this is done, from these two sorts of evidence, a conclusion may be justifiably drawn that the author of 'Jerusalem the Golden' was Bernard of the house of Montpellier, whose birthplace was the château de Murles.

The abbey of Cluny was founded upon high ideals in 910 by William, duke of Aquitaine, as a protest against the secular spirit then prevailing

¹ Grandselve was taken under the protection of the crown by Philip III in 1279, Langlois *Le règne de Philippe le Hardi* p. 179; it was ruined during the Hundred Years' War, Denifle *La désolation des monastères* p. 82.

among the clergy of Gaul. Fifty years after its foundation the influence of Cluny extended over every country of Christendom. 'At the end of two centuries,' in the words of M. Luchaire, 'it was the capital of the vastest monastic empire Christianity had ever known.'¹ The pages of Raoul Glaber, a Cluniac monk of the eleventh century, while often grossly inaccurate in point of detail, and laden with credulous stories, nevertheless testify to the great influence Cluny enjoyed in the Rhone valley. One of the three places in southern France particularly mentioned by Raoul is Uzège (p. 97). Now the counties (*pagi*) of Uceticus, Substantionis, and Magalonensis were three adjacent fiefs (Longnon *Atlas Historique* iii 157), and the last two in the eleventh century were in the possession of the house of Melgueil (*Magalonensis*) into which the house of Montpellier, as we have seen, had married.

But it is possible to be more definite on this point. It is a matter of demonstration that the influence of Cluny was directly and powerfully at work in Provence and Languedoc in the immediate environment of Montpellier at this time. The abbey of St Sauveur d'Aniane, made for ever famous by the life and work of Benedict of Aniane, was situated in a narrow valley in the diocese of Maguelonne, not far from Montpellier (*Hist. du Lang.* iv 447). Nearer still was the monastery of St Pierre de Sauzat, a Cluniac foundation (*ibid.* iii 826). It has already been observed that Bernard's eldest brother, William VI of Montpellier, became a Cistercian monk in 1149. It is more to the point that seventeen years earlier Bernard IV of Melgueil, whose marriage with Guillemette of Montpellier had been followed by the war so disastrous for the house of Montpellier, had abandoned the world (1132) and entered the abbey of St Chaffre-en-Velai (*ibid.* 684). These instances may be said to illustrate the leaning of the house of Melgueil (into which it must be remembered that the house of Montpellier was married) towards monasticism. But the most striking example of this monastic leaning has yet to be noticed. The uncle of Bernard IV of Melgueil was no less a person than Pons, seventh abbot of Cluny (*Hist. du Lang.* iii 583-584, iv 179, Lorain 77). Pons was a godson of Paschal II and was one of the arbitrators of the conflict between that pope and the emperor, Henry V. He was consecrated to the abbot's office by the archbishop of Vienne, the future pope Calixtus II (Lorain 77-78). It was Pons who so ably argued for the privileges of the abbey at the council of Rheims in 1119 (see the discourse in *Ord. Vit.* iv 376-378). This was the year also in which the king of France, Louis VI, took the

¹ See the admirable account of the growth of Cluny in Lavissee *Histoire de France* vol. ii pt. ii pp. 123-132. The history of its growth has been many times recorded; cf. Lorain *Hist. de l'abbaye de Cluny* cc. 1-7; Cucherat *Cluny au XI^{me} siècle*, and, above all, Sackur *Die Cluniacenser*.

great abbey of Cluny, together with its priories, under the royal protection, pronouncing it to be 'a notable member of his kingdom' (*nobilis membrum regni nostri*, Luchaire *Cat. des actes de Louis VI* no. 276).

Pons was at the height of his power as abbot of Cluny when the crash of war came between the counts of Toulouse and Provence, which so diminished the power of the seigneurs of Montpellier. May we not believe that he offered Cluny as a place of retreat to that member of his nephew's family whose nature, perhaps, was not rugged enough to struggle with the world in this age of blood and iron? We know that this was one of the missions and functions of the monastery in the Middle Ages. What a picture is that Sabatier has drawn: 'Let us picture to ourselves the Italy of the beginning of the thirteenth century (we may with justice substitute the name of France and the twelfth century) with its divisions, its perpetual warfare, its depopulated country districts . . . sieges terminated by unspeakable atrocities, and after all this famine, speedily followed by pestilence to complete its devastation. Then let us picture to ourselves the rich Benedictine abbeys, veritable fortresses set upon the hilltops whence they seemed to command all the surrounding plains. There was nothing surprising in their prosperity. Shielded by their inviolability, they were in these disordered times the only refuge of peaceful souls and timid hearts. The monks were in great majority deserters from life, who from motives entirely aside from religion had taken refuge behind the only walls which at this period were secure' (Sabatier *Life of St Francis of Assisi* p. xix. In a note the author adds that down to the year 1000 A.D. 1108 monasteries had been founded in France. The eleventh century saw the birth of 326, and the twelfth of 702).

Is it any wonder that the soul of such a man, saved out of such an environment of blood and dust and fire within the peaceful cloisters of Cluny, and there nurtured by so powerful a personality, spiritual and intellectual, as Peter the Venerable, broke into song? That the combat between the world-present and the world-ideal of the Middle Ages, heightened and coloured by a monastically-trained imagination—and that in the greatest cloister of Christendom—enabled him to see the Holy City, the Jerusalem on high, with the vision of a poet? I believe that Bernard of Cluny's immortal poem is not merely the rhapsody of a spiritual enthusiast, but the partial reflexion of his own life; that by reading between the lines we may see not only Bernard of Cluny, but Bernard of Montpellier also, who with the humility of monastic self-renunciation and perhaps with a certain scorn of the domains his house had lost, preferred to be known not by his ancestral title, but by the name of the place where he was born, his father's château Murles, and so wrote himself Bernardus *Morlanensis*. If this theory be true, and

the evidence of this article be not regarded as too intangible, there is a personal positive significance to be attached to such lines as these:—

O home of fadeless splendour,
Of flowers that bear no thorn;
Where they shall dwell *as children*
Who here as exiles mourn.

Bernard must have been a boy when calamity overtook his family, for he was the third son, and perhaps even a later child than that; his eldest brother was not yet twenty-five at the time their father died. There may be a real historic background, in Bernard's own experience of his childhood and exile from home, for these lines.

There are a few other particles of evidence which may be added in order to conclude this demonstration of the identity of Bernard of Cluny. When William V, Bernard's father, died in 1121, his wife was pregnant. In his will he expressed the wish that his unborn child, if a son, should become a monk in the abbey of St Sauveur d'Aniane; if a daughter, that she should embrace conventual life in the same foundation (*Hist. du Lang.* v 892). Nothing is known as to the birth of this child; it may not have lived. Is it not possible that the father's dying wish that one of his offspring might become a monk had some influence in inducing Bernard to renounce the world? This supposition is borne out by the only known historical allusion to Bernard after his father's death. In 1156, when the eldest brother, William VI, was living the life of a religious recluse at Grandselve, he alluded in his will to the fact that his brother Bernard had left the honour of Flexus to Aniane (*Hist. du Lang.* v 1177 'Salvo eidem monasterio (Anianensi) honorem de Flexo, . . . quem honorem frater meus Bernardus reliquerat quondam Anianinsi monasterio').

JAMES WESTFALL THOMPSON.

MACARIUS MAGNES, A NEGLECTED APOLOGIST.

I

NEVER has an early Christian writing had a more chequered history than the *Apocritica* of Macarius Magnes. The author's name, date, and country have always been a matter of doubt. Nor has his work fared better. The method of its composition is a cause of dispute, and twice it has disappeared for centuries.

The first time that it was recovered from oblivion, it was quoted, or rather garbled, in order to support one side of a bitter controversy, and was therefore coldly received by a patriarch of Constantinople. After seven more centuries of neglect, it became the weapon of a Jesuit controversialist. When his opponents clamoured for a sight of this unknown authority, the only MS had meanwhile disappeared. Lost for another two centuries, it was found in another country, and collated by a young scholar, who died before it could be published. When the baldest of editions had been followed by a single short treatise of appreciation, a series of German scholars arose and forthwith strangled it. Since then, other scholars have quietly followed their suggestions. Thus depreciated, and consigned to a date which reduces its contents to a mere imitation of earlier writings, it has once more sunk into an oblivion which makes the only edition increasingly difficult to obtain.

In spite of the failure of earlier attempts to resuscitate the *Apocritica*, I venture to add another word. If the theories of its origin which follow are accepted, it is a work of real value, and deserves far more attention than it has received.

Very little detailed information is available in a compendious form, but a long article by Dr Salmon will be found in the *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, and Duchesne has written a short treatise 'De Macario Magnete et scriptis eius'.¹ To these I must refer for the earlier history of the work, contenting myself with a brief mention of the theories which have been held concerning it. The adverse German criticism will be best discussed when the view which it controverts has been set forward. It may be well to recall at the outset that the book is in the form of a dialogue between a heathen philosopher and a Christian, the former propounding six or seven questions in succession, and the latter then proceeding to answer them. The dialogue is supposed to take place on five successive days, but the MS only contains the second, third, and fourth books, and even of these the end of each is mutilated. The

¹ Klincksieck, Paris 1877.

questions are mostly objections to selected verses of the Gospels, Acts, and Pauline Epistles, but one or two concern the Old Testament, and a few are purely doctrinal. The obvious title of *Apocritica* is an alternative to that of *Μονογενής*, about which little has been said.

The disappearance of a book containing long quotations from a heathen opponent is not surprising. A casual glance at the *Apocritica*, with its pages of anti-Christian blasphemy, might well condemn it to destruction under the edict of Theodosius II or Justinian I. If a copy was brought to light at the beginning of the ninth century, it may possibly have owed its preservation to the fact that it had as frontispiece a portrait of the author in ecclesiastical vestments. When the Iconoclasts garbled a quotation from it in their controversy with Nicephorus, patriarch of Constantinople, the latter had some difficulty in finding out anything about it. What he says is only derived from internal evidence, and is therefore of little value.¹ But he gives the title as *Βίβλος Μακαρίου Ἐπαρχου*, and quotes a fragment from Book I which would otherwise have been completely lost. He brands the book as inclined towards heresy, but though he is right as to its Origenism, he is unjust, as we shall see, in hinting at Manichaean and Nestorian tendencies.

Scarcely any further mention of the *Apocritica* is found until the latter part of the sixteenth century, when it was one of the favourite weapons in the patristic armoury of the Jesuit Franciscus Turrianus (de la Torre). He quotes from all the extant books,² and his important quotation from the lost fifth book will claim fuller attention later on. He considers the author's name to have been Magnetes, and places his date soon after 150 A.D. De la Torre's Protestant opponents in the Eucharistic controversy in which he was engaged ridiculed it as a fictitious authority,³ and when search was made for the MS in the Library of St Mark's at Venice it was nowhere to be found, though still mentioned in the catalogue. Later critics had to write without the work before them. The chief of them are Boivin of Paris, who considers the author to have been a *subaequalis* of Athanasius, and Magnus Crusius, a Göttingen professor.⁴ The latter, who does not think that either of the author's appellations is necessarily his proper name, places him at the end of the third century or the beginning of the fourth. He

¹ See Nicephori *Antirrhethici Libri*, ap. Pitra *Spicilegium Solesmense* tom. i p. 303 et seq.

² See F. Turrianus *Adversus Magdeburgenses*, Colon. 1573, ii 3, p. 165; i 5, p. 21, and ii 13, p. 208.

³ e.g. Edm. Albertinus *De Sacram. Euchar.* 1654, lib. ii p. 420, 'fictitius prorsus auctor est'.

⁴ See Migne *Patr. Graec.* x p. 1343 et seq. His opinions are summarized by Pitra *Spicil. Solesm.* i p. 545.

eves the opponent to have been no other than Porphyry the Neoplatonist.

In 1867 a MS of the *Apocritica* was discovered at Athens, and on the death of C. Blondel it was finally published by his friend Foucart.¹ As to this edition that reference is made when page and line of the text are quoted. In the next year Duchesne produced the dissertation already referred to. His chief contributions to the subject may be summarized as follows. He believes the Athens MS to be identical with the one which was lost at Venice, and he is probably right, though some of his arguments are unconvincing. He chooses unfortunate examples when he says the quotations in Turrianus agree with the new text, even in such obvious errors as σπεύδοντες for σπένδοντες and πεπηρωμένοι for πεπωρωμένοι. For the latter word is too uncertain to found argument upon, and Turrianus seems to have really used the reading ἰδοντες, as he renders it in Latin by *libarent*. And when he adds that all the quotations in Turrianus are found in the Athens Codex, he has forgotten the fragment from Book V.

About the second part of the author's name he is uncertain, but does not think it likely that he was a bishop of Magnesia. He places him between 300 and 350 A.D., and in his later conjectures inclines towards the latter date. His country he locates as near Edessa, following Tillemont.² But his brilliant contribution to the subject lies in his argument that Macarius's opponent was the well-known Hierocles, who at the beginning of the fourth century wielded the sword as well as the pen in his opposition to Christians. He first adduces the statement of Lactantius³ that there was in his time in Bithynia a certain judge and instigator of the persecution of 303 A.D., who wrote two books *contra Christianos sed ad Christianos*. These books Lactantius describes as containing just what we find in Macarius's opponent, and he gives their title as Φιλαλήθεις Λόγοι. But the author of that work is known to have been Hierocles, as Lactantius states elsewhere.⁴ An inscription found at Palmyra suggests that he was also at some time governor of Phoenicia. It is quoted by Duchesne, and contains the words 'Sossiano Hieroclete Praes. Provinciae'.⁵ But he finally decides that the language of Macarius concerning the Trinity⁶ is post-Nicene, therefore the book cannot represent an actual dialogue. The tendency of subsequent writers on the subject has been to reject Duchesne's conjecture that the opponent was Hierocles, but

Macarii Magneti quae supersunt, ex inedito codice edidit C. Blondel. Klincksieck, Paris 1876.

Histoire des Empereurs iv p. 307.

Lact. Div. Instit. v 2.

Corpus Inscript. Lat. t. iii 183.

⁴ *Id. De Mort. Persec.* ch. 16.

⁵ *Apocr.* iv 28.

to come to the final conclusion that the work must be dated, not in the fourth century, but in the beginning of the fifth. It is claimed that the author must be identified with the Macarius, Bishop of Magnesia, who was at the Synodus ad Quercum in 403 A. D. (according to the testimony of Photius), and came forward as one of those who accused Heraclides of Ephesus of heresy. Kurtz, for example, simply states it as a fact,¹ and Dr Salmon, in the article already alluded to, traces it no further back than Schürer's *Theol. Lit.-Zeit.* 1877, p. 521. The writer of that notice was Möller, and in the following year Zahn² and Wagenmann³ reiterated his view. As a matter of fact, the theory credited to Germans at the end of the nineteenth century had already been expressed by a Frenchman at the beginning of the eighteenth. For Le Quien, in reference to a likeness in Eucharistic phraseology between Macarius and Johannes Damascenus, had made the same suggestion.⁴ Also Magnus Crusius had mentioned it as a theory to be rejected.

The arguments on which this view is based by its modern supporters consist chiefly in the production of passages in the *Apocritica* which indicate a late date. These I prefer to deal with later on among the objections to the theory which I am about to set forth. But in the meantime I would point out three things. In the first place, attractive as the identification may sound, it is not proved by the fact that the Macarius of 403 was bishop of Magnesia, for there is no certainty that our Macarius was a bishop. It is true that when Nicephorus said he was *ἐπαρχὴς* it shewed that he himself thought so, and this is possibly borne out by the portrait on the MS which he describes as *στολὴν ἐπέως ἀμπεχόμενον*, but not by such slight internal evidence as the *Apocritica* affords.⁵ Still less can it be proved that the name Magnes shews him to have been bishop of Magnesia. And in the second place, two at least of the critics do not seem to have thoroughly studied their author. Möller naïvely confesses that he has not found either the passage where the word 'parasang' occurs,⁶ or any reference to the non-eternity of punishment.⁷ And Wagenmann, when he asserts that the words of the opponent are not those of Hierocles, but of Porphyry himself, has forgotten the passage where the objector actually quotes a book of

¹ Kurtz *Ch. Hist.* vol. i § 47. 6 (Eng. tr.).

² *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* B. ii p. 450 et seq. 1878.

³ *Jahrbücher für Deutsche Theol.* B. xxii p. 141. 1878.

⁴ *Animadv. ad Ioann. Damasc.* lib. iv p. 271. Paris 1712.

⁵ See below, p. 421, and note 3 on same page, and also note 1 on p. 406. Lumper (*ap. Migne Patr. Lat.* v p. 343) suggests that our author was confused with the Macarius at the Oak, and 'hinc fortasse sive fraude, sive ignorantia, Episcopi titulum addiderit librarius, Magnetis vetustioris opus exscribens'.

⁶ See *Apocr.* iii 40, p. 138 ll. 21, 22.

⁷ See *Apocr.* iii 42, p. 145 l. 25.

orphyry, and thus shews that he was himself a distinct person.¹ The assertion is repeated by Neumann a little later.² The last-named author would place the *Apocritica* later still, viz. after 410 A. D., and his argument stands alone it may best be dealt with in this place. The sole proof of his theory is founded on the statement of Macarius that Babylon had lately been destroyed by the Persians.³ From it he argues as follows. Babylon was originally destroyed in Trajan's time, but afterwards common language confused Ctesiphon with Babylon. We learn from Andri that Achaeus bishop of Ctesiphon was employed by Iezdegerdes 'ad componenda magni momenti dissidia', and 'negotium pro quo legatus fuerat, ex sententia expedit'. Now Achaeus was bishop from 411 to 416, and Ctesiphon was still intact in 410. From these slender premises the conclusion is drawn that Macarius wrote after 410! It is needless to point out that more than one part of the argument rests on mere supposition. Setting aside the question of Macarius's identification of Ctesiphon with Babylon, there is not the slightest proof that these 'dissidia' involved the destruction of the city, or anything like it. The only fact that is certain is that Ctesiphon was still standing in 410. And although Macarius speaks of the second destruction of Babylon as in his own times, his words shew that it had happened long enough ago to make it obvious that its overthrow was natural.⁴ This really proves too much, and suggests a date for the treatise which other considerations shew to be too late.

But there is a third point on which I would here lay stress, with regard to the identification of our author with the Macarius at 'the Oak'. The latter was one of those who accused Heraclides of heresy. But of what heresy? All have to admit that the doctrinal part of the charge was nothing more nor less than Origenism. And yet nearly every page of the *Apocritica* is steeped in Origenism! We may safely challenge the production of any other author who has drunk more deeply of the spirit of Origen. The one certain charge that Nicephorus could bring against him was that he was a follower τοῦ δυσσεβοῦς καὶ πομπήκτου Ὁριγένους. I shall refer to this again in speaking of the theology of the book. But meanwhile I would urge that this fact in itself vitiates the theory that he is to be identified with the accuser of Heraclides.⁵ It is not enough for its supporters to say that he was

¹ See *Apocr.* iii 42, p. 145 l. 25.

² C. I. Neumann *Juliani Imp. Libr. contra Christ. quas supersunt.* Lips. 1880. Larnack and other recent writers take the same view.

³ *Apocr.* iv 11, p. 170 l. 14.

⁴ Loc. cit. τέλος ἐρημαθεῖσα οὐδ' ἴχνος τῆς παλαιᾶς εὐθαιμονίας σώζει. The tenses of ὤζει, and of ἀπώλεσε in the sentence before are worth noting.

⁵ It is true that Socrates, *HE.* vi 17, says that Theophilus, another accuser, was

accused on other grounds also. They must bring new and convincing arguments before we can accept a theory which has so serious a drawback. Such arguments I am quite unable to find.¹

I therefore pass on to the conclusions that a study of the *Apocritica* has suggested, and I will then proceed to set forward the evidence on which they are based. I believe that the date of the book may be placed as far back as the end of the third century, in the years between 293 and 302 A.D. The author's name was Macarius, but he was not necessarily bishop of Magnesia. He may have come from a city of that name in Asia Minor, but there is no means of determining whether it was Magnesia ad Sipylum or ad Maeandrum. In any case he moved further East, into the province of Syria. His opponent is to be accepted as Hierocles, Duchesne's surmise having further arguments to support it. But the *Apocritica* is not a work of later days, based merely on Hierocles' book, but is in some sense at least the reproduction of an actual dialogue, which took place in the neighbourhood of Edessa when Hierocles was governor of that region. Its theological value is by no means inconsiderable. Macarius develops much that has already been suggested by Origen, shewing a marked expansion of such Origenistic ideas as Christ's deception of the devil. At the same time he is the precursor of much of the theology of Athanasius and the Cappadocians, and in such things as Trinitarian dogma he shews that the ideas underlying post-Nicene formulae were already in the minds of theologians in an earlier generation. Nor is the *Apocritica* wanting in apologetic value. The questions supply a lack in our knowledge of the Neoplatonist attacks of third-century paganism, and the answers (though occasionally crude) shew some able exegesis and lofty idealism.

The Questions and the Answers by separate authors.

That there is a real distinction of persons between Macarius and his opponent, is my first proposition. It will lead on to a second.

1. It is worth mentioning that the answers are often unsatisfactory and sometimes miss the point of the question. This is of course inconclusive in itself, but it may form part of a cumulative argument. And it is a point which no time need be spent in proving, as it is one which most critics have conceded. It is true that in one case the defence seems to follow the attack in thinking that δύο δαίμονες are

rebuked afterwards for continuing to read Origen, but a comparison of Theophilus with our author is as absurd as it is insulting.

¹ As the *Apocritica* was so little known in early centuries, it is not impossible that the unknown Macarius Magnes had by Nicephorus's time become confused with the better known Macarius of 403. This might account for his being called *τεράρχης*. See note 5 on p. 404 supra.

spoken of in St Matth. viii 28 instead of δύο δαιμονιζόμενοι.¹ But this is only for a moment, and in order to meet an opponent on his own ground. For a second explanation is soon substituted, in the course of which it is plainly stated ὅ δ' εἶπεν δύο δαιμονώοντας εἶναι.²

2. That there is a *difference of style* between the questions and answers is also a recognized fact. But can it really be accounted for by the greater care bestowed by Macarius on his answers than on the objections which he himself clothes in words? The opponent's language is consistently terse and pointed, while the author's is rhetorical and diffuse, with a wealth of simile and illustration. And a study of the book reveals certain differences of detail. The answers shew a fondness for certain abstract nouns which seldom or never appear in the questions, e.g. λαμπηδών³, ἀλγηδών⁴, λεπτότης⁵, κατόρθωμα⁶. The questions in like manner use certain favourite epithets, e.g. χυδαῖος⁷.

3. Had Macarius had the choosing or arranging of the objections himself, we cannot conceive that he could be at the same time so skilful in feigning at every turn that his adversary was a real one, and so clumsy in the haphazard arrangement of the questions, which is very unsatisfactory from the Christian standpoint. The attacks suggest some one hitting out freely wherever he thinks he can get in a blow, not the apologist working up to a climax of conviction. And surely an imaginary foe would be made less and less terrible as the argument proceeded, until at length he gave in with a good grace. This is certainly not the case in the *Apocritica*, where the author shews fear and diffidence which do not decrease, and his adversary goes on hitting with undiminished vigour. Equally unsatisfactory from the Christian standpoint is the combination of several questions in one attack before an answer can be given. But from the pagan point of view this was a clever way of glossing over refutations. We must not ignore the fact that apparently Christian phrases have been found in the questions. But if the author of them be Hierocles, which I shall shortly try to demonstrate, then this is exactly what we should expect from one concerning whom Lactantius testified that he was so well versed in the Scriptures that it almost seemed as if he had been a Christian himself.⁸ And indeed the passages which have been quoted in this connexion do not imply that their author had the heart, but only the knowledge of a Christian. This objection is therefore found in no way to affect the issue.

¹ See art. Mac. in *D. C. B.*

² *Ibid.* p. 178. 8; 186. 5; 226. 19.

³ *Ibid.* p. 29. 14; 172. 7; 192. 32; 207. 25.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. i. 7; p. 33. 4; 149. 19; 207. 32.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 52. 10; 166. 7.

⁶ *Apocr.* p. 76 l. 20.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 183. 17; 196. 17.

⁸ Lact. *Div. Instit.* v 2 'ex eadem disciplina'.

4. When we look at the *blasphemous tone* and language of some of the objections, we can hardly believe that a Christian could have brought himself to write such profane questions, even though he was going to answer them. For example, could a Christian use such words of eating Christ's flesh as *παντὸς θηριώδους τρόπου θηριωδέστερον κτλ.* (iii 15), or gratuitously describe Christ as either drunk or dreaming when He uttered certain words?¹ If the very publication of such blasphemies was forbidden by Theodosius II and Justinian, and was probably a cause of the *Apocritica* being so little known in the next centuries, can we believe that a Christian originally published them on his own account?

5. The relation of the *Apocritica* to the *Contra Celsum* of Origen has an indirect bearing on the present argument, and may therefore be best discussed here. There is nothing in Macarius which he seems to have borrowed from Origen's defence of the faith, and indeed he was very far from remembering Origen's determination, expressed in that very book, to choose simple explanations, rather than allegorical, in argument with a pagan.² But the arguments of Macarius's opponent are not so different from those of Celsus as some have supposed,³ and it is worth while to collect the chief similarities. The four plainest likenesses are as follows:—

(1) Both mock at Christ's conduct in Gethsemane, and His prayer that His Passion should pass away from Him (*c. Cels.* ii 24 and *Apocr.* iii 2).

(2) Both object to His meekness during the Passion, and ask why He did not shew His Divinity then (*c. Cels.* ii 35 τί οὐ . . . θεῶν ἐπιδείκνυται; and *Apocr.* iii 1 τίνος ἕνεκεν . . . οὔτε ἀξίον τι σοφοῦ καθεῖον ἀνδρὸς ἐφθέγγετο;).

(3) Both declare that He ought to have appeared to His judges, and to credible witnesses generally, after His Resurrection (*c. Cels.* ii 63 et seq. ἐχρῆν . . . τῷ καταδικάσαντι καὶ ὅλως πᾶσιν ὀφθῆναι; and *Apocr.* ii 14 τίμος χάριν οὐκ ἐμφανίζεται . . . τῷ κολάσαντι; κτλ.).

(4) Both discuss the absurdity of the resurrection of men's bodies, and introduce at the same moment the Christian plea 'all things are possible with God', which they proceed to refute by similar arguments (*c. Cels.* v 14 et seq. καταφεύγουσιν εἰς ἀτοπωτάτην ἀναχώρησιν, ὅτι πᾶν δυνατὸν τῷ θεῷ. Ἄλλ' οὔτι γὰρ τὰ αἰσχροῦ ὁ θεὸς δύναται, οὐδὲ τὰ παρὰ φύσιν βούλεται κτλ. *Apocr.* iv 24 ἀλλ' ἐρεῖς μοι τοῦτο τῷ θεῷ δυνατόν, ὅπερ οὐκ ἀληθές . . . ἀλλ' οὐδὲ κακὸς ὁ θεός, εἰ καὶ θέλει, δύναται γενέσθαι ποτὲ, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἀγαθὸς ὢν τὴν φύσιν ἁμαρτῆσαι δύναται ἂν κτλ.).

¹ *Apocr.* iii 19.

² *Contra Cels.* ii 37, in a comment on the vinegar and the gall.

³ Duchesne, *op. cit.* p. 22 'Celsianis toto caelo distant'.

Such passages are significant in two ways. In the first place, it is noteworthy that the first three are objections to the same part of the Gospel, and are found close together both in the *Apocritica* and in the *Contra Celsum*. And in the second place, in each case, the defence of Macarius is entirely different from that of Origen, and in most particulars sufficiently inferior to shew that he had not the *Contra Celsum* before him for his guidance. For instance, with regard to Christ's conduct in Gethsemane, Origen says the whole passage must be studied, to see Christ's ready obedience and true humanity, adding that perhaps He mourned for the sake of those on whose heads His death would be. But Macarius gives the answer (quite in keeping with what Origen says elsewhere) that He only acted thus in order to deceive the devil. Such considerations seem to point to the fact that, on the one hand, the questions in the *Apocritica* are occasionally modelled on the objections of Celsus (and nothing is more likely than that these latter would be known to a heathen objector at the end of the third century), and, on the other hand, the answers make no use of the *Contra Celsum*. If this be so, it furnishes us with an additional reason for believing that the questions and the answers in the *Apocritica* are by different authors.

6. Once again, there ought to be some weight in the graphic and determined way in which the writer keeps before us the personality of a very real opponent, and his own inner feelings in what he gives us to understand was to him a life-and-death struggle.

These six lines of argument certainly bring us to the conclusion that the questions are the work of a real pagan opponent. But a further question remains, to which I believe the foregoing considerations have already suggested an answer. Did Macarius take the objections out of an adversary's book, or is the *Apocritica* the elaboration of a genuine dialogue, and the questions not necessarily based on a book at all? All scholars have preferred the former alternative, so it is with some diffidence that I proceed to argue in favour of the latter.

A Genuine Dialogue underlying the Apocritica.

1. In this case I may put first the direct evidence of the author and his opponent. Is the whole plan of the book a mere device of an ingenious author, a means of rousing interest in his doctrines and getting a hearing? Parallels for a fictitious dialogue, for the use of a more or less dramatic setting to their work, may be found in other Christian writers. But are they actually on a level with the present one? Do they tell of so many fightings and fears which one can scarcely think are a mere literary device?¹ And may we not at least

¹ Badenheuer *Patrologie*, 1894, p. 553, refers for a similar fictitious dialogue to

begin with the supposition that the author, whose eager words seem to come straight from his heart, is telling the truth, until the case is proved to the contrary? But the point on which I would lay most stress is this: If he is simply handling the objections he has found in a book, how comes it that there are indications that a dialogue is in process even in the questions themselves? That such is the case may be shewn by such sentences as that in which he says *Εἰ γε ἐν τεθάρρηκας ἐν τοῖς ἐρωτήμασι καὶ τρανὰ σοὶ γέγονε τὰ τῶν ἀπορομένων, φράσσον ἡμῖν πῶς ὁ Παῦλος λέγει κτλ.*¹ And if it be urged that, in a work 'ad Christianos', he is only addressing an imaginary and impersonal Christian, there is a passage where Christians as a body are distinguished from the individual addressed:—*φέρει δέ σοι καὶ κείνην ὥδε τὴν λέξιν εἰπόμεν . . . εἰ γάρ, ὡς φάτε, κτλ.* Nor are these isolated instances. This is a point of such importance that it is worth studying it in detail, and so I append other suggestive passages.

In iii 14 (p. 93) Macarius challenges an answer. In iii 15 (p. 94) his opponent mocks at him for wanting to run the race again. Later on (pp. 124, 125) Macarius offers to explain anything else. He is told at once that he is like one thinking of a second voyage before the first is over. Certainly there are traces that Macarius compiled and published his dialogue *afterwards*, but his references to the time of the encounter seem naturally to suggest its reality, e.g. he begins iv 11 (p. 169) with the prefix *τοῦτο δ' ἦν τὸ περὶ τοῦ σχήματος τοῦ κόσμου καὶ πῶς παράγει*, meaning 'The following *was* what I said about', &c.

In iv 24 (p. 204. 21) the opponent anticipates a possible answer with 'Ἀλλ' ἐρεῖς μοι ὅτι κτλ.' But he begins the next paragraph (p. 205. 3)

the works of Hieronymus, presbyter of Jerusalem. But a study of these (see Migne *P.G.* xl 847-866) shews them to be not the least like the *Apocritica*. There are no introductions, no attempt at reality, no attempt to do more than put the instruction in a catechetical, and therefore interesting form. In the *De Trinitate* 'Ο Ἰουδαῖος and ὁ Πιστός alternate, while the *De Effectu Bapt.* is simply a catechism marked *ἐρώτημα* and *ἀπάντησις*, and the short fragment *De Cruce* has similarly *ἐρώτησις* and *ἀπάντησις*. No exact parallel has been adduced to such a lifelike dialogue as the *Apocritica*. The tone of the *Octavius* of Minucius Felix is quite different. There the elaborate setting and picturesque introduction in Platonic style are obviously intended to create interest in the argument that follows. The way that the heathen Caecilius shifts his ground, and finally gives in with a good grace before a single lengthy speech of Octavius, while the mere proselyte Minucius himself acts as umpire, is obviously unnatural. And if the Dialogue of Justin with Trypho the Jew be adduced, it has yet to be proved that that dialogue was not founded on fact. Kurtz sums up other opinions by saying 'it is probably a free rendering of a disputation which actually occurred' (*Ch. Hist.* Eng. trans. vol. i p. 146).

¹ *Apocr.* iii 30, p. 125 l. 6.

with a *plural* σκέψασθε δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ πηλίκον ἐστὶν ἄλογον κτλ. where he may perhaps be appealing to the audience.

The objection remains that Macarius may have cleverly simulated a dialogue by interspersing such personal touches in order to make it seem real. But if we study passages such as iv 19 (p. 198) we find that the personal introduction gradually shades off into the words of the objection, so that if a book underlay the objection it would be hard to say where its words began, whereas if the whole is *reported* the language is perfectly natural. Nor are the brief occasional introductions alien in language to the rest of the author's part of the book. A characteristic expression throughout the answers is 'Ο Σωτήρ (which is used twenty-three times), and the same designation of our Lord occurs in the *Introduction* to iii 23.

Nor should it count for nothing that in the Proem to Book IV he says it was with the help of Theosthenes—the man to whom he dedicated his book (σοῦ συναιρομένου)—that he gave his answers. In one passage Macarius says he is answering what he *remembered* of his opponent's objections, πάντων δὲ τῶν λεχθέντων ἀπομνημονεύσαντες αἰπομεν ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἀρξάμενοι πεύσεως. But of course it is in the *questions* that references to a dialogue are of greatest value, and we may conclude with one which in itself seems to shew that Macarius has not merely taken six or seven objections at a time out of an opponent's book, but that the objections themselves were originally made several at a time, in the expectation that a corresponding set of answers would be given. At the conclusion of seven questions about St Paul the objector says,² 'Ἄλλ' ἡμεῖς ἐτι λέγειν κατὰ τοῦ Παύλου πανσόμμεθα, γνόντες αὐτὸν καθ' ἑαυτοῦ τοιαύτην γιγαντομαχίαν καθοπλίσαντα· εἰ δ' ἀποκριθῆναι σοὶ τις περιουσία πρὸς ταῦτα καθέστηκε, μηδὲν ἀναβαλλόμενος ἀποκρίναι.

2. The difference of style between the questions and the answers has been already referred to. But a remarkable feature is that, whereas Macarius represents the language of his opponent as full of eloquence and power, and trembles before his 'Attic oratory',³ as a matter of fact the eloquence and the polish all lie with himself. But does not this point to the fact that he is not writing down the words of a book, but reporting, as best he could, and only so far as his memory served, what had doubtless been spoken with greater force and fullness when the dialogue was held? And here we may take the opportunity of dealing with Dr Salmon's objection that 'it would be inconsistent to copy all the heathen speeches verbally from a well-known work'. Quite so, but it is all explained if Macarius is quoting, not the written work, but the spoken word, of his opponent.

¹ *Apocr.* p. 63 l. 10.

² *Ibid.* p. 131 l. 9.

³ *Ibid.* Proem of Bk. III.

3. Further evidence that the origin of the book is to be found in a verbal encounter, and not in a deliberately written apologetic, is supplied by the mode of quoting the Scriptures, in both questions and answers. The casual nature of the quotations, which is most disappointing from a critical and textual point of view, strongly suggests that they were made from memory.¹

4. We have already seen that Macarius does not appear to have used the *Contra Celsum* of Origen. And yet he must have known his work. Possibly this is another indication that the answers were originally given on the spur of the moment.

5. Another point remains, which however is not on the same level as others, for it depends on the concession that the opponent was Hierocles. If that is the case, and Macarius had thus answered his book, such an answer would have been known to Lactantius and Eusebius, or at least to one of them. But Lactantius, so far from mentioning it, implies that the book was still unanswered, from his way of answering it himself.² He begins discussing one passage with the words 'I might refute'.³ Eusebius is still more definite on the point. Not only does he write a treatise against Hierocles himself, but he

¹ The following typical instances of the method of quotation seem sufficient to prove the above contention. There are passages where the opponent quotes wrongly, and his mistake is either ignored or repeated by Macarius. In ii 12 the opponent notes the difference of *ἐν τῇ ἀνέκδοξί μὲν*; in St Mark xv 34 from *μὲν ἡγερέδων* in St Matth. The answer does not repeat the words, but does not contradict them. Evidently the reading of Codex Bezae has been used here, but in the same passage St John xix 29 is given with *σείος* for *σπύγγον*, and *προθήσαντες* for *παραθέντες*. These errors are repeated by Macarius in ii 17, p. 29 l. 6, with a further mistake. But there are places, on the other hand, where he tacitly corrects his opponent, though he does not always give the right words himself. In the same passage of ii 12 St Mark xv 36 had been misquoted as *σπύγγον τῆς ζῆς πληρώσαι προτένευεν*. In the answer (ii 17) it is *σπύγγον ζῆτος πληρώσαντες προτένευεν αὐτῷ*. And sometimes he rightly corrects the order of the words, as in ii 18, where he alters rightly from *λόγῳ ἐνέθεν αὐτῷ τῇ πλευρῇ*. See also the quotation from 1 Cor. vi 11 in iv 19 and 25. Macarius is often at fault on his own account, as in ii 10, where he gives a combination of all three synoptists in the words *ὡς γὰρ ἀποστόλοι, ὡς πότε ἴσονται μεθ' ἡμῶν*; Elsewhere they are both wrong, but make a different mistake. In iii 5 the opponent quotes St Matth. xix 24 as *ὡς βασιλεὺς εἰσελθεῖν*. In iii 12 the answer seems to take the passage from St Luke xviii 35, and gives *ὡς βασιλεὺς εἰσελθεῖν*. Both, however, have *βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν* and not *τοῦ θεοῦ*. In iv 13 Macarius recognizes that his opponent has abbreviated St Matth. xxiv 14, for he repeats the quotation as *ἐν συντόμῳ ᾧδε*. But he uses the same phrase *ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ* instead of *ἐν ὅλῳ τῇ οἰκουμένῃ*. In iv 4 the answer makes a mistake where there has been none in the question. St Luke v 31 has been correctly quoted. In the answer, iv 18, it is mistaken for St Matth. ix 12 (which has *οἱ ἰσχύοντες*, not *ἡγούμενοι*), for the next verse is added and stress is laid on the aorist in *οὐκ ἔλαβον καλίσσαι δυνάμεις*, where St Luke has *οὐκ ἐλάβετε*.

² Lact. *Div. Instil.* v 3.

³ *Ibid.* v 4 init.

explains that he need not touch on many of the objections, as Origen had already replied to them in his work against Celsus. But if we suppose Macarius only verbally to have answered objections which were afterwards put into book form, we can easily understand that the *Apocritica* would not be widely known a few years later, particularly if in the meanwhile Hierocles had moved away to another governorship. But this is anticipating.

The foregoing considerations seem to me sufficient to shew that the book is founded on a real dialogue which took place with a real pagan opponent.

The Opponent is Hierocles.

The person of the opponent has already been argued by Duchesne to be *Hierocles*, and other scholars have rejected his suggestion, not on intrinsic grounds, but because other considerations stood in the way.¹ Duchesne's proofs from Lactantius² are very striking, but I venture to put forward certain subsidiary arguments which make his conclusions yet more assured.

1. The evidence of Lactantius is not exhausted by the passage in the *Institutes*. Attention has also been called to the reference to Hierocles in the *De Mortibus Persecutorum*, and Dr Mason says³ there is 'not reasonable doubt of the identity of the nameless judge of the *Institutes* with the Hierocles of the *Deaths*'. But the passages deserve to be written side by side, as their wording seems to furnish conclusive proof of identity. The *Institutes* (loc. cit.) speak of one 'e numero iudicum, et qui auctor imprimis faciendae persecutionis fuit'. The passage in the *Deaths* is worth quoting in full (loc. cit.) 'Nam cum incidisses (i.e. Donatus) in Flaccinum praefectum, non pusillum homicidam, deinde in Hieroclem ex vicario praesidem, qui auctor et consiliarius ad faciendam persecutionem fuit, postremo in Priscillianum successorem eius, documentum omnibus invictae fortitudinis praebuisti'.⁴

2. Hierocles went to Bithynia in 304 A.D., just after the persecution had broken out. An inscription adduced by Duchesne suggests that he had previously been in office at Palmyra,⁵ and we may note the appropriateness of Macarius's references to that neighbourhood, if his opponent was connected with it. But others have already urged that Hierocles' work *Φιλαλήθεις Λόγοι* had been published *before* the persecution began.⁶ And probably, though by no means certainly, he held his dialogue with

¹ It is fully accepted by Möller (*Theologische Literatur-Zeitung*, 1877, p. 521 et seq.).

² Lact. *Div. Instit.* v. 2.

³ *Persecution of Diocletian*, p. 59.

⁴ See *ibid.* p. 59 note, for 'ex vicario praesidem', &c.

⁵ *Corpus Inscript.* Lat. t. 3 no. 133, ap. Duch. p. 20.

⁶ Dr Mason op. cit. p. 61 note. It may be added that the '*Institutes*', in which Lactantius mentions it, is one of his early works, not far in the fourth century.

Macarius before he published his work.) Therefore it was when he was at Palmyra that the dialogue seems most likely to have taken place. But, setting this aside for a time, the indication that Hierocles was in the East and in office at Palmyra is the more significant when we find, not merely that Macarius appears to have written his book in that locality, but that he persistently points his opponent to the testimony afforded by that region. Such plain references as Berenice having become queen of Edessa,¹ and the opponent being told to go to Antioch to look for the effects of Christianity,² have already been set forth by Duchesne. But there seem to be other more indirect and uncertain references to corroborate them, as for example where he tells his adversary to note instances of cities decaying, and adds *περισσότερον ἂν εἶη λέγειν πόσαι τοπαρχίαι καπνοῦ δίκην ἀπέπτησαν ἢ πόσαι βασιλίδες γυναῖκες ἀπώλοντο ἢ πόσων ἀνδρῶν ἐπιφανῶν συναπέβη κλέος.*³ May we not recognize in this a reference to the recent history of Palmyra itself, and to the fall of its unfortunate queen Zenobia?

3. But Duchesne makes no use at all of the work of Eusebius against Hierocles. The testimony that it gives to the kind of objections brought by that opponent of the faith ought to be valuable when compared with the kind of objections brought by the adversary of Macarius.

(1) At the outset he speaks of Hierocles as the author of the *Φιλαλήθεις Λόγοι*, saying that his objections were not original, and had largely been already met by Origen's reply to Celsus.⁴ The indebtedness of Macarius's opponent to Celsus has already been mentioned, and his identity with Hierocles is thus suggested.

(2) Eusebius goes on to refer to Hierocles' assertion that St Peter and St Paul exaggerated Christ's doings, in such language as *τὰ μὲν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος, καὶ τινες τούτων παραπλήσιοι, κεκόμπαται, ἄνθρωποι ψεύσται, καὶ ἀπαίδευτοι καὶ γόητες.*⁵ In the *Apocritica* more than a quarter of the extant questions refer to either St Peter or St Paul, and reveal the same inconsistent charges against them of both cunning and stupidity.

(3) The tone of Hierocles is shewn to have been of that same haughty and scornful description which we see in the *Apocritica*, as revealed in such superior claims of position and knowledge as *σκεψώμεθά γε μὴν ὅσῳ βέλτιον καὶ ξυνετώτερον ἡμεῖς ἐκδεχόμεθα τὰ τοιαῦτα, καὶ ἣν περὶ τῶν ἐναρέτων ἀνδρῶν ἔχομεν γνώμην.*⁶

¹ *Apocr.* i 6.

² *Ibid.* ii 7.

³ *Ibid.* iv 11, p. 170 l. 19.

⁴ Eusebius in *Hierocles*, in Gottfriedus Alearius's edition of *Philostatus*, Lipsiae 1709, p. 428.

⁵ *Op. cit.* p. 430.

⁶ *Op. cit.* p. 445.

(4) Hierocles is shewn as belittling the life of Christ (after the manner of the Neoplatonists) by adducing that of Apollonius of Tyana, and the statement of Philostratus is introduced by Eusebius, ἀφανισθῆναι τοῦ δικαστηρίου φησὶν αὐτόν.¹ Book III of the *Apocritica* begins with a criticism of Christ in His Passion, asking why He did not disappear like Apollonius. τίς οὖν ἕνεκεν . . . μὴ καθάπερ Ἀπολλώνιος μετὰ τρηγασίας τῷ αὐτοκράτορι λαλήσας Δομετιανῷ τῆς βασιλικῆς αἰλῆς ἀφανῆς ἔνετο;²

Add such indications as these to the arguments of Duchesne, and there is only one thing which can prevent us from accepting Hierocles with certainty as the opponent of Macarius. Is it impossible from other considerations to allow the *Apocritica* such a date as will be compatible with this theory? Those who have rejected it have done so on the score of date; and therefore, to maintain my thesis, as well as to advance another step in the argument, I must endeavour to shew that it is to that period that we may and must assign the book.

The Date of the Apocritica.

1. I begin with a presumption in favour of the end of the third century; for if I have proved that there is a real dialogue underlying the book, and that the opponent in that dialogue was Hierocles, it follows that, unless there are grave reasons against it, we must assign the work to the time of Hierocles. I have already suggested that Macarius hints his opponent to Antioch, Edessa, and Syria generally, in a fashion which indicates that he was still governor of Palmyra. This must be before 260 A.D. when he went to Bithynia. And it is noteworthy that although Macarius is afraid of him, and is tempted to cower before his commanding personality, he gives no hint that he can or will cause him any harm. The persecution has evidently not yet begun. Nor does Hierocles himself say a word that is threatening to the Christians, but 'as far as there remained a *modus vivendi* of a kind; 'we have our temples, but you have your churches' is the attitude.

2. But in spite of the absence of actual persecution, Macarius, with his readiness of defence and unflagging zeal, seems overawed with strange and nameless terror. As soon as he is launched on an argument he forgets his fear, but directly his defence is over, however satisfactory it may be, there comes back to him a sense of the hopelessness of it all, and the impossibility of even standing on a level with his heathen adversary. This is not the tone of a Christian in the controversies of the fourth century, even when the Emperor Julian had

¹ Op. cit. p. 459.

² *Apocr.* iii 1.

galvanized into life the dying attacks of paganism. There is then a certainty of final victory which is lacking in Macarius. In fact we may say that any Christian after his faith was made a *religio licita* in 313 A.D. would hold his head higher than our author does. A study of fourth-century literature proves the truth of Kurtz's remark, "The literary conflict between Christianity and paganism had almost completely altered its tone".¹ The tone of the *Apocritica* will therefore fit in better with the years immediately preceding the persecution of Diocletian than with any later period. The reign of Aurelian had shewn the older Christians of that day that it was more from accident than from principle that the terrors of a Decius and a Valerian had not been renewed. And so, though naturally the *Apocritica* contains no actual hint of the coming storm of final persecution which burst so suddenly upon the Church, its tone of nameless dread accords exactly with what a Christian apologist would shew as he stood face to face with the very man who was in a few years to be described as "auctor persecutionis faciendae".

3. The limit of date in the other direction is given not only by the passage which says πολλοὶ ἀρχοῦσι τοῦ αἰῶνος,² but by the opponent's words which go back to Hadrian in order to give an instance of a *μωρολογία*. The fourfold division of the empire took place in 292 A.D., so this must be the upward limit, and we may add that mention was more likely to be made of such divided rule in the years immediately succeeding the change, while it was still unfamiliar, than at any later period.

Nor is the reference to Cyprian as a hero of former time³ compatible with an earlier date, and it is curious that these things were ignored by Turrianus, in spite of his full knowledge of our author, when he placed the book nearly 150 years earlier.

4. With regard to the downward limit of date, there is a reference which seems to have escaped notice. In iv 13 Macarius gives a list of some of the peoples of the earth who had not yet heard the preaching of the Gospel. The list is a short one, and only four regions are mentioned altogether, but one of them is *Ethiopia*,⁴ and another *Martania*. It is a well-known story how the shipwrecked Frumentius worked in the former country from the year 316, and was at length made bishop of the country in 338, and it proves that Macarius cannot possibly have written as late as 403 A.D., by which time the Ethiopian Church was fully established.

¹ Kurtz *Church History* Eng. tr. vol. i p. 235.

² *Apocr.* ii 15, p. 24.

³ *Id.* iii 24, p. 109, l. 30, where he is contrasted with τοὺς νῦν.

⁴ *Apocr.* p. 179 l. 6 . . . οὐδένα τοῦ λόγου ἀκούσαν, ἀλλ' οὐδ' Ἀθίομας . . . οὐδὲν γέλοιον λόγον οἰεῖται μωρολογεῖν. He adds that they are called Macrobianus from their long life, and gives several strange details from *Herodotus* bk. iii.

It is true that the Macrobian Ethiopians are said by Herodotus to have lived in the far South, but modern researches suggest rather that their region was much further north, in fact nearer Egypt than Abyssinia, possibly the neighbourhood of Kordofan.¹

Again, he mentions τοὺς ἑσπερίους ἢ Μαυρονσίους. But surely Mauretania (re-divided as it was into two provinces by Diocletian) had heard the Gospel before the end of the fourth century. Into the Numidian part of it, at least, the faith spread with surprising rapidity from Ethiopia, and in connexion with τοὺς ἑσπερίους we may take the statement of Kurtz² that 'the real missionarizing church of this period was the Western'. Reference may also be made to Harnack's *Expansion of Christianity*. He quotes Origen in *Matth. Comment.* series 39 (Lommatzsch iv pp. 209 et seq.) on St Matth. xxiv 9 in a passage which it is interesting to compare with Macarius³: 'Non enim fertur praedicatum esse evangelium apud omnes Ethiopas, maxime apud eos qui sunt ultra flumen; sed nec apud Seras nec apud Ariacin' (which Harnack locates on the west coast of India), &c. But in the fourth century the country south of Philae and towards Abyssinia was Christianized.⁴ Tertullian is also quoted (*Adv. Iudaeos* vii) as already saying 'Maurorum multi fines (crediderunt)', and Eusebius *HE.* x 5 is referred to for martyrs in Mauretania.⁵

5. Nor is it possible to suppose that a writer of later date than about 330 A.D. could mention several examples of heretics without introducing the name of Arius or any of his followers. That such a book should be entirely free from the controversy which absorbed the attention of all Christians after the Council of Nicaea, is quite incredible.⁶

¹ Smith's *Dict. of Gk. and Roman Geog.* vol. ii p. 240.

² *Ch. Hist.* vol. i p. 397 Eng. tr.

³ Harnack *Exp. of Christ.* transl. Moffatt, vol. ii p. 160.

⁴ *Op. cit.* p. 323 note.

⁵ *Op. cit.* pp. 157, 422.

⁶ It is true that the word *χριστομάχος* occurs in *Aproc.* iii 14, p. 91, and Möller claims that it must refer to Arians. But this is not borne out by the context. Macarius is refuting those who try to circumscribe the Person of Christ when granting Paradise to the thief on the cross. But what if it be not the Arians but the Monarchians, as represented by Paul of Samosata, that are being here condemned? These *χριστομάχοι* are further defined as *Ἰουδαϊκῆς μαγίας κοινωνοί*. Not only is there the kinship suggested between Monotheism and Monarchianism, but Paul's patroness Zenobia was herself a Jewess, and he seems to have shaped his doctrines in order to give royal satisfaction. But there is a further likeness between Monarchianism and that which Macarius here condemns. The Patripassians affirmed that, by the *γένεσις*, there was at the Incarnation *ἰδίαν οὐσίαν περιγραφὴν* (Dorner *On the Person of Christ* p. 31). Is not this exactly what Macarius denies (as Hippolytus had done before him), speaking against *τολμῶντα περιγράφειν τὸν Χριστὸν ἐν τῷ πάθει* (loc. cit. l. 16)? It is absurd to suppose that *χριστομάχοι* can only refer to Arians, because Athanasius applied the word to them

6. An indirect argument for the early date of the book is to be found in the likeness between the opponent's questions and the attacks of Porphyry.¹ Though the relics of Porphyry's writings are so meagre, they are sufficient to prove that his follower Hierocles borrowed his objections, as, for example, the behaviour of St Peter to Ananias.² And nothing could be more telling than for Macarius to face Hierocles with the words of his own master, on the subject of the heathen gods.³ Porphyry's expression of Neoplatonism did not remain stereotyped in the succeeding age. It was soon to be much altered by his pupil Iamblichus, in the very region with which the *Apocritica* is to be connected. It is not likely that Macarius should so humbly set about refuting the objections of Porphyry at so late a date as 403 A.D., by which time answers had come from Eusebius, Methodius, Apollinaris, and Philostorgius.⁴

But the close connexion of Porphyry with Hierocles, and the fact that the former did not die till 303 A.D., enable us to form a surmise which would go a long way to explain the form of Hierocles' argument. There is something strangely mechanical about the method of his assault. He delivers an attack of seven or more objections, and then, without caring to come to close quarters by replying to the answer, heedless of what result his assaults have had, he starts at once to send a different set of missiles into his enemy's lines, and in this way he goes on fighting through the course of the dialogue. But we must remember who he was. He might claim the title of philosopher, but he had only secondhand thoughts to offer. He was no ordinary man of thought, but an energetic man of affairs, who finally shewed that his keenest argument was the edge of the sword. What if Porphyry's writings supplied him with a stock of arguments to hurl at Macarius? This would explain his refusing to discuss the arguments of his

so frequently. Elsewhere in the *Apocritica* it is used in a loose and general way, and even concerning so early an opponent of the faith as Herod Agrippa I. For, in reference to Acts xii 1 and 2, Macarius says in Bk. iii 29, p. 122 l. 3, *χριστομάχῳ λύττῃ καθολίσις ἑαυτὸν τὸν μὲν Ἰάκωβον ἀνείλεν ἀναιτίως μαχαίρᾳ κτλ.* Would he have been likely to use such a word here if he had known its later narrowed signification? With regard to the opposition of Macarius to Paul which has been thus suggested, Lumper (*Migne Patr. Lat.* v p. 343) actually conjectures that our author was the very man who was present at the Council of Antioch in 265. He is there referred to as *Ἱεροσολύμων Μάρκος τις ἱερέυς*.

¹ See Mosheim *Comm.* vol. ii p. 151.

² *Apocr.* iii 21, cf. Porphyry ap. Jerome *Ep. ad Demetriadem* in Semler's edition of Pelagius's *Ep. ad Demetr.* p. 12.

³ *Apocr.* iii 42, p. 145 l. 25. The mention in this passage of Porphyry's *χρησμός τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος* receives valuable corroboration from Eusebius *Praep. Evang.* iv 6 et seq., where a collection of his oracles of Apollo &c. is given.

⁴ See Philostorgius ap. Phot., *Migne Patr. Gr.-Lat.* saec. v vol. i p. 566.

opponent, and it would explain, too, his decision to leave public argument with Christians alone, and to go home and work up his notes into two books of *φιλαληθείς λόγοι*, that men might tremble at a distance as they read in his name the thunderings of a Porphyry and a Celsus, and perhaps of other real masters of Neoplatonism besides. But all this absolutely demands an early date, and (especially if Hierocles wrote his book before the persecution began) we are pointed to the closing years of the third century.

7. The use of the New Testament Scriptures by Macarius is such as to suggest a date before the fourth century. The argument from silence is of course a precarious one, but it is remarkable that no definite quotations are made from books which only gained universal acceptance in the course of that century. The omission of the Apocalypse of St John has been noted by Zahn¹ as the more remarkable in view of the fact that the Apocalypse of Peter is twice quoted by the opponent, and, if not accepted, at least not disowned by Macarius in his reply. If, as he says, it be strange that a post-Constantinian writer should omit the one Apocalypse and quote the other, the fact suggests that the book should be dated earlier than Constantine. The quotation from the Apocalypse of Peter is so like a passage in 2 Peter² that we should have confidently expected that the latter would be used in order to support it. But Macarius falls back on similar words in Isaiah. If this be an indication that he did not accept 2 Peter as canonical, it gives an additional reason why he should be assigned a date before that epistle was universally recognized as part of the Canon of the New Testament. These questions will be discussed later, in considering the bearing of the *Apocritica* on the history of the Canon.

8. One more argument for a date before the fourth century must suffice. Difficulty has been found in the opponent's assertion that the Christians *μμούμενοι τὰς κατασκευὰς τῶν ναῶν, μεγίστους οἴκους οἰκοδομοῦσιν*.³ But Eusebius describes the period just before the outbreak of the persecution of 303 A.D. as a time when the older churches were too small and new and larger churches were being built, which were soon to be razed to the ground.⁴ This exactly agrees with the date suggested for the *Apocritica*. And the context of this statement of Macarius's opponent is worth noting. He is arguing in favour of the use of images. If he had been able to tell the Christians that they put images in their churches like the pagans, the inducement thus to

¹ Zahn *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* II Band 1878, p. 450 et seq.

² 2 Pet. iii 12.

³ *Apocr.* iv 21, p. 201 l. 5.

⁴ Euseb. *H.E.* viii 1 and 2, where we are told *μηδαμῶς ἐν τοῖς παλαιοῖς οἰκοδομήμασιν ἀρεσόμενοι, εὐρέας εἰς πλάτος ἀνὰ πάσας τὰς πόλεις ἐκ θεμελίων ἀνίστων ἐκκλησίας*.

strengthen his argument would have been irresistible. But as he can only refer to the churches themselves, it is obvious that the dialogue took place before images began to be placed in Christian churches.

I omit sundry historical references which must remain unproved. It has already been suggested (p. 414) that Macarius possibly refers to the fall of Zenobia. And there are two passages in which he speaks of a βασιλεύς, although he has said that there are several rulers. In the first, he speaks of βασιλική φιλανθρωπία in the present, as being shewn in contrast to an ἀπάνθρωπος τύραννος in the past.¹ And in the second he says that only *yesterday* certain prisoners obtained a release βασιλικὴν πρόδον ὑποκύψαντες.² Is there any point of history with which these references accord better than the first few years of the fourth century, when Diocletian was living in regal magnificence and gracious tolerance as Emperor of the East?

The consideration of objections to the above views, which should naturally be faced next, must be left till another article, for they must be dealt with at considerable length. But in the meantime I may conclude the present article with a word about the full title of the work, its author, and his probable abode.

The Title of the work.

We may follow the leading of Neumann,³ who argues that the title is to be transposed as *Μονογενὴς ἡ Ἀποκριτικὸς κτλ.*⁴ The full title, gathered from the headings and indices of various parts of the work, was probably Μακαρίου Μάγνητος Μονογενὴς ἡ Ἀποκριτικὸς πρὸς Ἕλληνας. Περὶ τῶν ἀπορουμένων ἐν τῇ καινῇ Διαθήκῃ ζητημάτων καὶ λύσεων λόγος α', β', γ', δ', ε'.

The further suggestion has been made (see Bardenhewer, loc. cit.) that the first part of the title, i. e. *Μονογενὴς*, was probably made more use of in the first part of the work, which is now lost. A careful investigation of the use of the word *Μονογενὴς* in what remains scarcely bears this out. It occurs seventeen times, and of these fourteen are in six chapters of Book III. The other three are in a single chapter of Book II.⁵ Another frequent title given to our Lord is ὁ Σωτήρ. This expression occurs twenty-three times, all of them in the course of thirteen chapters, four of which are the same as those containing the title

¹ *Apocr.* p. 178 l. 21.

² *Ibid.* p. 208 l. 3.

³ C. I. Neumann *Inl. Imp. Lib. contra Christ. quae supersunt* pp. 14-23. Lips. 1880.

⁴ This suggestion is tacitly accepted by Bardenhewer *Patrologie*, 1894, p. 550.

⁵ See ii 8, p. 9. 8, p. 10. 14, p. 11. 5; iii 8, p. 66. 1; iii 9, p. 71. 19; iii 13, p. 87. 15; iii 14, p. 92 (5 times); iii 23, p. 105. 29; iii 27, p. 116. 18, p. 117. 20. 24; iii 40, p. 138. 5.

Μονογενής.¹ These are facts from which it is not easy to draw any conclusive inference.

The Author and his probable abode.

With regard to the person of the author, it is generally accepted that his real name was Macarius. Some have thought it was Magnes,² but the natural signification of the word suggests locality, and it simply denotes *man* of Magnesia. It is not proved that he was necessarily a bishop at all,³ but, even if he was, his name does not suggest that he must needs have been bishop of Magnesia. It is of course the meaning of the title in such names as Gregorius Nazianzenus, but quite as often, as in the case of Johannes Damascenus, it refers to the place where the man spent his life or did his chief work. And further, it frequently denotes simply the place of birth or education. This is especially the case where the name is a common one, and we may give Paul of Samosata as an instance in that period. A Macarius, particularly in the East where the name seems to have been commonest,⁴ might well need to be described as 'the Macarius who came from Magnesia'. This is the explanation which accords best with the evidence of the book itself. Others have already noted how he points his opponent to Antioch in Syria, and also to Edessa; how Hierocles was once connected with Palmyra; and how the use of the word 'parasang' suggests an Eastern locality. But there are further indications to be found in the book.

1. In his list of heresies he not only refers exclusively to those of the East, but he shews a knowledge of the Encratites of Asia Minor which suggests that those regions were familiar to him. And when he speaks of false Christs who have arisen, he instances Bardesanes of Edessa, Sositheus of Cilicia, Manes of Persia, and Montanus of Phrygia. The

¹ i. e. iii 9, p. 72 (twice); iii 13, p. 87, 88 (twice).

² Turrianus and those who followed him persistently call him *Magnetes*.

³ What internal evidence there is, certainly points the other way. In iii 16, p. 96, the opponent says that if to drink a deadly drug does not hurt a true believer, then his ought to be made a test in the choosing of bishops—*ἐχρήν γοῦν τοὺς ἐκκλήτους τῆς ἱερουσύνης καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἀντιποιοιμένους τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἥτοι προεδρίας τούτου πρῆσασθαι τῷ τῆς κρίσεως τρόπῳ* κτλ. If this forms part of a dialogue, there would surely be a more personal reference if a bishop were being addressed. And in the answer in iii 24, p. 108 et seq., Macarius feels no need of personal defence. After giving Polycarp and others as examples of great bishops of olden time, he proceeds *ἀπεὶς δ' ἐκείνους, τοὺς νῦν ἀφηγήσομαι πόσαι . . . χεῖρας ἐκτείνοντες εἰς εὐχὴν . . . ἔσαντο*; And throughout the book there is no suggestion that Macarius bears so exalted a position in the Christian community. See also p. 414 *supra*, and p. 416 note 1.

⁴ There are twenty-four of the name in the *D. C. B.*, only three or four of whom are connected with the West.

only name connected with the west is that of Marcion, and even he came originally from Pontus.

2. He also knows details about other natives of the same regions, Aratus, the astronomer of Cilicia,¹ and Apollonius of Tyana, about whom he adds to the disappearance from the tribunal, to which his opponent had referred, that in a moment of time he was solemnly talking to the Emperor and then digging cabbages in the garden.²

3. Again, when he gives a list of the countries which had not yet heard the Gospel, he locates Ethiopia as south-west, which implies that he was as far eastward as Syria.

4. It is true that when he mentions some of the heroes of the Church it is to the West and to such names as Fabian and Cyprian that he turns,³ and this has led Duchesne to the surmise that he visited Rome. But the one other name—Polycarp of Smyrna—that occurs in the list is that of a native of Asia Minor,⁴ and Irenaeus also stands as a link between that region and the West. Also, when he refers to the Romans, it is as *βάρβαρον ἔθνος* (p. 29 l. 12). We therefore arrive at the conclusion that Mesopotamia, Syria, and Asia Minor are the localities to be connected with the name of Macarius. Everything points to the dialogue itself having taken place in the neighbourhood of Edessa or Palmyra, and although the nearest parts of Asia Minor seem the most familiar, such as Cilicia, Tyana, and Lycaonia (which comes in his book, in place of Asia in Epiphanius, as an abode of the Encratites), yet knowledge and interest are shewn in connexion with the whole of it.

I would suggest that these facts might be explained if the author was then living at or near Edessa, but had come originally from Magnesia in Asia Minor.

And indeed this assumption extricates us from a difficulty which must be frankly admitted. It is almost impossible to believe that an Origenist like Macarius (who is far more Origenistic and allegorical than Origen himself in controversy with a pagan) can have been a product of the famous Antiochene school, which was flourishing at that date. His interpretation of Scripture would have been utterly different had he been brought up under the influence of such men as Lucian, who was born at Edessa and had recently founded the school at Antioch. Very different, too, was another native of Edessa a few years later, Eusebius, bishop of Emesa. The theology of

¹ *Apocr.* iv 17, p. 191 l. 17.

² *Ibid.* iii 8, p. 66 l. 19.

³ *Ibid.* iii 24, p. 109 fin.

⁴ It may be added that the Western fathers are merely referred to by name, whereas ten lines of detail are given about Polycarp, from the same source as the *Vita Polycarpi*.

Macarius by itself might certainly suggest Alexandria; but the rest of the book forbids, and in speaking of recluses he could not have failed to instance those of Egypt instead of the East, had he come from that part of the world. So we may infer that he had acquired a theology which was independent of locality. If he came from Iagnesia, he may have brought some of it with him from there. One is inclined to wonder why nothing was heard afterwards of so devoted and successful a champion of the faith. But two final considerations suggest themselves. His handling of the Scriptures would have been distasteful to the theologians of the neighbourhood (and it must be remembered that, apart from Antioch, there had been a school at Iagnesia itself almost from the second century), and his efforts may therefore have been unappreciated by his fellow Christians, and allowed to pass into oblivion. Or may he not at once have fallen a victim to the persecution of 303 A.D.? Before it broke out, the governor Hierocles had to be content to face him in fair fight, and to grind his teeth in silence as he lost point after point in the argument. But his 'auctor faciendae persecutionis' had just time after the issue of the famous 'fourth edict' of the year 304 A.D. to begin the bloody work round Palmyra before he went that same year to Bithynia. And could not one of his first victims be the man who had dared to uphold Christianity in public argument with him? We can picture a second scene between them, another dispute, of a different kind, concerning the Athen gods and sacrificing, a scene which justified the fear which the author of the *Apocritica* had displayed before his opponent. And it is not doubtful whether such a stout defender of the faith against Athenism would choose death in preference to sacrificing to those gods which once he had so vigorously denounced. The person of Macarius is shrouded in mystery; but we know all, we might add to his names the further appellation 'martyr'.

T. W. CRAFER.

(To be continued.)

MORE SPANISH SYMPTOMS.

THE DATE OF SOME PRAYERS IN THE MOZARABIC MISSAL—THE
REVISION OF THE TOLEDAN MISSAL IN THE SEVENTH CENTURY
—A SUPPOSED *Liber Officiorum* OF HILARY OF POITIERS.

MR EDMUND BISHOP, in his most valuable *Liturgical note in illustration of the Book of Cerne* (1902) p. 270, has called attention to the great importance of a prayer for the dead which is not found in the ordinary

Mozarabic missal, but was in the Toledo missal that has come down to us through the extracts made from it by the adoptianist Elipandus.¹ This prayer must have been known to and made use of by the composers of the *postcommunio* (95), and the *Hanc igitur* (96) of the third book of the Gelasian sacramentary, and of the preface *pro mortuis plurimis* of the Stowe missal. Hence it is in the Spanish Visigothic books that we must look for the origin, hitherto quite unsuspected, of certain parts of those celebrated missals. How far the liturgical and literary history of the West is affected will be clear to those who read Mr Bishop's note.

A passage of the same prayer is referred to in the letter of the Spanish adoptianist bishops to their colleagues of Gaul, Aquitania, and Neustria,² and it is there attributed to St Julian, bishop of Toledo, who died in 690. As the date of the prayer is thus fairly known, and consequently the earliest date at which the formulas in question could have been added to the Gelasian and Stowe missals, and as this letter gives us the names of the authors of two other *missae* of the Mozarabic missal, it is worth while giving the passages of the letter referred to.³

'Item praedecessores nostri Eugenius, Ildephonsus, Iulianus, Tolitanae sedis antistites, in suis dogmatibus⁴ ita dixerunt in missam de caena Domini: "Qui per adoptivi hominis passionē dum suo non indulsit corpori, nostro demum, id est, iterum non pepercit."⁵ Et alibi: "Qui pietati tuae per adoptivi⁷ hominis passionē quasi quasdam in praesentis populi acquisitione manubias cum non exhibuerit⁸ e caelo, exhibuerit e triumpho; et cum non habuerit divinitas immutabilis pugnam, habuerit fragilitas assumpta victoriam."⁹ Item in missa de ascensione Domini: "Hodie Salvator noster post adoptionem¹⁰ carnis sedem repetit¹⁰ deitatis." Item in missam defunctorum: "Quos fecisti

¹ Ep. iv, *Ad Alcuinum*, in Migne P. L. xvi 874, *Mou. Germ. Hist., Epist.* iv 305.

² Migne P. L. ci 1321-1331, and the appendix to v. Helfferich *Der westgoth. Arianismus*, quoted in Hefele *Conciliengeschichte* iii² 650 n. 2. On the letter, which is of the year 796 or the beginning of 794, cf. Hefele *id.* 676 sqq., and A. Hauck *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands* ii² 296.

³ The fathers of the Council of Frankfort, A. D. 794, in their reply (Mansi iii 886, P. L. ci 1333 D sqq.) quote the words: 'Item praedecessores nostri... indulsit corpori' and: 'Item in missa de ascensione... deitatis', but refer them to Hildephonsus only.

⁴ In missarum oraculis⁷ Elipand.

⁵ So in Elipandus, who has *indulget*. This sentence does not occur in the *Missale Mixtum* pp. 163-164 (P. L. lxxxv 415, 416), but it was found exactly as above in the old Mozarabic missal of Toledo by von Helfferich, quoted in Hefele p. 651 n. 2.

⁶ In missa de quinta feria Paschae⁷ Elip. Cf. *Missale Mixt.* 209 Inlatio.

⁷ Adsumpti Miss.

⁸ Exegerit Miss: exierit Elip.

⁹ Et cum... victoriam⁸ om. in Elip.

¹⁰ Per adopt. Concil. Francf.: post assumptionem Miss. Mixt. 251 Missa: repetit Elip.

optionis participes, iubeas haereditati tuae esse consortes." Ecce os in adoptione participes esse non dubitat, consortes fieri in hereditate exoptat' (*P. L.* ci 1324 B). And further on 'Credimus tur et confitemur unigenitum Dei filium . . . conformem humano generi . . . secundum naturam adoptionis . . . secundum Eugenium iudicet: "Qui per adoptivi hominis passionem dum suo non indulxit corpori, nostro demum, id est, iterum non pepercit"; secundum Ildephonsum qui dicit: "Hodie post adoptionem carnis sedem repetit hereditatis"; secundum Iulianum qui dicit: "Quos fecisti adoptioni participes, eas haereditati tuae esse consortes"' (*ib.* 1329 A).

Hence the Spanish episcopate or the writer of the letter attributes to:—
(1) St Eugenius (II? +657) the 'missa' of Holy Thursday, suppressed and mutilated in the printed missal, but found in the old manuscript of Toledo seen by von Helfferich;

(2) St Ildephonsus (+669) the 'missa de ascensione domini' which begins: 'Placeat dilectissimi fratres.' (*Miss. Mixt.* 251.)

(3) St Julian (+690) a 'missa defunctorum', suppressed when the Mozarabic liturgical books were expurged after the adoptianist controversy (cf. *Bishop* p. 270, *Hauck* II 288 n. 2).¹

The question arises: Did the compiler of the letter make a capricious and not disinterested division² of certain *missae* of the old Toledan missal among the former bishops, 'praedecessores nostri,' or did he follow some written tradition, something more precise than a merely oral one? Either literary-historical, so to speak; or one quasi-liturgical, such as e.g. is found above the canons of the Mass and the lessons and (formerly) the hymns of the breviary, and as would have been added on in the eighth-century Toledo missal itself, if its rubrics occasionally indicated the true or the supposed authors of the various Masses. The idea of a mere fancy assignment of the masses seems wholly inadmissible, not only on account of the nature and seriousness of the episcopal document (quite apart from its doctrine) and the quiet and emphatic way in which the authorship is attributed to Eugenius,

One can well understand why both the bishops and Elipandus quote the Masses in the general terms: 'Item praedecessores nostri . . . iterum testimonia sanctorum patrum venerabilium Toletis deservientium in missarum oraculis sic et c.'

It is of course easy to suggest a falsification, but we have to deal with another familiar expression of the *Missale Mixtum* cited by Bishop I. c. 270 n. 3 (cf. *Hauck* n. 6). It is true that a large number of the quotations from the fathers cited by Elipandus are spurious or falsified (cf. *Hauck* 288 n. 1), but even if we suppose that the simple old man was incapable of detecting the mistakes in such passages his friends brought to his notice, it does not seem that he could possibly make a mistake when quoting from the missal he had used all his life. If he deliberately lied in bad faith, it would remain to explain why he should have fathered his inventions on quite recent authors!

Hildefonsus, and Julian, but also because we know, on the authority of their contemporary biographers,¹ that these bishops did compose some new masses.

Here we are bound to take into serious consideration the evidence given by this letter, which was written at Toledo about a century after St Julian, by one who had access to documents or traditions now lost, and we must test it by carefully enquiring whether the style of the *missae* at all corresponds with the extant writings of the Toledan fathers who are asserted to have composed them. In this investigation, which the present note is written to suggest, the possibility should be borne in mind, nay more the fact, of later and important retouches; and also, though this is less probable, the possibility of the composition being more official than personal, as is frequently the case with public documents.

Whatever result this investigation may have, it is now clear that:—

(1) The liturgical formulas used by the Spanish adoptianist bishops were, if we may accept their statement, all of the seventh century, and the work of writers who, in correctness of judgement and in taste, differ considerably from St Isidore, 'that great inheritor and representative of the older learning.'²

(2) These bishops attribute to the middle of the seventh century and later the *missae* of such important days in the ecclesiastical year as the 'caena domini', a day in Easter week, and the Ascension.

If this be so, it will have to be carefully considered whether we may venture to assign to an earlier date many other *missae* of less important days.

II

To get a fair idea of the development of the Mozarabic liturgy in Toledo, under the government of Eugenius, in the middle, and of his successors until the end of the seventh century, it will be useful to gather information from contemporary writers whose truthfulness has never been questioned. The present small contribution and most of the notes attached are the result of a correspondence with Mr Bishop; it will suffice for our purpose to produce them in a rough form, and not

¹ Cf. § II below. A similar indication can be seen in the letter of Elipandus to Alcuin p. 395 (cf. Bishop o. c. 270 n. 2): 'Nam ipsi canimus in vigilia paschae beato Isidoro dicente: "Induit carnem sed non exuit maiestatem, nostram substantiam expetens, sed propriam non relinquens." P. L. xcvi 875 B); hence it is clear that it was known or believed that Isidore was the author of the 'benedictio lucernae' of holy Saturday which is preserved in the *Missale Mixtum* pp. 176-177.

² Cf. Edm. Bishop, 'Spanish symptoms,' in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, viii p. 288—full of hints worthy of being carefully treasured, and capable of fruitful application.

he would have published them, with his well-known carefulness and curacy. It is desirable that other similar notices should be collected others, in order to get, if not a clear light, at least some enlightenment on that dark but most important period in the development of the Western liturgies.

(1) St Eugenius II (a) '... cantus pessimis usibus vitiatos melodiarum cognitione correxit, officiorum omissos ordines curamque discrevit' Hildephonsus *de viris ill.* 14 (*P. L.* xcvi 204); 'therefore a general work of putting the Toledan liturgical books to rights' (Edm. Bishop).¹ (b) Eugenius himself writes to bishop Protasius 'missam sancti Hippolyti et orationes, si nobis oratu vestro vita comes adfuerit, ut potuero pro vestra iussione patrabo; missam vero votivam ideo non scripsi quia in hac patria tam accurati sermonis habentur atque sententiae ut simile non possem excudere, et superfluum iudico inde me aliquid dicere unde meliores recolo iam dixisse' (*Mon. Germ. Hist., Auctt. Antiquiss.* iv 287).

(2) St Hildephonsus, (a) according to the testimony of St Julian, divided his numerous writings into four parts or classes, 'Partem sane tertiam missarum esse voluit, hymnorum, atque sermonum' (*P. L.* xcvi 44 A). From the account of Julian it would seem that each part was of some extent. 'So far as the masses written by St Hildephonsus are concerned, it would thus seem that there was a literary record.' (b) Cixilanus, in his life of Hildephonsus, relates that when still a deacon administering the suburban church of SS Cosmas and Damian, Hildephonsus 'duas missas in laudem ipsorum dominorum suorum quas in festivitate sua scillerent, miro modulationis modo perfecit; quas missas infra annotatas invenietis' (*P. L.* xcvi 44 c, and cf. *Mos.* 385 sqq.); that (apparently when he was a bishop) he wrote a canticum and a 'missa quae subter est innotata' in honour of S. Leucadia (45 c-46 a; cf. *Mos.* 415 sqq.); and that for the 'dies sanctae et semper Virginis Mariae'—the feast day of the Blessed Virgin—'ante tres dies letanias peregit et missam super subter) scriptam, quae in eius laude decantaretur perfecit, quae est

The amount of liberty a corrector of the Toledan school at that time allowed himself can be seen by the words used by Eugenius II when describing his revision of the poetry of Dracontius: '... pro tenuitate mei sensuli subcorrexì, videlicet moderamine custodito, quo superflua demerem, semiplena supplerem, recta constabilirem, et crebrius repetita mutarem.' *Mon. Germ. Hist., Auctt. Antiquiss.* xiv 27. Compare below at (3) similar words of Felix on the liturgical revision of St Julian.

'The mass of Hippolytus is not proper in *Mos.* It appears there were more than five masses than one in use. Of these earlier votive masses the "missa omnium sanctorum", p. 441 sqq., I certainly believe to be one; and it strikes me, having analysed carefully, as one of the older kind of masses of *Mos.* It is used in the Bobbio manuscript.'

regime (15, 46 B).¹ The three last words are not clear, but they seem to imply that Hilal composed at least three other masses beside the four already mentioned—perhaps those for the “tres días” of Isaac—and that the collection of masses at the end of Carlomagno’s life of St Hilal comprised at all events seven numbers” (cf. *Annuaire* in *P.L.* xvi 29-30). It is curious that the reply of the council of Frankfurt to the Spanish bishops speaks only of “*Missas vestras qui tales vobis composuit preces in missarum solemnibus, quales universales et sancti Dei non habet ecclesia nec vos in illis exaudiri putamus*”, as if Hildebrands alone, and not Eugenius and Julian as well, had been quoted by the advocates of adoptionism.

3. St Julian too, (4) on the witness of his biographer and successor Felix (770 c) wrote “*librum missarum de toto circuli anni in quatuor partes divisum in quibus aliquis vetustatis incurritas ac semiplenas emendavit atque complexit, aliquis vero ex toto composuit; item librum orationum de festivitatibus, quas Toletana ecclesia per totum circulum anni est solita celebrare, partim stylo ingenii depromptum, partim etiam in solita antiquitate vitiatum studiose correctum in unum congestit, atque Ecclesiae Dei usus ob amorem reliquit sanctae religionis*” (*P.L.* xiv 430 No. 11). Besides this, (5) St Julian (30) says a rubric in the newly edited *Liber ordinis* is a council confirmed the “*oratio*” which St Felix had once recited “*per ordinationem sancti Iuliani*”, and this council ordered all Spanish priests to recite it from memory at every mass after the names of the “*offerentes*”:—“*Haec oratio recitata est per ordinationem sancti Iuliani a domino Felice metropolitano Toletanae sedis, et confirmata est in concilio a suprafato pie memorie sancto Iuliano iam dicte civitatis episcopo. Et praeceptum omni Hispanie concilianter fuit, ut ab omnibus sacerdotibus memoriter in omni missa post nomina offerentium recerneretur.*” This is the rubric prefixed to the long “*oratio post nomina offerentium dicenda in quacumque missa*” in *Le Liber ordinis en usage dans l’Eglise Wisigothique et Mozarabe*, ed. Férotin, 331-334; a rubric, in substance it may be, though perhaps not in form, taken from the lost acta of this Toledan council under St Julian. The “*oratio*” divided into separate prayers, with the addition of a line or two of introduction adapted to the various parts of the missa (“*post nomina*,” “*ad pacem*,” &c.) is repeated in its entirety in the “*missa votiva quam sacerdos pro se et amicis vel domesticis dicere debeat*”, *ib.*

¹ And this must evidently be the occasion to which the first canon of the tenth council of Toledo (A.D. 656) refers, and therefore the mass of the (Annunciation) feast of 18 December is in question. But is the mass which was composed by Hildebrands the one now found in *Mos.* p. 32 sqq. (cf. p. 34 ll. 38, 39. “*Non adoptione sed genere, nec gratia sed natura*”); or is this Hildebrands’s mass, but revised?

299-302. That the author of the 'missa votiva' derived his material from the prayer, and not vice versa, seems to me the more probable supposition, if we are to trust the account given in the rubric of the recitation and subsequent confirmation of the prayer.

From these sources (and they must certainly be not the only ones) and from the letter of the Spanish bishops, it appears:—

(1) That the Mozarabic missal was considerably enlarged at Toledo between 640 and 690, and it then underwent more than one revision; as occurred also in the ninth and eleventh centuries;

(2) That this was chiefly the work of those 'Toledan fathers' who, in other respects, appear to have been renovators.

Hence it would well repay any one who will collate the historical notices and the surviving works of Toledan writers as well as Spanish manuscript missals, and endeavour to separate, so far as is possible, the Toledan and even the later additions from the older parts, noting their characteristic differences of conception and form, and ascertaining what parts were known, and how far they were imitated in the Gallican and the Irish Churches in the seventh and eighth centuries, say up to 750 (cf. Bishop *Spanish Symptoms* l. c. p. 284 sq.).

It is only by this means that we shall gain a less confused idea of the character, the developement, and the influence of the Mozarabic rite, and in some way of the Spanish Visigothic church and its literature; only thus shall we be qualified to apply with discretion and less risk the Mozarabic formulas to the very difficult and delicate questions of the connexion between this rite and some of the most ancient and important documents of the liturgy of the West.

III

Berno of Reichenau († 1048), to prove that 'tres tantum hebdomadae observentur in adventi domini' cites a work of St Hilary of Poitiers; neither the fragment nor its title is given even among the *spuria* in any edition of the works or life of the saint which I have seen, although the editor of Berno B. Pez (*Patr. Lat.* cxlii 1053 B) has called special attention to it. I reproduce the short passage here because, whether genuine or not, it is of liturgical interest.

'Est autem et alia eiusdem negotii ratio haudquaquam vilipendenda, qua gloriosus ecclesiae auctor et doctor eximius Hilarius in *libro* utitur *Officiorum*, "Sicut, inquit, pater familias in evangelio trino adventu infructuosam ficulneam visitavit, sic sancta mater Ecclesia Salvatoris adventum annuo recursum per trium septimanarum secretum spatium sibi incitavit (*sic*). Venit enim Filius hominis quaerere et salvum facere quod perierat: venit ante legem, quia per naturalem intellectum quid unicuique agendum quidve sequendum sit innotuit;

venit sub lege, quia patriarcharum exemplis et prophetarum praeconiis Abrahae legalia confirmavit decreta; venit tertio post legem per gratiam ad (*sic*; ac?) vocationem gentium, ut a solis ortu usque ad occasum laudare discerent pueri nomen Domini, quo usque ad finem mundi ad suae maiestatis cultum exhortari non desinit." Haec sunt quae apud Gallos positus ex libro Officiorum sancti Hilarii non inutiliter mihi corrasit.¹

Doubtless the worthy Berno saw in Gaul a *liber officiorum S. Hilarii*, and took it for a work of the holy doctor of Poitiers: still it must be evident to any one who knows the history of the advent season that it is impossible to carry back to that saint and the fourth century the origin of its three weeks' duration.² The book cited by Berno must be either a spurious work or due to another and much later Hilary; or it may even be a *liber officiorum* of some church of St Hilary, a title misunderstood by Berno and perhaps by others before him.³

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¹ *Ratio generalis de initio adventus domini secundum auctoritatem Hilarii ep.* P. L. cxlii 1085-1087; also found in *Lib. de quibusdam rebus ad missae officium pertinentibus*, ib. 1066 B, omitting the final note *Haec sunt*.

² Cf. Caspari in *Realenc. f. prot. Theol. u. Kirche* I³ 188 sqq.

³ If Hilary in *Matth.* xxi 6-8 had not explained otherwise the parable of the fig tree (*P. L.* ix 1037 sq.) one might suspect a mistake caused by a marginal citation bearing the name of Hilary.

'SPANISH SYMPTOMS'—A CORRECTION.

In the paper on this subject in the *J. T. S.* of January, the copy of 'Rex Deus immense' of Eugenius of Toledo, contained in Cotton MS Vespasian A 1, is in accordance with the table of MSS *Mon. Germ. Auctt. Antiquiss.* xiv 232 stated to be of s. vii-viii. The MS is an old friend; but of the piece of Eugenius I had no recollection. This should doubtless have warned me to make enquiries and verify the case for myself. In failing so to do I was, at the least, incautious; for the editor in *M. G.* has, in fact, somehow misunderstood the information before him. The piece of Eugenius is in a hand of some centuries later. The item (*f*) *J. T. S.* viii p. 283 is therefore to be deleted; and p. 284 l. 7 should read: 'under (*g*) would go to shew'.

EDMUND BISHOP.

THE DATE OF THE APOCALYPSE: THE EVIDENCE OF IRENAEUS.

IRENAEUS *contra Haereses* V xxx 3 (ed. Massuet) εἰ γὰρ ἴδει ἀναφανδὸν τῷ νῦν καιρῷ κηρύττεσθαι τοῦτομα αὐτοῦ, δι' ἐκείνου ἂν ἐρρήθη τοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν ἑωρακότος· οὐδὲ γὰρ πρὸ πολλοῦ χρόνου ἑωράθη, ἀλλὰ σχεδὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας γενεᾶς, πρὸς τῷ τέλει τῆς Δομετιανοῦ ἀρχῆς. The Greek text is preserved by Eusebius *H. E.* v 8. 6.

This passage is quoted by Dr Swete in his monumental edition of the Apocalypse (p. xcvi) as the earliest of the chief authorities which he adduces to support his position that 'early Christian tradition is practically unanimous in assigning the Apocalypse to the last years of Domitian'. When I read Dr Swete's chapter on the date of the Apocalypse, I recalled a lecture of Dr Hort's, one of a course of lectures on the Apocalypse which I attended in the May Term of 1889. I will transcribe the brief note which I have preserved of what Dr Hort said as to the passage of Irenaeus. I will then discuss the passage.

My note is as follows (I just so far expand a phrase or two as to make them intelligible):—'The passage of Irenaeus is urged against dating the Apocalypse shortly after Nero's death. A suggestion, however, has been made in a French periodical: it is a question of the interpretation of Irenaeus. The writer raised the question whether Irenaeus means to say that the Apocalypse itself belongs to Domitian's reign. What is the subject of ἑωράθη? *He* or *it*? For the latter note the phrase just used [i. e. τοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν ἑωρακότος]. But there is the fact that the language of Irenaeus is difficult on this [i. e. the common] theory. Why γάρ? But if Irenaeus meant that he, John, was seen, this is in accordance with his favourite phraseology. But elsewhere Trajan is mentioned [in connexion with St John's old age] in Irenaeus. Why does he now fall short of it?' I did not enquire at the time what was the 'French periodical' to which Dr Hort alluded; and I have not now leisure to investigate the matter.

I proceed to the discussion of the passage in Irenaeus.

There seem to me to be strong reasons for thinking that Irenaeus meant that St John 'was seen not so very long ago, but almost in our own generation, at the close of Domitian's reign'.

The logic of the sentences seems to me to require this interpretation. The statement that the vision was seen at the close of Domitian's reign supplies no reason why the mysterious number should have been expounded 'by him who saw the apocalypse', had he judged such

an exposition needful. If, on the other hand, we refer *ἑωράθη* to St John, the meaning is plain and simple. We may expand the sentences thus: 'Had it been needful that the explanation of the name should be proclaimed to the men of our own day, that explanation would have been given by the author of the Book. For the author was seen on earth, he lived and held converse with his disciples, not so very long ago, but almost in our own generation. Thus, on the one hand, he lived years after he wrote the Book, and there was abundant opportunity for him to expound the riddle, had he wished to do so; and, on the other hand, since he lived on almost into our generation, the explanation, had he given it, must have been preserved to us.'

The *γάρ* in such a context is quite in the manner of Irenaeus. Compare II xxii 5 καὶ πάντες οἱ πρεσβύτεροι μαρτυροῦσιν . . . παραδεδοκέναι ταῦτα τὸν Ἰωάννην παρέμεινε γὰρ αὐτοῖς μέχρι τῶν Τραϊανοῦ χρόνων. III iii 3 Κλήμης, ὁ καὶ ἑωρακὼς τοὺς μακαρίους ἀποστόλους καὶ συμβεβηκὼς αὐτοῖς καὶ ἔτι ἑναυλον τὸ κήρυγμα τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τὴν παράδοσιν πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἔχων· ἔτι γὰρ πολλοὶ ὑπελείποντο τότε ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων δεδογμένοι. III iii 4 ὃν [Πολύκαρπον] καὶ ἡμεῖς ἑωράκαμεν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμῶν ἡλικίᾳ· ἐπιπολὺν γὰρ παρέμεινε, καὶ πάντῃ γηραλέος . . . ἐξῆλθε τοῦ βίου.

The run of the sentences supports this interpretation. Irenaeus did not write ἐρρήθη ἂν διὰ τοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν ἑωρακός. But both the words (δι' ἐκείνου τοῦ κ.τ.λ.) and, as appears if the sentence is read aloud, the order of the words are very emphatic. His mind is concentrated on the seer. The thought of the seer naturally runs on into the next sentence and supplies the unexpressed subject to *ἑωράθη*.

The context supports this interpretation. In the beginning of the chapter (at the close of which the passage under consideration occurs) Irenaeus discusses the reading in Apoc. xiii 18. Is the number of the beast 666 or 616? He upholds the reading 666 on three grounds. He appeals to documentary evidence: it is the reading found 'in all good and ancient copies'. He appeals to what is now called 'intrinsic probability': 'reason teaches us' to expect that the same number *sic* would be repeated in the hundreds, the decades, and the units. Between these two appeals another has a place: 'those very persons bear witness' to this reading 'who had seen John face to face (τῶν κατ' ὄψιν τὸν Ἰωάννην ἑωρακότων)'. The idea of personal knowledge, on which stress is laid when the true reading of the number is under discussion, is again emphasized when the interpretation of the number is being considered. The *ἑωράθη* in the latter context is an echo of the τῶν κατ' ὄψιν τὸν Ἰωάννην ἑωρακότων in the former.

This interpretation is in harmony with the characteristic thought and phraseology of Irenaeus. He habitually dwells on the solidarity of the Church's life. One generation is in close and living touch with its

predecessor. The men of one generation heard from the lips of the men of the previous generation what they themselves had heard and seen. This characteristic thought commonly finds expression in the statement that younger men had *seen* some noteworthy elder of former days. Compare III iii 3 ὁ καὶ ἑωρακὼς τοὺς μακαρίους ἀποστόλους. II iii 4 Πολύκαρπος . . . συναναστραφεῖς πολλοῖς τοῖς τὸν Χριστὸν ἑωρακόσιν . . . ὃν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἑωράκαμεν. IV xxvii 1 'Quemadmodum audivi quodam Presbytero, qui audierat ab his qui Apostolos viderant, et ab his qui didicerant.' V xxx 1 τῶν κατ' ὄψιν τὸν Ἰωάννην ἑωρακότων. The fragment of Irenaeus's letter to Florinus, preserved by Eusebius (*H. E.* v 20), is an instance of the working out of this thought. For the use of the word 'to see' in this connexion note in that Epistle the following phrases:—εἶδον γάρ σε παῖς ἔτι ὢν—τὴν μετὰ Ἰωάννου συναντροφὴν ὡς ἀπήγγελλε [*sc.* ὁ μακάριος Πολύκαρπος] καὶ τὴν μετὰ τῶν ἀπὸ τῶν ἑωρακότων τὸν Κύριον—παρὰ τῶν αὐτοπτῶν τῆς ζωῆς τοῦ Λόγου ἀκριβοῶς ὁ Πολύκαρπος.

Lastly, we must ask the question—On which of the two suppositions is the language of Irenaeus more natural, on the supposition that he is referring to the date of the vision and of the publication of the Book, or on the supposition that he is referring to the time when St John was still alive and still associated with the members of the Church? Now Irenaeus wrote the third book of his great work when Eleutherus was Bishop of Rome (III iii 3), i.e. between 175 A.D. and 190 A.D.; and the fifth book cannot be of an earlier date. Domitian was murdered 96 A.D. Hence if the Apocalypse was 'seen' at 'the close of Domitian's reign', nearly a hundred years had elapsed when Irenaeus wrote his fifth book. Is it natural that, in reference to a vision seen in a book composed nearly a hundred years previously, Irenaeus should have used the expression οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ χρόνου ἀλλὰ σχεδὸν ἐπὶ ἡμετέρας γενεάς? On the other hand, such language is no more than a venial hyperbole if he had in mind the prolongation of St John's life, the interval between whom and himself was spanned by the life of his master, Polycarp of Smyrna. As we learn from the Epistle to Florinus, Irenaeus had a most vivid remembrance of Polycarp as Polycarp had a most vivid remembrance of St John.

But it is time to consider certain objections which may be brought against the interpretation which I am advocating.

It may be said that ἑωράθη naturally refers back to the ἑωρακός of the previous sentence. So the ancient Latin translator undoubtedly understood the words: 'per ipsum utique editum fuisset, qui et Apocalypsin viderat. Neque enim ante multum temporis visum est.' But there is no reason that I know of to suppose that this translator had any knowledge of the facts independent of what he learned from

Irenaeus. His rendering only illustrates what is admitted, viz. that this interpretation is an obvious one. On the other hand it is clear, as I pointed out above, that it is the thought of the writer of the Apocalypse, not of the Apocalypse itself, which is at this point prominent in Irenaeus's mind. The reference to the 'sight' of the Apocalypse is incidental and subordinate; the words τοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν ἐωράκωτος are simply a definition of the ἐκείνου. It seems to me that here Irenaeus is the victim of an experience which most people have found happening to themselves. We use a word and that word is for the time impressed on our mind. In a moment we use it again in a wholly different connexion; and that second use is all the more natural, however awkward and misleading, if the word as we employ it the second time bears a sense which is habitual to us.

Again, it may be said that the passive ἐωράθη is strange. Its strangeness is, I think, only superficial. The passive is obvious enough if Irenaeus wished to speak in general terms and not to stop to explain who 'saw' St John. It has a close parallel, for example, in the fragment of the Apology of Quadratus preserved by Eusebius *H. E.* iv 3 τοῦ δὲ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν τὰ ἔργα αἰεὶ παρῆν· ἀληθὴ γὰρ ἦν· οἱ θεραπευθέντες, οἱ ἀναστάντες ἐκ νεκρῶν, οἱ οὐκ ὤφθησαν μόνον θεραπευόμενοι καὶ ἀνιστάμενοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἰεὶ παρόντες.

Again, it has been suggested to me that, if the meaning were that St John was seen from time to time till down to the last year of Domitian, Irenaeus would have written ἐκείνος γὰρ οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ χρόνου ἐωράτο . . . μέχρι τοῦ τέλους τῆς Δομετιανοῦ ἀρχῆς. With the δι' ἐκείνου of the previous sentence and with the thought of the seer of the Apocalypse so prominently in his mind, I find it impossible to suppose that Irenaeus would have felt it needful to write ἐκείνος γάρ. No doubt Irenaeus might have written ἐωράτο if he had wished to give special emphasis to the thought that St John was seen from time to time or seen continuously. But the aorist is the tense which the historian naturally uses in a general statement as to the past (comp. *Iren.* II xxii 5 παρέμεινε, quoted above). The aorist summarizes: it does not exclude, it includes (though it does emphasize), the thought expressed by the imperfect. Compare, for example, Acts xiii 31 ὃς ὤφθη ἐπὶ ἡμέρας πλείους, and the ὤφθησαν . . . αἰεὶ παρόντες of Quadratus just quoted. It should be noted that the words πρὸς τῷ τέλει τῆς Δομετιανοῦ ἀρχῆς do not stand in immediate connexion with ἐωράθη; they are added to explain ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας γενεᾶς. Further, the Greek preposition πρὸς (the use of which with the dative in a temporal sense is very unusual) does not seem to express quite so sharply as the English preposition 'at' the notion of a point of time.

Lastly, it may be asked, Why does Irenaeus say of St John in one

assage (II xxii 5) παρέμεινε γὰρ αὐτοῖς μέχρι τῶν Τραϊανοῦ χρόνων and were ἐωράθη πρὸς τῷ τέλει τῆς Δομετιανοῦ ἀρχῆς? Obviously the statement that the Apostle 'was seen at the close of Domitian's reign' cannot be considered inconsistent with the statement that 'he continued with the Elders till the times of Trajan'. It may well be that there is an intentional contrast between the phrase παρέμεινεν αὐτοῖς and ἐωράθη. The former appears to me simply to suggest the idea of survival, the latter (as used by Irenaeus) of free intercourse. In his extreme old age, in 'the times of Trajan', it can hardly be but that, though he 'continued with' the Church, St John withdrew from the society of the Christians at Ephesus; he was no longer 'seen'.

I venture to submit to the judgement of scholars the interpretation of the passage of Irenaeus which I have advocated. I believe that there are strong reasons for thinking (1) that Irenaeus does not assign the composition of the Apocalypse to 'the close of Domitian's reign'; (2) that his words imply that the Book was written a considerable time before 'the close of Domitian's reign', i. e. that they implicitly affirm the early date of the Apocalypse.

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PS. I said above that 'the ancient Latin translator undoubtedly understood' the ἐωράθη of Irenaeus to refer back to the ἐωρακότος of the previous sentence, and consequently ἡ ἀποκάλυψις to be the subject of ἐωράθη. On further thought, however, I do not feel so sure of this. The Latin is: 'qui et Apocalypsim viderat. Neque enim ante multum temporis visum est.' Why *visum est*? Why not *visa est*? The translator, especially with τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν before him in the Greek text, could not have been ignorant that *Apocalypsis* is a feminine substantive. Especially when contractions were used, *visus* and *visum* would be easily confused. It appears to me probable that the somewhat strange *visum est* points back to an original *visus est*. The latter words, if they seemed difficult, would easily be corrupted into *visum est*. But whatever the original reading, the Latin translation is not of primary importance.

F. H. E.

HEGESIPPUS AND THE APOCALYPSE.

TESTIMONY from the second century in regard to the date and authorship of the canonical Apocalypse is both scanty and, in some respects, difficult to interpret. It seems worth while therefore to point out that an anonymous passage, which yields evidence that the Apocalypse was written in the closing years of the reign of Domitian, may with some probability be regarded as an extract from the *Hypomnemata* of Hegesippus, and may therefore be dated c. 180. It is the purpose of the present paper to give such proof as may be available of the truth of that statement.

I. By way of preliminary two passages must be exhibited side by side. The first is reproduced, with some omissions, from Eusebius's *Ecclesiastical History* Book III chapters xvii-xx § 5. This I designate by the letter *E*. The second has been edited from the Paris MS 1555 A by J. A. Cramer in his *Anecdota graeca e codd. manuscriptis Bibliothecae Regiae Parisiensis*, Oxford, 1839, ii 88, and from the Bodleian MS, Barocc. 142 by C. de Boor in *Texte und Untersuchungen* v 2 169. I call it *C*, and indicate the four sentences of which it consists by the letters (a) (b) (c) (d). Words which are common to the two are underlined.

E

xvii Πολλὴν γε μὴν εἰς πολλοὺς ἐπιδεικνύμενος ὁ Δομετιανὸς ὁμότητα, οὐκ ὀλίγον τε τῶν ἐπὶ Ῥώμης εὐπατριδῶν τε καὶ ἐπισήμων ἀνδρῶν πλήθος οὐ μετ' εὐλόγου κρίσεως κτείνας, μυρίους τε ἄλλους ἐπιφανεῖς ἀνδρας ταῖς ὑπὲρ τὴν ἐνορίαν ζημιώσας φυγαῖς καὶ ταῖς τῶν οὐσιῶν ἀποβολαῖς ἀναιτίως, τελευτῶν τῆς Νέρωνος θεοεχθρίας τε καὶ θεομαχίας διάδοχον ἑαυτὸν κατεστήσασατο. Δεύτερος δὲ τὰ τὸν καθ' ἡμῶν ἀρεκίνει διωγμὸν, καί περ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῷ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ μηδὲν καθ' ἡμῶν ἄποπον ἐπισησάτω.

xviii 1 Ἐν τούτῳ κατέχει λόγος τὸν ἀπόστολον ἄμα καὶ εὐαγγελιστὴν Ἰωάννην ἐπὶ τῷ βίῳ ἐνδιατρέβοντα, τῆς εἰς τὸν θεὸν λόγον ἔκκευ μαρτυρίας, Πάτμον οὐκ εὖ καταδικασθῆναι τὴν ἡρώων . . .

C

(a) Δομετιανὸς υἱὸς Οὐεσπασιανῶ πολλὰ κακὰ εἰς τοὺς ἐν τέλει Ῥωμαίους ἐνδεικνύμενος

τὴν Νέρωνος νικησας ὁμότητα

δεύτερος κατὰ Χριστιανῶν διωγμὸν ἐποίησεν.

(δ) καθ' ὃν καὶ τὸν ἀπόστολον καὶ εὐαγγελιστὴν Ἰωάννην ἐν Πάτμῳ περιώρισεν.

... Ταῦτα δὲ δηλοῖ κατὰ λέξιν
 ἡ λέγων ὁ Ἡγήσιππος.

1 Ἐτι δὲ περιῆσαν οἱ ἀπὸ
 τοῦ Κυρίου νῆανοι Ἰούδα, τοῦ
ἱρκα λεγομένου αὐτοῦ ἀδελφοῦ
 λατόρευσαν ὡς ἐκ γένους ὄντας

(c) συντυχῶν δὲ Δομετιανὸς τοῖς
νίοις Ἰούδα τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου,

ὅς οἱς μηδὲν αὐτῶν κατεγνώ-
 ὼν Δομετιανόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς
 καταφρονήσαντα, ἐλευθέρους
 οὓς ἀνεῖναι, καταπαῦσαι δὲ διὰ
 ἡμιτοῦ τὸν κατὰ τῆς ἐκκλη-
 σιαστικῆς . . . 7 Ταῦτα μὲν ὁ
 Ἡγέσιππος.

καὶ γνοὺς τὴν ἀρετὴν τῶν ἀνδρῶν

τοῦ καθ' ἡμῶν ἐπαύσατο διωγμοῦ.

(d) Ἀναφέρει δὲ ὁ Ἡγήσιππος καὶ
 τὰ ὀνόματα αὐτῶν, καὶ φησιν ὅτι ὁ
 μὲν ἐκαλεῖτο Ζωκῆρ, ὁ δὲ Ἰάκωβος.
 [Ἰστορεῖ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἀναγκαῖα¹]

Comparison of these two passages clearly proves that there is a connexion between them. But it is manifestly impossible that mere expansion of *C*. May we then suppose that *C* was derived by way of abridgement? This is certainly a possible hypothesis. It appears to me to be improbable for several reasons. In the first place we are informed in *C d* that the names of the grandsons of Jude and James. This fact the writer cannot have learnt from *C* if it is not recorded there—nor indeed in any other extant writing. Eusebius expressly tells us that he bases his statement on the authority of Hegesippus. Now it is *a priori* probable that *C a-c* is immediately derived from the same source as *C d*. And, indeed, this seems to be proved by the very phrase of the epitomizer: Ἀναφέρει δὲ ὁ Ἡγέσιππος καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα αὐτῶν. *C*, then, may fairly be assumed to be derived not on *E*, but on the *Hypomnemata* of Hegesippus. And this work from which, as Eusebius himself says, *E* xx 1-6 is a quotation. Thus we are led to the conclusion that from the *Hypomnemata* *E* and *C* are alike derived as their common source.

This conclusion is confirmed by another consideration. There is a discrepancy in *C* to correspond to *E* xviii 2-4. Now on the supposition that *C* is an epitome of *E* this omission is not easy to explain. For the first part of *E* xviii gives information which is both important and interesting. In §§ 2, 3 evidence is given as to the date of the eclipse; § 4 records the banishment of Flavia Domitilla. Why

¹ In the Oxford MS only.

should such things have been passed over by one who undertook to give a summary, however brief, of *E*? On the other hand, on the theory which is advocated in this paper their absence from *C* is accounted for without difficulty. For §§ 2, 3 are a quotation from Irenaeus; and § 4 is based, as we are told, on τοὺς ἀποθνήσκοντες καὶ ἡμῶς λόγον συγγραφείς. Whatever the latter phrase may mean, it is at least certain that Hegesippus cannot be among the writers whom it includes: and it is abundantly evident from the parallel passage in the *Chronicle*¹ that Bruttius, or Brettius, was the principal, if not the only, authority on whom Eusebius relied for his account of Flavia Domitilla. Thus on the supposition that the writer of *C* had before him not *E*, but the *Hypomnemata* of Hegesippus, it was impossible for him to include in his summary the facts recorded in *E* xviii 2-4.

Assuming then the correctness of our hypothesis as to the relation between *C* and *E*, we can now form a pretty accurate conception of the method of work of the compiler to whom we are indebted for *C*. For *E* xx 1-6 is a quotation, in part direct, in part indirect, from Hegesippus. We have in it, in great measure, the *ipsissima verba* of the passage of which *Cc* is a summary. Comparing the two together we observe, in the first place, that the writer of *C* has much reduced the length of his original: *Cc* contains only twenty-one words, *E* xx 1-5 contains 200. But we notice also that he has been careful to preserve, as far as possible, the phrases of Hegesippus. Of his twenty-one words, eleven are found in *E*. In fact, it would scarcely be untrue to say that he never departs from the words of Hegesippus except for the purpose of abbreviation. Thus συντοχὴν sums up the series of events recounted in *E* xx 1^b—the laying of an information against the sons of Jude, and their appearance before the emperor in charge of the evocatus; while τὴν ἀρετὴν τῶν ἀνδρῶν very fairly describes their hard-working honesty and faith, described in detail in *E* xx 2-4. Now we find that the relation between *Ca, b* and *E* xvii, xviii 1 is similar to that which exists between *Cc* and *E* xx 1-5, though the disparity in length between the passages to be compared is not so marked in the former case as in the latter. In *E* xvii there are seventy-one words; in *Ca* twenty, of which twelve are in *E*. And *E* xviii 1 has twenty-four words, six of which are found among the eleven of which *Cb* consists. Moreover, as indicating anxiety on the part of the writer of *C* to retain the words of his source, we may mention the strange phrase, πολλὰ καὶ εἰς τοὺς . . . Ῥωμαίους ἐνδείξιμος: we can understand it when we remember that *E* has πολλὴν . . . εἰς πολλοὺς ἐπιδεικνύμενος . . . ὁμότητα. As before, most of the words in *C* which are not also found in *E* are briefer equivalents of its phrases.

¹ Ed. Schoene 160, 163. Cf. Lightfoot *Clement of Rome* i 46 ff.

g. κακά, τοὺς ἐν τέλει, νικήσας, περιώρισεν; Χριστιανῶν and ἐποίησεν however are exceptions.

The obvious inference from these facts seems to be that *E* xvii, xviii 1 adheres pretty closely to the phraseology of Hegesippus. And we may, at any rate, feel confident that the expressions which are common to this part of *E* and *C* *a, b* were also used by him. But, if so, we find in *E* xviii 1 ground for believing that Hegesippus testified that John, definitely described by him as the Apostle and Evangelist, was banished to Patmos in the reign of Domitian.

II. If it were possible to leave the matter at this point, a good many of my readers would perhaps concede that the hypothesis here suggested has a reasonable degree of probability. But it now becomes my duty to mention some facts, which, though I do not regard them as destroying the validity of my argument, must be regarded as in some degree mitigating its force.

The passage which I have called *C* is, in the Bodleian manuscript from which C. de Boor extracted it, one of a series extending from f. 212 to f. 216. At the beginning of the series stands this title, Συναγωγή ιστοριῶν διαφόρων ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ σάρκα γεννήσεως τοῦ κυρίου καὶ ἐξῆς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχουσα ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου λόγου τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱστορίας Εὐσεβίου τοῦ Παμφίλου. At the end is the note, ἕως τούτων ἱστορεῖ ὁ Εὐσέβιος. It is thus clearly intimated that the whole series of passages is a collection of excerpts from Eusebius's *Ecclesiastical History*. Moreover, the passages are arranged in groups, each group having a heading indicating the book of the *History* from which the excerpts in it are taken.¹

Now it appears that these notes so far agree with the phenomena of the passages to which they refer, that the large majority of them have a manifest connexion with the text of Eusebius, if they cannot in all cases be reckoned as summaries of it. It may be asked, Does not all this directly contradict the theory that *C* is an excerpt not from Eusebius, but from the source which Eusebius used? And, that being so, is not the theory untenable?

Several considerations forbid us to give with confidence an affirmative answer to this question. For it must be remarked that the notes to which our attention is directed are not in complete accordance with the facts. Several of the passages in the MS are not, as they stand, mere epitomes of Eusebius. There is, for example, a reference to Nestorius, in connexion with Paul of Samosata. There is also a citation from St Chrysostom. And there is a passage about the later kings of the Jews which could not have been compiled from Eusebius alone. And besides these there are seven pieces, the earlier part of each of which may be a summary of a passage in Eusebius, while the latter part

¹ C. de Boor in *Zeitsch. f. Kirchengesch.* vi 486, *Texte u. Untersuch.* v 2 168.

is certainly taken from the writer whom Eusebius happened to be using at the moment—Papias, Hegesippus, Origen, or Pierius—but from a passage which he does not quote¹. Since the notes in the Bodleian MS are not strictly accurate, it is legitimate to enquire with regard to each of these seven, whether the compiler has been content to follow Eusebius as far as he went, or whether he did not resort in each case for the whole of his summary, and not only for its closing sentences, to Eusebius's source.

But, further, these notes are peculiar to the manuscript used by C. de Boor. We have therefore no right to assume that they were in the collection of excerpts from which both it and Cramer's Paris MS were ultimately derived. It is at least conceivable that they are due to an editorially-minded scribe—the writer of the Oxford MS, or of an exemplar from which it is descended. In that case they have no more authority as a description of the procedure of the original compiler, though they doubtless agree more closely with the facts, than the note which appears in the Paris copy as the title of the series, *Εἰσταθίον Ἐπιφανέως Συρίας ἐπιτομή τῆς ἀρχαιολογίας Ἰωσήπου*.

But whatever weight the objections drawn from the notes in the Oxford MS. may seem to have against the argument with which it and its companion manuscript at Paris supply us, our original conclusion may be reached by an entirely different process of reasoning which they do not affect. This I shall now proceed to shew.

III. In passing from the tenth to the eleventh chapter of the third book of the *Ecclesiastical History* we experience one of those jolts to which readers of Eusebius soon became accustomed. Chapters v-x have dealt with the siege of Jerusalem and its historian Josephus, and they have been entirely based on his writings. Chapters xi-xxiii are a fairly consecutive narrative, dealing for the most part with the history of the Christian Church, and covering the period from Vespasian to Trajan. Eusebius leaves the impression that for it he has had recourse to many authorities, from one to another of which he passes rapidly. I shall here set out a table of the contents of chapters xi-xx, stating under each head the authority which Eusebius professes to have consulted. In doing so, however, I omit the records of the successions of emperors and bishops which, according to his wont, he inserts here and there in his narrative.

¹ *Texte u. Untersuch.* v 2 168 ff. One of these passages is, of course, that with which we are immediately concerned. At least one of the others occurs also in the Paris MS, but without the passage of Eusebius (*H. E.* iii 25) which precedes it in the Oxford MS. In the Paris MS it immediately follows our extract from Hegesippus. See Cramer ii 88.

- chap. xi. The election of Symeon as bishop of Jerusalem. Introduced with the phrase λόγος κατέχει. An incidental remark at the end is covered by the words Ἡγήσιππος ιστορεῖ.
- chap. xii. Vespasian's proceedings against the descendants of David. An indirect quotation depending either on λόγος κατέχει or Ἡγήσιππος ιστορεῖ in the previous chapter.
- chap. xvi. Digression on the Epistle of Clement. For the disturbance at Corinth which gave occasion to it reference is made to Hegesippus.
- chap. xvii. The persecution of Domitian. No authority given.
- chap. xviii. § 1. St John's banishment: κατέχει λόγος.
 § 2. The date of the Apocalypse: Irenaeus.
 § 4. The banishment of Flavia Domitilla: οἱ ἀποθεν τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς λόγον συγγραφείς.
- chap. xix. Summary account of Domitian's proceedings against the grandsons of Jude: παλαιὸς κατέχει λόγος.
- chap. xx. § 1. More detailed account of the same: Hegesippus.
 § 7. General account of Domitian's reign: Tertullian.
 § 8. Nerva's reversal of Domitian's policy: ιστοροῦσιν οἱ γραφῇ τὰ κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους παραδόντες.
 § 9. Return of St John to Ephesus: ὁ τῶν παρ' ἡμῶν ἀρχαίων παραδίδωσι λόγος.

An examination of this table reveals the fact that in chapters xi-xx Hegesippus is indicated as Eusebius's authority three or four times, while statements are introduced by the formula λόγος κατέχει or its equivalent five or four times. And the phrase λόγος κατέχει in Eusebius seems everywhere to imply a written document.¹ It seems natural to assume that throughout the narrative which we are considering, it always refers to the same authoritative writing. But indeed this way of stating the theory exaggerates the amount of assumption which it involves. For it is, I believe, quite certain that chapters xi, xii, and xix are all founded on passages in the *Hypomnemata*. Chapter xi gives the Hegesippean date for the martyrdom of St James the Just, though when Eusebius expresses his own opinion he prefers the earlier date given by Josephus; and its opening words, μετὰ τὴν Ἰακώβου μαρτυρίαν, are clearly a paraphrase of μετὰ τὸ μαρτυρῆσαι Ἰάκωβον in the Hegesippean passage in *H. E.* IV xxii 4, a passage to which it displays other manifest tokens of relation.² But if chapter xi is a paraphrase of

¹ For proof I must be content to refer to *Hermathena* xxvi (1900) 16 f. Cf. Lightfoot *Ignatius* i 58, 238.

² Cf. *Hermathena* l. c. Zahn *Forsch. zur Gesch. des NTlichen Kanons* vi 238.

Hegesippus, so is also chapter xii, whether it depends grammatically on λόγος κατέχει or on Ἡγήσεως ἱστορίαι. And it is beyond question that chapter xix is a paraphrase of part of the passage which is actually quoted in chapter xx and is there stated to be from Hegesippus. Thus in two (or three) out of the four (or five) cases in which the authority is indicated by the words λόγος κατέχει, the identity of the work referred to is indubitable. And further, few will read together chapter xviii § 1 and chapter xx § 9 without being convinced that they are based on a single document. It would be arbitrary in the extreme to postulate one source for the statement that St John went to Patmos, and another for the statement that he left it. There is a minimum of assumption in the further inference that that document is the same as that from which Eusebius drew his information in the two (or three) cases previously mentioned, or in other words, that it also is the *Hypomnemata* of Hegesippus. The assumption is made, if possible, less formidable when we observe that elsewhere in his third book Eusebius uses the formula κατέχει λόγος for the *Hypomnemata*. In chapter xxxii §§ 1, 2 he writes, Μετὰ Νέρωνα καὶ Δομετιανόν, κατὰ τοῦτον οὗ τῶν χρόνων ἐξετάζομεν, μερικῶς καὶ κατὰ πάλαις ἐξ ἐπαναστάσεως δῆμων τὸν κατ' ἡμῶν κατέχει λόγος ἀνακινηθῆναι διωγμόν, ἐν ᾧ Συμεῶνα . . . μαρτυρίῳ τὸν βίον ἀναλῦσαι παρειλήφαμεν. καὶ τοῦτον μάρτυς αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος . . . Ἡγήσιππος. And then he proceeds to paraphrase the account of the martyrdom of Symeon which he quotes verbatim in § 6 of the same chapter.

Eusebius gives us no hint as to the source from which he borrowed his general account of the reign of Domitian in chapter xvii. But its closing words fit in most appropriately with chapter xii. Vespasian, says Eusebius in chapter xii, attempted to extirpate the house of David, and in consequence *the Jews* were persecuted. The very same policy, he says in chapter xvii, led Domitian further than his father had gone: he persecuted *the Christians*. The antithesis may appear to suggest that these two chapters were founded on passages which lay not far apart in the same treatise. But chapter xii certainly, as we have seen, came ultimately from Hegesippus. And it will be remembered that Hegesippus was in the mind of Eusebius, if the *Hypomnemata* were not actually open before him, when he began to write chapter xvii. For chapter xvi ends with a reference to that work. And finally it may be added, by way of confirmation, that Rufinus believed that chapter xvii was a quotation from Hegesippus. For he renders the closing sentence of chapter xvi thus: 'Verum de seditione facta apud Corinthios ac dissensione plebis testis valde fidelis Hegesippus indicat, *hoc modo dicens*.' Rufinus, it is of course admitted, was mistaken in supposing that the sentences which follow make any allusion to the affairs of the Church of Corinth.

Let us assume, then, that all the passages of Eus. *H. E.* III xi-xxi which we have examined were taken from the *Hypomnemata*. On that hypothesis we find ourselves able to give a reasonable account of the construction of this part of the *Ecclesiastical History*. Eusebius acted, it would seem, exactly as we might expect that a historian would act whose design was to give a narrative of a series of events, which should practically consist of extracts from earlier writers. He took as his basis Hegesippus, who gave the fullest account known to him of the history of the Church during the period with which he was concerned. And here and there he added to his Hegesippean narrative illustrations from other authorities—Irenaeus, Tertullian, Brettius, and the rest.

Thus by a completely different path we have arrived once more at our former conclusion, that Eusebius drew from Hegesippus the statement of chapter xviii that the Apostle St John was banished under Domitian to Patmos; and we have extended it by tracing to the same source the further statement in chapter xx that the Apostle returned to Ephesus in the reign of Nerva. These two statements, taken together, imply that Hegesippus, if he was indeed their author, believed in the late date and Apostolic authorship of the Apocalypse.

IV. I have ventured to print the foregoing argument, not because I believe it to be incontrovertible, though I confess that the more I consider it the more I am inclined to regard it as correct, but because the conclusion to which it tends, seems, if true, to be of considerable importance.

It is not only that, if the conclusion be accepted, Hegesippus is the earliest known witness to the banishment of St John to Patmos in the reign of Domitian, and his subsequent return to Ephesus. That we can certainly claim for him. Clement of Alexandria, who speaks of the exile in Patmos, died no earlier than between 212 and 217¹; Irenaeus, who affirms that 'John the disciple of the Lord' resided in his later years in Asia, first comes into notice in the year 177 when he became bishop of Lyons.² But Hegesippus, who wrote his *Hypomnemata* under Pope Eleutherus (c. 180), seems to have already held a prominent position in the Church when in the time of Anicetus or earlier (c. 150, Harnack) he journeyed to Rome.³ He may have been only a few years younger than Papias of Hierapolis.⁴

But the importance of the testimony of Hegesippus seems to lie rather in another direction. A fragment attributed to Papias, which is extant in two MSS, contains the assertion that St John the Apostle was put to death by Jews. If this is true 'it disposes of the Apostolic

¹ Harnack *Chronologie* ii 6.

² Eus. *H. E.* v 4 f.

³ Eus. *H. E.* iv 22.

⁴ Harnack, *op. cit.* i 357 dates the *Εξηγήσεις* of Papias c. 145 x 160. Others however put his *floruit* much earlier, e.g. Sanday *Criticism of the Fourth Gospel* 250 f.

authorship of the Apocalypse'.¹ And the testimony of Papias has great weight. If the Apostle was martyred by Jews, he cannot have spent the closing years of his life at Ephesus. And if he lived at Ephesus, the bishop of Hierapolis cannot have been ignorant of the fact. But, on the other hand, Hegesippus, if he was not, as Eusebius supposed, a convert from Judaism,² was yet obviously in close touch with Palestinian Christianity. It is very difficult to believe that if St John had suffered martyrdom in Palestine he would not have been aware of it. And if he had heard the story and gave credence to it he could not have stated that the Apostle was sent to Patmos by Domitian, and lived at Ephesus under Nerva.

H. J. LAWLOR.

FOUR NOTES ON THE BOOK OF ENOCH.

THE four Notes which follow have been suggested by a perusal of Dr R. H. Charles's admirable edition of the Ethiopic text, together with the Greek fragments (Clarendon Press, 1906).

1. *On the name of the Angel Semiasas.*

The Book of Enoch treats of the Watchers, i. e. the heavenly beings sent down to earth to watch over Adam's descendants. It tells us how the Watchers became enamoured of the daughters of men, and thereby brought all sorts of evils upon the earth. The Chief or Archon of these watchers is called *Semiasas* (Σεμιαζᾶς).

This very peculiar name is quite different from that of all the other angels, good and bad, mentioned in the Book of Enoch. These are almost all formed after the analogy of Michael and Gabriel, and no doubt a good many of them were invented by the author of Enoch. *Semiasas* is so different that we cannot suppose the name to have been invented by him: it must belong to an older stratum of legend.

As a matter of fact the Semitic original has been preserved, e. g. in the 'Jerusalem' Targum to Gen. vi 4. There we read that Shamhazai (שמחזאי) and 'Uziél (עזיאל) were those who fell from heaven, i. e. they were the Nephilim. It has long been recognized that Σεμιαζᾶς is the Greek equivalent of Shamhazai, and that the angel Azazel (Ἀζαζήλ), the only other one of the evil angels who is characterized in the Book of Enoch, corresponds to 'Uziél. Very likely Azazel may be an early vocalization.

¹ H. B. Swete *Apocalypse* clxxvi.

² H. E. iv 22.

But the puzzle is only half solved when we have recognized that Σεμαζās represents שמחזאי. What is the origin of this שמחזאי? It is a somewhat queer combination of sounds. As I have already pointed out, it does not appear to be due to the inventiveness of the author of 'Enoch', for it is not in his style for angels' names. And the presence of the ח makes it clear that it is of Semitic derivation. It is therefore a compound which ought to carry the marks of its origin on the surface.

It has occurred to me that it may have come from a misreading of a glossed copy of the Hebrew text of Gen. vi 4, 5, in which וירא (ver. 5) had the Aramaic gloss חזא written over it, thus:—

חזא
המה הנברים אשר מעולם אנשי השם וירא יהוה

It seems possible that this might have been written in such a way that the gloss 'חזא, i. e. 'Jahwe saw,' might appear to have been really part of the last word of the preceding verse, and that the translation was 'They were the giants who were of old, the men of Shamhẓāi.' Of course this theory does not take direct account of the article which stands before שם in the Massoretic text. But if the origin of the name is to be found in a misread gloss, we are dealing with a mistake, and the makers of mistakes must be more or less inconsistent. And such a series of letters as שמחזאי could hardly be regarded as a proper name except by a mistake.

2. 'Spirits of Souls,' Enoch xxii 3.

Throughout 'Enoch' the 'soul' (ψυχή) is the total personality, with a 'spirit' (πνεῦμα) belonging to it, which 'spirit' is separated from the person's body at death, and shut up till the day of judgement in the hollow gorges (κοιλώματα) prepared for the spirits of the dead.

This use of 'soul' is of course to be found in the Old Testament, e.g. 'the soul that sinneth, it shall die.' But it is worth while to note that it seems to have survived longer in Egypt than elsewhere (*J. T. S.* ii 273 f, iv 585-587).

It is doubtless through the influence of the more ordinary phraseology of the Song of the Three Children that the Syncellus in Enoch ix 3 has twice τὰ πνεύματα καὶ αἱ ψυχαὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, where the Gizeh MS and the Ethiopic have only αἱ ψυχαὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων. In Enoch xxii 5, as Dr Charles points out, we must read τεθέσμαι πνεῦμα [ἀνθρώπου] νεκροῦ ἐντυγχάνοντος, instead of τεθ. ἀνθρώπους νεκροὺς ἐντυγχάνοντος (*sic*) of the transmitted text. No doubt some transcriber had a difficulty in supposing Enoch to see the πνεῦμα of Abel.

More curious still is Enoch xvi 1, where after the Giants are slain in the flesh we read of their 'spirits' going forth 'from the soul of

their flesh" (ἐκ τῆς σαρκὸς τῆς σπαικὲς αἰῶνος), i.e. going forth, as I suppose, from their expiring but still breathing bodies.

3. *Enoch xii 9 ff.*

On τῶς in this verse Dr Charles remarks "Corrupt. We expect *τίσιν*". I should like to suggest that τῶς is right, but that καὶ αἶμα, which occurs several times below (vv. 9^b, 12, 12, 13), is in each case a corruption of καὶ αἶμα. The cause of this corruption, or rather mistaken emendation of some early scribe of Enoch, is the same misapprehension that called forth Dr Charles's remark, viz. that *respiro* is καὶ 9 is not used in contrast to "living men", but in contrast to *dead*. The three dark valleys are set apart for the dead, but the one light valley with its spring of water is set apart for the departed righteous, who are apparently not regarded as really dead, though their *psuchai* are separated from their bodies. Thus the Book of Enoch supports the view set forth in the answer of our Lord to the Sadducees (Mk. xii 26 f and parallels).

The general tenor of Enoch xii 13 seems to me to suggest that the third valley is set apart for the indifferent. Of those for whom it is set apart the Gizeh MS, which is here practically supported by the Ethiopic, says—

καὶ οὗτοι (leg. καὶ οὗτοι, α. ὁ τίτος) ἐκλήθη τῶς πνεύμασιν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, οὗτοι οὐκ εἰσὶν αἱ ἄλλαι ἀλλὰ ἀμυγδαλαί, οὗτοι ἀρεταῖς καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰσὶν αἱ μέτοχοι.

This is in any case very confused, and the confusion may go back to the translator himself. Possibly he may have read *ἐκ* (= ἀλλά), where the original had *ἐκ* (= οὐδέ). In any case I cannot help conjecturing that the original author meant to say that the spirits in this place were those of men who were neither holy nor (actually) sinners, but that they had on the whole sided with the impious. Therefore they will be left in indifference at the Day of Judgement: they will receive no further punishment, but they will be left in the dark valley. This at least seems to be the meaning of the words which follow: οὐ τιμωρηθήσονται ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τῆς κρίσεως, οὐδὲ μὴ μεταγερθῶσιν ἐνταῦθα.

4. *On the Ethiopic for 'the Son of Man'.*

As is well known, the middle section of our Book of Enoch, comprising chapters xxxvii-lxx, speaks also of the Messiah as the Son of Man, in imagery which is ultimately derived from Dan. vii 13. Unfortunately nothing of this part of the Book of Enoch is extant in Greek, and we are entirely dependent on the Ethiopic. There can, however, be very little doubt that the 'Son of Man' was represented in the Greek by *υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου* as in Dan. vii 13, Apoc. i 13, xiv 14, or by *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ*

ἄνθρωπον as in the Gospels. In the Ethiopic we find three terms, *walda sab'ē*, *walda bē'ēsī*, and *walda 'ēguāla 'ēmaḥayāw*. Of these words, *walda* means 'son of' (or, 'the son of'); *sab'ē* means 'hominis', *bē'ēsī* means 'uiri' and *'ēguāla 'ēmaḥayāw* means literally 'the offspring of the mother of the living', an odd phrase which is regularly used in Ethiopic for 'mortal man'. *Walda 'ēguāla 'ēmaḥayāw* is the constant equivalent for ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου in the New Testament, at least in the printed texts, so that we are not surprised to find it in the Book of Enoch.

The actual occurrences of the three terms are as follows:—

Walda 'ē. 'ē. occurs lxii 7, 9, 14; lxiii 11; lxix 26, 27; lxx 1.

Walda sab'ē „ xlvi 2, 3, 4, xlviii 2.

Walda bē'ēsī „ lxii 5; lxix 29^a, 29^b.

The second term, *walda sab'ē*, exactly corresponds to 'filius hominis', and it might be regarded as the natural equivalent. But as a matter of fact it does not appear to be much used elsewhere. The third term is curious, and my chief object in writing this note is to point out its bearing upon the date of the translation of the Book of Enoch into Ethiopic. Later scribes found a difficulty in it, and so the inferior MSS tend to read *walda bē'ēsī*, i. e. 'son of woman.' I venture to suggest that *walda bē'ēsī* was used by the translator of Enoch for ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου because it was already a current expression in Ethiopic for 'the Son of Man', and that it was a current expression because it is a literal translation of the strange Syriac term ܐܕܡܐ ܕܢܚܝܐ (i. e. filius uiri), which is used occasionally to render 'Son of Man' in the earliest Syriac Gospel texts.

What the Syriac-speaking Christians who introduced or used this term understood by it is quite uncertain, but its use is characteristic of the earliest stratum of Syriac literature now surviving. The earliest text of the Gospel in Ethiopic seems to have been a translation from the Syriac, and I venture to claim the very existence of the phrase *walda bē'ēsī* as an indication that this Syriac original must have been of a pre-Rabbulan, pre-Vulgate type. This earliest Ethiopic text of the Gospel must have been still familiar to the translator of Enoch: the Ethiopic translation of Enoch must therefore date from a very early period, probably from the period of the earliest translations from Greek into Ethiopic.

F. C. BURKITT.

ST MARK'S WITNESS TO THE VIRGIN BIRTH.

ST MARK'S Gospel is so commonly felt to be a difficulty rather than a help to the doctrine of the Virgin Birth that it may be worth while studying its witness.

I. The first difficulty usually urged against the doctrine is that St Mark lacks the Matthean Birth-document. To urge this is to use the 'argument from silence'; which may or may not be valid.

But (a) The Gospel represents the mind of St Peter. Antecedent probabilities are strongly against supposing that the apostle who made the most public profession of faith in the Divine Sonship did not accept the Virgin Birth. It may be argued, however, that this profession of faith quoted in St Matthew's Gospel is not from St Matthew's pen.

Still (b) No great weight could be set upon the silence of the Petrine Gospel, were it indeed silent. For the Marcan Gospel is the preaching of Peter. It is essentially a *εὐαγγέλιον*, i. e. a message, a witness, an eye and ear witness. St Mark alone calls his work a *εὐαγγέλιον*. Neither St Luke nor St John ever uses the word. And the first Gospel which does use the word four times, is entitled 'The Book of the Generation of Jesus Christ'. St Mark's Gospel is essentially the 'witness' of St Peter. It is his formal evidence. It is what he saw, and heard, and preached. There is scarcely a word or an incident in the Gospel that St Peter had not personally heard or seen. He could therefore appeal to it as evidence. It was of apologetic value.

Hence he begins with the preaching of the Baptist whom he had heard and seen. But, he had been nowise a witness of the Virgin Birth. Nor was it of any apologetic value. To preach it was to increase rather than lessen the difficulties of faith. It was otherwise with the Resurrection. Of that great miracle he had been in a special way the witness. Moreover it was of supreme apologetic worth. Thus it formed the master-theme of the apostolic preaching. On antecedent grounds, then, no argument could be drawn from the supposed silence of St Mark. But

II. St Mark's witness to the Virgin Birth is by no means to be overlooked. If it is not the thesis of the Gospel, it is not denied by the thesis. The argument naturally falls into subdivisions.

(a) Not once does St Mark call Jesus the son of Joseph. In vi 3 He is called *ὁ υἱὸς τῆς Μαρίας* (Mt. xiii 55 *ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ λέγεται Μαρὰμ*) where St Luke has (iv 22) *οὐχὶ υἱὸς ἐστὶν Ἰωσήφ οὗτος*; and St John vi 42 *Ἰησοῦς ὁ υἱὸς Ἰωσήφ*.

This is somewhat more striking if we recall that St Mark has a fondness for giving the parentage of those who appear prominently in his Gospel. He alone gives (x 47) 'the son of Timaeus'.

(b) If St Mark nowhere calls Jesus Christ the son of Joseph he insists on the fact that Jesus Christ is the 'Son of God'. Indeed, it is doubtful whether this could not be looked upon as the thesis of his Gospel. And indeed it might well be, if St Peter's profession of faith is kept in mind. The references to the Son of God are very striking.

i 1 ἀρχὴ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ υἱοῦ Θεοῦ. B and D support this reading; N omits it.

i 11 'Thou art My beloved Son'. [This is the first mention of the parentage of Jesus Christ. It should be compared with St Peter's profession of faith, especially with Mt. xvi 17 'Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-jona, for flesh and blood hath not revealed it to thee, but my Father'. Moreover, St Mark displaces the chronology in order to begin with this striking saying.]

iii 11 'And unclean spirits, when they saw Him, fell down before Him, and cried, saying, Thou art the Son of God'.

v 7 The unclean spirit 'cried out with a loud voice, What have I to do with thee, Jesus Son of the most high God?'

ix 7 'And a voice came out of the cloud, saying, THIS IS MY BELOVED SON, HEAR HIM'. [It should be compared with 2 Pet. i 17 'This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; hear ye Him'. 18 'And this voice we heard brought from heaven when we were with Him on the holy mount'.]

xiv 61 'Art thou the Christ, the υἱὸς τοῦ εὐλογητοῦ?'

xv 39 'The centurion . . . said . . . Truly this man was the Son of God'.

(c) Confirmatory evidence may be found in the parable of the master of the vineyard, which is found in the Synoptists. St Mark's account seems the earliest. Mk. xii 6 'Having yet therefore one son, His well-beloved' (ἔτι ἓνα εἶχεν, υἱὸν ἀγαπητόν). St Mark alone gives ἓνα.

All three Synoptists agree that it was this parable that goaded the chief priests and pharisees to seek to lay hands on Him.

Another confirmation is from Mk. xiii 32 'But of that day and that hour knoweth no man; no, not the angels which are in heaven; neither the Son, but the Father'.

(d) There are fourteen texts in which Jesus Christ is called the *Son of Man*.

(e) There are four texts in which He is called the *Son of David*.

III. St Peter, from whom the Gospel of St Mark draws its information, either believed that Jesus Christ was the son of Joseph or he did

not believe. If he believed, it is almost inconceivable that he should never call Him by His father's name, especially when it was the custom of the country to do so. It becomes still more inconceivable when we remark that he uses the phrase 'Son of God' seven times, 'Son of Man' fourteen times, and 'Son of David' four times.

But if he held that Jesus Christ was not the Son of Joseph, but the Son of God, although the Son of Mary, the whole of his witness becomes clear.

VINCENT McNABB.

1 PETER v 9.

ᾧ ἀντίστητε στερεοὶ τῇ πίστει, εἰδότες τὰ αὐτὰ τῶν παθημάτων τῇ ἐν κόσμῳ ὑμῶν ἀδελφότητι ἐπιτελείσθαι.—R.V. text.

Whom resist steadfast in the faith, knowing that the same afflictions are accomplished in your brethren that are in the world.—A.V.

Whom withstand steadfast in your faith, knowing that the same sufferings are accomplished in your brethren who are in the world.—R.V.

If I venture to question the correctness of our English versions, I must shelter myself in the first instance behind the authority of Dr Bigg, who writes:—'Almost every word of this rendering is open to serious objection. εἰδὼς followed by an infinitive means "knowing how" to do a thing; cf. Luke xii 56, Phil. iv 12, Krüger's *Greek Grammar* lvi 7, 9; Blass, p. 227. "Knowing that" is εἰδὼς ὅτι.'

But besides the grammatical objection, there is an even more serious moral one. Surely it is far too low a note for St Peter to end his great Epistle on—'You are not alone in your sufferings; all Christians have the same burden to bear.' It was just the amount of consolation which Buddha gave to his disciples, according to the well-known story. To the young mother whose child had died he said, 'Get me a handful of mustard seed from a house where no son, husband, parent, or slave has died.' And so she learns that suffering is the common lot, and extracts from the knowledge such comfort as she can. But is this all that Christianity has to teach us?

'That loss is common would not make

My own less bitter, rather more:

Too common! Never morning wore

To evening, but some heart did break.'

And we too have felt how 'common is the commonplace' when we have tried to draw upon it for the consolation of ourselves or others. To suppose that St Peter would inflict it on us as the climax of his

Epistle of Hope, is to suppose that Christ has no better remedy than Buddha for the sorrows of the world.

But the case is not much improved if we adopt Dr Bigg's own rendering, which he adopts from Hofman: 'Knowing how to pay the same tax of suffering as your brethren in the world.' Admitting that the words might possibly mean this, is it likely that *ἐπιτελεῖν*, which occurs some thirty times in the LXX, and in ten other places in the N.T., always in the sense of 'finish' or 'accomplish', should have such a far-fetched meaning here?

Does not the whole difficulty arise from not seeing that *ἐπιτελεῖσθαι* may be middle and transitive, instead of passive? Lightfoot's note on Gal. iii 3 runs as follows:—'*ἐπιτελεῖσθε* is perhaps the middle voice rather than the passive, as in Clem. Rom. § 55 *πολλὰι γυναῖκες ἐδυναμωθεῖσαι . . . ἐπετέλεσαντο πολλὰ ἀνδρείαα*, and frequently in classical writers, e.g. Plato, *Phil.* 27 c *κάλλιον ἂν καὶ τὴν κρίσιν ἐπιτελεσαίμεθα*. A comparison of the parallel passages 2 Cor. viii 6, Phil. i 6, seems to point to a transitive verb.' It is true that Lightfoot adds, 'On the other hand, the middle voice is not found elsewhere in the LXX or N.T.,' but perhaps he had not considered this passage which is the only other place in the N.T. where the form is other than active. If his interpretation of the verse in Galatians is correct, the two passages would support each other.

Lightfoot also says that *ἐπιτελεῖν* is used of religious ceremonials, and it is possible that the idea of a sacrifice may underlie its use in Galatians (referring to Herod. ii 63; iv 186). May not that also be the case here?

Thus the whole verse would run: 'Whom withstand steadfast in your faith (or the faith), knowing how to bring to (sacrificial) perfection, for (the benefit of) your (whole) brotherhood which is in the world, the same things in the way of sufferings (as they bear).' The underlying thought is the same as that of Col. i 24.

The reason why the verb is middle instead of active is probably that the active belongs to God; *ὁ ἐναρξάμενος . . . ἐπιτελέσει* (Phil. i 6). He is the only true Agent in our salvation; we are only agents in a secondary sense, *perfecting in ourselves* that which He perfects.¹

With this agrees the emphasis laid on the Divine power in the next two verses, which are practically the conclusion of the Epistle. 'Looking over the whole field, our suffering is small in proportion to its effect—which is Restoration, Security, Strength—for Eternity.'² There is no

¹ Are there not other cases where the recognition that the middle may have an active sense would relieve us of a difficulty? e.g. 2 Cor. iii 14 (*ἀνακαλυπτόμενον*). In 2 Cor. iii 16 *περαιρεῖται* is almost certainly transitive as in Ex. xxxiv 34 LXX. See Winer iii 38. 6.

² Archbishop Benson *Christ and His Times* p. 214.

note here or anywhere else in the Epistle of suffering as a thing to be endured because it cannot be cured, while we find our consolation in the sufferings of our brethren. Rather the whole teaching of the Epistle is that which a Christian poet has learnt from it:—

‘Grief should be
Like joy, majestic, equable, sedate;
Confirming, cleansing, raising, making free;
Strong to consume small troubles; to commend
Great thoughts, grave thoughts, thoughts lasting to the end.’

E. F. BROWN.

IN MEMORIAM IOANNIS MILLII, S.T.P.

‘The evil that men do lives after them;
The good is oft interred with their bones.’

No truer word, it seems to me, can be found to describe the lifework of the man in whose memory the following lines are written, and its fate during the last two centuries.

The designation ‘Mill’s Text’ is still used, though in the latest impressions of the Clarendon Press editions two notes have been inserted to the effect that Mill himself testified that he had only repeated the text of Stephen’s third edition of the year 1550—‘the evil that men do lives after them’; and the glory of his work, the Prolegomena, and the apparatus are forgotten:—‘the good is oft interred with their bones.’

They have been reprinted once, it is true, at Amsterdam in the year 1710, but never since; and nobody, as far as I know, has ever made the attempt to extract from them what would be really ‘Mill’s text’, those readings of the New Testament which he explicitly recognized as the true and genuine readings.

Not even in Sunday’s *Appendix ad Novum Testamentum Stephanianum iam inde a Millii temporibus Oxoniensium manibus tritum* have those readings been marked, which Mill considered genuine. I may quote as an example of these readings the omission of ὁ βασιλεὺς in Mt. i 6. Mill knew but one Greek MS which supported this omission (71 according to our designation); and yet he declared this the true reading (prol. 1245; 1471, pp. cxxviii, clxi), while Bengel and Wetstein each found a different reason for defending the traditional reading. As far as I am aware, Lachmann was the first to remove it from the text. To-day all critical editions agree with Mill’s judgement, which is supported by the

latest discoveries, the Syriac version from Mount Sinai and the Greek fragment from Oxyrhynchus.

Scrivener (Introd. ii 203) mentions thirty passages (not 'thirty-one', as Gregory counts: for John xiii 30-31 is one variant, as rightly marked by Scrivener), in which Mill's Text does not coincide with Stephen's of 1550. Most of them will be found set out in Hoskier's Collations. The number would amount to more than thirty, if we included *minutiae* like *αἰτοῦ* and *αἰτοῦ* Mt. ii 11; v 2, 22; *παμᾶ* and *Παμᾶ* ii 18; *ἀλλά* for *ἀλλ'* viii 4; and wrong spellings like *μεριμνᾶτε* vi 25.

But it would be waste of time to collate once more either Mill with Stephen or the repetitions of the so-called Mill with the impression of 1707. I know but one jubilee worthy of the man: *not to print this text any more*; to inter the evil and to revive the good that he has done; to study his Prolegomena. I may be allowed to mention just one point. It was quite a new discovery to me, when I noticed, that each one of the Gospels in the Latin Vulgate was due to a different translator. For from this it seemed to follow, that these translations go back to the most ancient times of the Western church, when the fourfold Gospel had not yet taken such a hold that it was written in one roll or codex: for in that case probably all four Gospels would have been translated by the same hand. It followed further, that the Gospels of the Vulgate must rather range with the so-called *Itala*, the various forms of the Old-Latin being themselves but one form of it, slightly revised by Jerome, while modern criticism of the text of the New Testament is inclined highly to value the 'Old-Latin', and to slight the 'Vulgate'. It was a great surprise to me when I turned to Mill to find that he had made both these observations: that the Gospels were due to different translators (a statement based with him partially on the very same examples which had attracted my attention), and that they were to range with the Old-Latin in value. In some passages the Vulgate Gospels offer even a purer text than some of the 'Old-Latin' witnesses; compare, for instance, Mt. xx 22, 23, where the addition about the baptism is found in the 'Old-Latin' MSS *f*, *h*, *q*, but not in a single MS of the 'Vulgate'. But this by the bye.

'Mar. 25, 1707' is the date under the Vice-Chancellor Guil. Lancaster's *Imprimatur* for Mill's edition. A fortnight after its publication, it is said, he died, on the 23rd of June. Whether he was amicable or not as a man I do not know. *Seine Unpopularität als Mensch geht uns hier nichts an*, says Gregory (Prot. Real-Enc. xiii 73), but what the same critic says remains true: His edition was the first really great edition of the Greek Testament, and holds up to the present day a noble and commanding position.

EB. NESTLE.

REVIEWS

THE LOST SOURCE OF OUR LORD'S SAYINGS.

Sprüche und Reden Jesu, Die zweite Quelle des Matthäus und Lukas,
von ADOLF HARNACK. (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1907.)

IN Dr Abbott's charming book *Silanus the Christian* we are shewn a glimpse of Justin Martyr coming away cross and flustered from a dispute with some Jews about Isaiah vii 14. It is of course an undignified state of mind for a Christian and a Philosopher, but I am sure all our sympathies go out to him, when we are told in the next paragraph that he had committed himself in writing upon the subject in dispute and that there was nothing for him but to retract or face it out. My own sympathies are especially vivid, for I find myself in St Justin's place. I cannot but remember, when I attempt to review Dr Harnack's *Sprüche und Reden Jesu*, that I have already committed myself to the doctrine that it is hazardous to attempt to reconstruct the lost common Source of Matthew and Luke. Dr Harnack's book is a most courageous attempt to reconstruct this Source; it would be unseemly, therefore, not to warn the readers of this JOURNAL beforehand that I dare not claim to be an impartial critic.

That *Sprüche und Reden Jesu* is extraordinarily fresh and constructive, is only what we should expect. Besides this it is exceedingly sane. 'Wir müssen uns bescheiden,' says Harnack (p. 130), and he is indeed exceedingly discreet in his reconstruction of the lost Source (Q). He will put hardly anything into it but what is preserved both by Matthew and by Luke. No doubt this is the safest course, but those who adopt it are bound to be exceedingly discreet in pronouncing upon the general character of their final reconstruction. With some reserves we may accept Harnack's arguments for regarding Q as a single source (pp. 125, 126); and that granted, we may go on with some confidence to accept all the 59 sections, some long and some short, which Harnack accepts. But I must confess that I am not equally persuaded by his arguments to prove that these 59 fragments include all the essential features of the lost document.

According to Harnack 'Q is a collection of Discourses and Sayings of Jesus, not arranged so as to lead up to the Passion but having almost

clusively a Galilean horizon, a document free from special bias, whether apologetic, doctrinal, political, national or anti-national' (p. 121). It begins with the Preaching of John, describes the Baptism of Jesus and His Temptation, then gives large portions of the Sermon on the Mount, then the stories of the Centurion's servant, the missionary discourse to the Disciples, the discourses about the Baptist and about Chorazin, the saying 'I thank Thee, Father', the discourses about Beelzebul and about Jonah, the Woes upon the Pharisees, the warning about false Messiahs and about the Coming of the Son of Man 'a thief in the night, and finally the sayings 'He that hath, to him shall be given', and that the Disciples shall rule the Twelve Tribes of Israel (p. 126).¹ To quote Harnack's own words (p. 120): 'That therefore which in the Synoptic Gospels, following the pattern set by Mark, is the principal thing—viz. the preparation for the Passion, the discourses which have the Passion for theme, and finally the story of the Passion itself,—all this, so far as we can judge, is entirely wanting in Q. In this lies the fundamental difference between the Gospels and Q: it is not a Gospel at all.'

'By the fruit the tree is known' (Q § 11): I find it difficult to believe that a critical method is wholly to be trusted, which presents us with a document that starts off with the story of our Lord's Baptism, and then gives us His Words but not the story of the Cross and Resurrection. According to Harnack, Q was intended for a Christian community, which therefore did not need the proof that their Master was the Son of God (p. 163). We might answer, why was it worth while in that case to insert the story of the Baptism of Jesus? I venture to think there is a deep-seated defect in Professor Harnack's method, and further that his restoration of Q is imperfect, because he has attempted to ask for which sufficient materials do not survive.

The main question can be very well discussed with reference to the Lord's Prayer (Q § 27: p. 47 f). Harnack gives his reasons for thinking it had a place in Q, and that it ran as follows: 'Father, our Lord for the coming day give us to-day, and forgive us our debts, as thou also have forgiven our debtors, and bring us not into temptation.'

Here indeed the axe has come to the root of the tree! We may perhaps agree that 'Our Father, which art in heaven' is in the manner of Matthew, and that Luke's entire omission of 'Thy will be done, as it is in heaven so on earth' and of 'Deliver us from the Evil One' is a valid argument that these clauses, whatever their origin, did not stand in the common source. We may even go on to concede to Harnack that Luke according to the true text began the Prayer thus: 'Father, Thy holy Spirit come upon us and cleanse us,' instead of 'Father, Thy

¹ That this is the conclusion of Q is again affirmed on p. 155.

Name be hallowed, Thy Kingdom come', although I venture to think there are serious difficulties about this concession. But what forbids us to regard 'Thy holy Spirit come upon us and cleanse us' as having been from the beginning St Luke's *alternative* to 'Thy Name be hallowed, Thy Kingdom come'? That the familiar clauses are eminently Jewish in tone is true, but is it not from every point of view likely that Jesus taught the Disciples to pray to the Father that His Kingdom might come? That is, from every point of view except that of those who were inclined to teach that the Kingdom had come already. The most we can say is that Dr Harnack makes out a plausible case for omitting 'Thy Kingdom come' and that an equally plausible case can be made for retaining the words.

But if the matter stands so, what solid argument can be drawn from the absence of the clause in Harnack's reconstruction?

I cannot but ask myself what kind of a document St Mark's Gospel would appear to have been, if it had been reconstructed on Harnack's principles from the Gospels of Matthew and Luke. Should we not miss just the most striking characteristics of Mark? We should miss the unclean devil in the synagogue at Capernaum followed by our Lord's departure next day to a desert place to pray (Mk. i 23-28, 35-38), and we should miss the story of the Widow's Mite (Mk. xii 41-44), for they have no attestation from St Matthew. The latter story indeed would have seemed characteristic of the special tendencies of Luke with its contempt for the rich and its sympathy with widows. The language is definitely Lucan; out of the 58 words in which the story is told, four (*βίος*, *πλούσιος*, *τις* with nouns, *χίρα*) figure in Sir John Hawkins's list of words characteristic of St Luke's Gospel, not to speak of the phrase *ἀληθῶς λέγω* which is actually peculiar to Luke. If we did not know to the contrary, should we not have felt perfectly justified in assigning the Widow's Mite to the 'Sondergut des dritten Ev.'? To come to still more important matters, what right should we have to assign to the lost common Source of Matthew and Luke those extensive sections which Luke altogether omits? The murder of John the Baptist (Mk. vi 21-29), Christ walking on the water (Mk. vi 45-56), the whole of Mk. vii and viii 1-29, so important historically as giving the outline of our Lord's long exile to the north of Galilee, all these sections of Mark would appear as peculiarities of Matthew. And as Matthew is well known to be much given to 'doublets', he would have been a rash man who would have ventured to assign the Feeding of the 4000 a place in the common document underlying Luke as well as Matthew.

Besides these and similar passages, where the reconstructor of Mark from Matthew and Luke might fail to recognize genuine portions of

the source when preserved only in one of his documents, there remain those elements which as a matter of fact he could not reproduce, because they have been preserved in neither source. But when we are trying to estimate the tendencies and characteristics of St Mark's Gospel it is just by the peculiarities of that Gospel that the tendencies and characteristics are especially revealed. The historical picture of our Lord and His work which would be presented by a reconstruction of Mark out of what Matthew and Luke had in common would not be a caricature, but in comparison with the real Mark it would be a headless, armless torso. Indeed it would be less than a torso, for it would be composed of fragments, many of which did not even fit together. And it would be just the individual features which would be worst preserved. We should not know that in the real Mark our Lord had said 'The Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath' or that His friends thought that He was mad. We should not have any idea that Mark contained the Parable of the Ear of Corn growing of itself. We should not know that it contained the Aramaic sayings *Talitha cumi* and *Ephphatha*, sayings which greatly raise its historical credit. We could not have reconstructed out of Matthew and Luke the important historical notice that Jesus when He last passed through Galilee 'would not that any man should know it', or that He began His answer about the Great Commandment with the 'Hear, O Israel!' All these things are features really characteristic of Mark; it is the presence of these strongly individual features in the Gospel of Mark which gives it its pre-eminence as a historical document. But not one of them would be found in a Mark reconstructed out of Matthew and Luke according to Harnack's method.

When therefore we find Harnack telling us that Q is 'von apologetischen und partikularen Tendenzen frei', I cannot help wondering whether this venerable document may not have lost some of its more individual property in the process of reconstruction. First it was taken to pieces by St Matthew and St Luke, and now it has been put together again by Dr Harnack. I find it very difficult to believe that it is all there, or even that enough is there to enable us to judge it as a literary whole. As I said at the beginning of this review, I cannot claim to be impartial. I have convinced myself that Q is a real 'Gospel' and that it contained a story of the Passion, and I still cling to my prejudices even after reading Dr Harnack's arguments on the other side.

It would be ungracious to conclude without pointing out one or two of the many excellent sayings and judgements to be found by the way in Harnack's book. A great deal of discussion is devoted to the relative fidelity of Matthew and Luke to their authority. On the whole

Harnack's conclusions are that Matthew is the more faithful both in language and arrangement, but he has seriously altered Q in certain very important passages (e.g. Matt. v 32, vi 33, xii 40). Luke has changed more for reasons of style, and has split up some of the Discourses in order to fit them into his historical scheme, but on the other hand has preserved much of the original freshness and unconventionality of the Sayings (pp. 30, 174). It is noteworthy that Harnack (p. 20) thinks 'Spirit of God' more original than 'Finger of God' in the Discourse about Beelzebul (Matt. xii 28 more original than Lk. xi 20): according to his view 'Finger' comes from St Luke's study of Exod. viii 19.

On p. 9 the interesting observation is made, based on an examination of several passages, that Luke avoids rhetorical questions, e.g., where Matthew has 'is not the life more than the meat?' we find in Luke 'for the life is more than meat'. It is perhaps worth while to notice that Lk. xiii 20 (p. 23) and Lk. vi 39 (p. 24) shew that this tendency is not consistently carried out.

Harnack has of course no doubt that Q contained the story of the Centurion's servant, and he makes the remark that the true parallel in Mark is not the raising of Jairus's daughter, as Wellhausen suggests, but the story of the Syrophenician Woman (p. 147). He does not discuss the genuineness of the words 'when He was entered into Capernaum' in Matt. viii 5. In their place the Latin Codex Bezae Cantabrigiae (k) and the Sinai Palimpsest have simply 'after these things': probably therefore the mention of Capernaum is due to Luke alone, and no place was named in Q at all.

Even more important for the theological dialect of Q is the omission of *καὶ πτωχοὶ εὐαγγελίζονται* by k and Syr. *sin* in Matt. xi 5, this time supported by Clement 151. I venture to think there can be little doubt that the clause is St Luke's own insertion, and that it gives his quite correct interpretation of the inner meaning of the rest of this Saying of our Lord.¹

All these questions, however, yield in importance to the main question of the general contents of Q, whether our materials are sufficient for us to reconstruct it substantially as a whole. Dr Harnack in this book gives us a clear answer, and with commendable courage he puts before us his picture of Q. As he conceives it, it is a work like one of the old prophecies, opening with the account of how Jesus was consecrated by Baptism to deliver His Father's Message, and then proceeding to tell the Christian Community what that Message was. But just those parts of the Evangelical Tradition which St Paul found

¹ For a fuller discussion of these important readings may I be permitted to refer the reader to *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* vol. ii pp. 237-239?

casion expressly to hand on to his converts were, according to Harnack, absent. I do not think such a work is totally inconceivable, but I am not convinced that Harnack's Q is a demonstrated entity. Once again, I confess that I am not an impartial critic, but where shall such an one be found?

F. C. BURKITT.

THE EPISTLE TO THE EPHESIANS.

St Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians: the Greek Text with Notes and Addenda by the late BROOKE FOSS WESTCOTT, D.D., D.C.L., Lord Bishop of Durham. (London: Macmillan & Co. 1906.)

A FIRST general impression which this volume will make, I think, upon the student will be that the editor, the Rev. J. M. Schulhof, has done his difficult part remarkably well. He has had to finish a work left unfinished by its author, and he has done this with the reverent devotion which Bishop Westcott was able to awaken in his friends and pupils. He has spared no expenditure of pains or of time, and the additions he has made to what the Bishop left written—for there is no indication of any omissions—are marked by modesty and intelligence. To a considerable extent Mr Schulhof has been able to draw upon other writings of Bishop Westcott for matter illustrating the Epistle to the Ephesians. His aim has been to present 'the total ascertainable result of Bishop Westcott's meditation' on this Epistle.

The volume belongs to the class of large and abundant commentaries, of which Westcott's own works on St John and Hebrews are good examples. In the preparing of such editions the writer's object is not to limit what he gives us to direct explanation and illustration of the text, but to accumulate whatever seems to him interesting in connexion with it. In this volume the running notes, which the bishop seems to have left in a fairly completed state, and which are characteristically full, are preceded by some fifty pages of introductory matter, and followed by the Latin Vulgate and the two English versions of Wiclif and Tyndale, Appendices on Heads of Doctrine, and on Special Words and Topics, and a Greek vocabulary of the Epistle. The editor has most appropriately made use of illustrative passages from Hort and from Lightfoot; but the form and the substance of all the additions may be said to be Westcott's throughout. Whatever is not Westcott's is Westcottian.

It need not be said to those who are familiar with Bishop Westcott's Commentaries that he delighted in verbal analysis. He may be described

as a minute commentator. This treatment of the sacred text was one way in which he expressed his reverence for the New Testament, and it prevails to the full in these notes. But, if to some readers there may seem to be almost mechanical elaboration in the sorting of words and their meanings, this is plainly compatible with earnest recognition of the dynamical movement of the apostle's thought and the devoutest contemplation of the spiritual teaching of the Epistle.

The short treatise which bears the title of the Epistle to the Ephesians, profound as it is, is also a comparatively simple composition. It is organic as a whole, and it presents few difficulties of expression. No one of any intelligence can study St Paul without wondering at the combined depth and force of his intellect. He stands alone in grasping ideas which are at the roots of existence and in tracing them through the mysteries of consciousness and life into outward action. In Ephesians it is the Divine Purpose that has hold of his mind, and it excites his enthusiasm as he contemplates it. He sees that the purpose of the Eternal God must be before the ages; but it is *working* in and through the ages. What it is has been revealed in the Christ: in Him, dying, rising, exalted, the Purpose was working and is seen. Its aim is definite—to sum up all things in Christ; and, as the part of it in which we men are concerned, to construct the human creation into a Body of which Christ is the Head. The heavenly Father designs men to be His true spiritual children. Because He thus designs them, He calls them. There was a calling of Abraham and his seed. That calling left the Gentiles outside of it; but in Christ there is a calling of the Gentiles also. Jews and Gentiles, all men whom the Gospel reaches, are now called to be members of one Body in Christ. Therefore the Divine Purpose has prepared the life, of spiritual obedience and fellowship, which every man has to lead. And, inasmuch as the Divine Purpose, which is Light, is contending with Darkness which resists it, the called have to be soldiers in a heavenly army.

This scheme of the Epistle is all to be found in Bishop Westcott's annotations, but I think it would have been well if it had been made more distinct and prominent. The bishop follows St Paul in taking no notice of the familiar difficulties which attach themselves to this doctrine. It raises the questions—If some are chosen, are those who are not chosen rejected? If God works in men what He wills, is any man responsible for what he is and what he does? It is interesting to observe that, when he was writing his Letter to the Romans, St Paul was aware of these difficult questions and made some attempt to answer them. May I venture to suggest that, as he continued to meditate on the methods of the Divine revelation and operation, he himself saw that the answers he had given did not really solve the problems? I suppose

him to have felt that the confession of God's Purpose working all things after the counsel of His will could, so to say, take care of itself; that in a mystery past our comprehension the Divine Will, instead of extinguishing a man's free-will, does in fact make the man's will free, with a freedom which involves a consciousness of responsibility. Certainly, in what St Paul wrote from Rome, he asserts with a defiant absence of qualification and with an utter disregard of objections the Divine prerogative of willing and working in all things. What can be more calmly paradoxical than his appeal to the Philippians, 'Work out your own salvation with fear and trembling, for it is God which worketh in you both to will and to work, for his good pleasure'? He knew, I believe, that any one could ask, 'Why then doth he find fault? for who withstandeth his will?' but that the more thoroughly a Christian confesses the Divine Purpose and ascribes all that is good in him to God, the more earnest he will be in his endeavours to work with God.

It is of good omen that the attention of students, and in particular of pastors and teachers, should be called at this time by more voices than one to this profound and instructive Epistle. And I rejoice to think that the affectionate reverence felt by so many towards that saint of God whose work on it we now have before us will give a special and helpful interest to his posthumous words.

J. LLEWELYN DAVIES.

THE CULT OF THE SAINTS.

Die Anfänge des Heiligenkults in der christlichen Kirche. By the late Professor ERNST LUCIUS († 1902); edited by Professor Gustav Anrich. (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1904.)

THIS is the most important contribution to the early history of the veneration of saints which our generation has seen, and it can be neglected by no student of Church History, much less by those who are especially interested in the growth of a habit which is woven into the very web of Christian life and thought.

The book is unfortunately only a fragment; the learned author was cut off by death before he could write *finis* on the work to which he had given the best years of his life. It was, however, nearly ready for press when he died, and the delicate task of final revision, involving a certain amount of arrangement, the filling up of lacunas and the supplying of references and notes, fell into the thoroughly competent hands of

Professor Anrich.¹ From the editor's preface we learn that Lucius intended a summary, discussing in detail the religious significance of the whole problem and adducing parallels to the Christian practice from Hinduism, Buddhism, and Islam. That summary remains unwritten, and there was apparently no material gathered for it. But although such additions would have greatly enhanced the value of the work, their absence does not impair the solidity and coherence of the book as it stands. This consists of four parts: the first is in the nature of Prolegomena ('Die Voraussetzungen des Heiligenkults', pp. 1-48); the second deals in eight chapters (pp. 49-336) with the position of martyrs during and after the time of the great persecutions; the third treats of the ascetics and great church leaders (pp. 337-419), and the last (pp. 420-504) is devoted to the origin and first stages in the development of the cultus of the Blessed Virgin. There are besides five long excursuses, chiefly concerned with points arising out of book IV ('Maria'), and very copious footnotes, some of them (e.g. pp. 176, 177, early Calendars; p. 240, St George of Alexandria; pp. 272, 273, *μυστήρια* and *memoriae*; pp. 348, 349, Monastic histories) amounting to separate articles.

The Prolegomena contain some highly suggestive thoughts, and declare at once the governing principle of the book. The author takes by way of text the passage from Theodoret *Hist. relig.* 28 which recounts the destruction of a heathen temple by an enthusiastic monk and the erection by him of a church in honour of the martyrs, on the same site and out of the ruins of the temple, which were thus hallowed by incorporation into a Christian building.

This process was repeated in the spiritual sphere. Pagan notions and pagan speculation largely influenced the growing body of Christian doctrine, and supplied most of the material that went to build up a theory concerning the present activity of the faithful departed. Professor Lucius gives what is on the whole a reasonable and convincing account of the general motives that prompted, and the conditions that accompanied, the cultus of the saints. The philosophers had managed to remove God from all immediate contact with the world of sense into a transcendental region. But human nature could not forgo communion with the Divine, and accordingly raised for itself a ladder to heaven formed out of countless intermediary beings less than God but more than men, demons and heroes, angels and saints, according as the sphere of thought was a pagan or a Christian one. This view of the common origin of hero and saint worship receives substantial support

¹ A few misprints have escaped notice, e.g. on p. 354 Paellus for Paulus, Noeldecke for Noeldeke, and pp. 447, 448, where two different dates are given for the death of Modestus of Jerusalem.

from the fact, already noted by Dr Hatch in his Hibbert Lectures and emphasized by Professor Lucius with equal insistence and certainly with no less reverence, that the philosophical idea of the strictly transcendental God was absent from the earliest Christian teaching, but came in at a comparatively late period. The God of whom Jesus Christ taught was a living God, 'der Himmel und Erde mit seinem Wesen erfüllt, der in der Natur wirksam ist wie im Menschenleben, dessen Fürsorge auf das Grösste wie das Geringste sich erstreckt, ohne dessen Zutun nichts geschieht in der Welt—ein Gott auf welchen keine philosophische Kategorie passt, weil ihn nicht das Denken erschaffen, sondern weil Jesus ihn erlebt hat' (p. 8). . . . But a different conception of God was current in the world. 'Der lebendige Gott Jesu Christi hatte eben nicht in den damaligen (i. e. late second century) Weltraumen hineingepasst. Man hatte ihn, so wie er war, nicht unterzubringen vermocht in jenem Weltschema, in welchem sich das geistige und religiöse Denken beinahe aller Völker des mittelländischen Kulturkreises bewegte und welches man nun einmal für das allein mögliche ansah. Aus diesem Grunde hatte man an ihm herumgearbeitet . . . bis er fähig schien in dem gegebenen Weltbilde diejenige Stelle einzunehmen, die man der Gottheit allein würdig erachtete, d. h. die Stelle, welche der Gott der Denker in ihr eingenommen' &c. (p. 9). Theologians endeavoured to bridge the gulf that was thus reformed by means of the Logos doctrine; but this was no real help to the mass of men, for it lay outside their comprehension.

With this thesis and the general conclusions that flow from it and occupy the bulk of the book before us, most students will probably agree. It must, however, be borne in mind that there is another and a very different point of view, of which the most recent exponent is Père H. Delchaye. The learned Bollandist hints (cf. *Les légendes hagiographiques*, Brussels, 1905) that he will shortly examine *Die Anfänge des Hk.* in detail. It is to be hoped that he will do so at greater length than in his short review of the book in *Anal. Bolland.* vol. xxiv pp. 487, 488. Meanwhile there are certain subsidiary points which it seems worth while to raise.

To begin with, although Lucius is obviously quite aware of the popular origin of the veneration of saints he does not seem to give sufficient weight to the marked restraint of representative early writers on the subject as contrasted with the rhetorical utterances of many post-Nicene fathers. He is in fact something less than fair to the instructed opinion of the Church in its dealings with superstitious practices. Thus commenting on the rapid growth of angel worship he says that the Synod of Laodicea and *a few church teachers* protested against the cult (p. 122: the italics are mine); but as a fact the Fathers,

right up to the fifth century, were almost unanimous in deprecating it (cf. Turmel 'Histoire de l'Angélologie' in the *Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuses* vol. iii, 1898). Then, again, he asserts that it was the bishops that led the way in the search for relics, and quotes by way of instance the activity of Damasus and Ambrose. Now there is no doubt that Damasus gave lavish encouragement to the practice (cf. Roller *Les Catacombes de Rome*, 1881), but the case of Gervasius and Protasius, which Lucius quotes in support of his charge, does not altogether bear it out. It is indubitably true that the enthusiasm with which St Ambrose welcomed the discovery of the supposed remains of these martyrs gave notable impulse to the veneration of relics throughout the Western Church. But the story, as told by the bishop to his sister, seems to shew that his first steps in the business were taken in obedience to a popular cry. The suggestion as to relics comes from the people, the identification of the bodies is made by the people. They are anxious to have a righteous cause sealed by signs and wonders. His reply to the demand that he shall dedicate the church, 'I will do so if I find relics', indicates that he was not going to fetch or supply any, and that he was less forward in the undertaking than his flock (cf. Ambros. *Ep.* 22).

The theory of human merit and of the claims it gives us upon God, which lies at the root of all veneration of saints, is regarded by Lucius as the natural result of the ethical teaching of Christianity fostered by expectation of an imminent Parousia. Men were led to concentrate all their powers upon moral improvement, 'sei's dass es ihnen galt, Gott ihre Liebe und ihren Dank zu erweisen, sei's dass sie sich einen höheren Lohn bei Gott verdienen wollten' (p. 35). The writer has surely forgotten that the idea of human merit carrying right and privilege into the next world was firmly established in the Jewish mind at the beginning of the Christian era. A man could save himself by his own righteous acts, and these, if deficient, would be supplemented by the merits of the dead patriarchs (cf. Baruch ii 2, xiv 7, lxxxiv 10).

Lastly, it is to be regretted that the section on the monks was allowed to appear without any reference being made in it to Dom Butler's vindication of the historical value of the *Lausiac History*. The first part of Butler's work was published so long ago as 1898, but no mention of it is made in either the text or the notes of Lucius's book which occupies much the same position towards the sources of the history of Egyptian monasticism as its author took up twenty years ago (cf. his *Quellen der älteren Geschichte des ägypt. Mönchtums* in Brieger's *Z.f. K.-G.*, 1885). Weingarten's hasty dictum that the *Historia Lausiaca* and the *Historia Monachorum* deserve no more credit than *Gulliver's Travels* is quoted with approval in a footnote on p. 347; Palladius is still described as a

aveller only in the realms of imagination (p. 346); the monk of the *Historia Monachorum* is still only an idealized figure (p. 349). It is no exaggeration to say that this attitude towards early monasticism adopted by Weingarten and Lucius is now completely abandoned by the common consent of competent scholars (see Butler *Palladius* II Introd. § 1).

But with all its debateable features the book is a brilliant piece of work and a repository of marvellous learning, and one rises from reading it with a deep sense of the loss which the author's death has laid upon us and of gratitude to the editor for his part in lessening that loss. Yet I cannot leave it without expressing wonder that so great a book should have so poor an index, and that continental scholars should be so little careful in this matter for the interests of their readers and fellow students.

H. F. STEWART.

SERMONS OF SEVERUS OF ANTIOCH.

Les Homiliae Cathedrales de Sévère d'Antioche. Traduction Syriacque de Jacques d'Édesse publiée et traduite par R. DUVAL. Homélieii lii-lviii. (Paris, Firmin-Didot.)

THE sermon on the Maccabean martyrs, the first of the *Homilies* which appear in this issue (tom. iv fasc. i) of the *Patrologia Orientalis*, was first edited at Cambridge in 1895 by Bensly and Barnes in *The Fourth Book of Maccabees*; the rest are in print for the first time.

These sermons, delivered while Severus was Patriarch of Antioch (512-518), shew that he was a man of real eloquence, and evidently of much learning. In the second and third especially, those on moral subjects, Severus proves himself a preacher of no mean order. He knows the value of keeping to the point, and does not allow his eloquence to lose itself in wordy digressions and empty flights of rhetoric. He quotes abundantly from Scripture, and his texts are usually apt and well chosen. He has a real insight into human nature and a kindly sympathy with human motives which keep him in touch with the men and women to whom he is appealing. He can be severe without being harsh, and knows how to administer rebuke without offence.

The fifth sermon (no. lvi), which is addressed to the people of Qen-neshrin, and in which Severus commends their adherence to the orthodox (i.e. Monophysite) faith, contains a passage which is of some interest for the study of Syriac, in its relation to Greek, Monophysite

terminology: '[Peter,] being struck with wonder and filled with the Spirit, cried out: Thou art the Christ, the Son of the Living God, who in regard of me (i. e. of the humanity) art lowly, but art exalted in regard of the loftiness of the heavenly nature (*k'yânâ*), which both is and is known to be one from two without confusion—from the Godhead and from humanity—in one *paršôpâ* (πρόσωπον), and one *q'nômâ* (probably *ὑπόστασις*). For one confessedly is the nature (*k'yânâ*) of the Word and of Him who is incarnate in flesh that is like to us in essence (*oûsîa*), which is possessed (also) of a rational soul' (pp. 79–80). Further on Severus censures both Eutyches and Nestorius, the former for errors which he does not pause to specify, the latter for asserting a duality of natures (*k'yânê*) in Christ.

The Syriac text is taken from the Brit. Mus. MS 12,159 (dated 868). An earlier but imperfect MS has also been consulted. This presents, M. Duval tells us, but few variants from the London MS—he cites only one. I am not in a position to speak of the accuracy of the edition, not having had an opportunity of consulting the MSS; but the text gives the impression of having been carefully edited according to the MS followed. On p. 14 l. 6 ܐܬܝܬܝܢ is evidently a misprint for ܐܬܝܬܝܢ. On p. 36 the conjecture ܬܠܬܐ ܠܐܡܢܐ for ܬܠܬܐ ܠܐܡܢܐ is probably unnecessary, as the latter appears to be intended for a compound adjective from ܬܠܬܐ ܠܐܡܢܐ.

The task of translating from Syriac versions of Greek writings is one that requires care. The Syriac language does not possess the machinery for dealing satisfactorily with involved Greek constructions, and, unless the translator has exercised some skill in breaking these up into short sentences, his version will sometimes be obscure. The translation which M. Rubens Duval has given us of these homilies of Severus could only have been made by a first-rate Syriac scholar, and one familiar with Syriac methods of dealing with Greek idioms. Yet it is not above criticism: it leaves an impression of hurriedness, as though the translator had a deal of other work in hand and, being pressed for time, was loth to linger over awkward passages. The result is that at times the sense is only approximately given, and occasionally even missed altogether. In the following passages especially M. Duval's translations need correction:—

On p. 10, for ll. 3–6 (of transl.) render: 'but though sung by all, it (the story of the Maccabees) strikes (ever) upon ears that are fresh and as though they had tasted nothing, and which eagerly crave for the banquet (which is) old, indeed, with the course of years, but new with love, never causing satiety.' 'Les mets exquis du repas, l'Ancien Testament les offre dans le cycle des années, et le Nouveau les donne avec amour sans qu'on s'en rassasie' is a version that shews a complete

misunderstanding of the text. On p. 11, for l. 2 render: 'and certain of them (i. e. the instruments of torture) unusual, and hitherto unknown trial [by torture].' On p. 22, for ll. 3-4 render: 'but that independent of ܕܥܡܐܢܐ , i. e. *αὐτοκρατίας*?) and religious purpose, which in them (all) as one, prepared for them one and the same crown of martyrdom.' On p. 42 l. 6, for 'ma prière est pure' render, 'let my prayer be directed' (Ps. cxl 2 *κατευθυνθήτω*). On p. 43 l. 2, for 'mêler' render 'to couple', reading the Syriac word as *inf. Pa.* of ܥܡܠܐ , not as a subst. from ܥܡܠܐ . On p. 45, for ll. 10-12 render: 'so that troubles from without are not wanting to those fears that are from within.' On p. 47 the punctuation of the text is misleading, the new paragraph beginning in the middle of a sentence. The translation is consequently at fault. There should be a full stop after 'complet' (l. 1), and the construction from 'sinon' to 'l'hippodrome' (l. 8) should be altered so as to give the following sense: 'for is it not a derision and open mockery of the words of the Lord that I, just a little before, should preach to you public prayers and tears . . . but that you (l. 7), or rather many of you—for I must not make the accusation against you all—should go off to the spectacle of the hippodrome?' On p. 71, for ll. 10 ('vous qui,' &c.) to 12, render: 'but do ye shew these (works) of your free will, taking leave (ܕܥܡܐܢܐ . . . ܕܥܡܐܢܐ , i. e. *χαίρετε λέγοντες*?) of theatres and unprofitable amusements.' On p. 78 M. Duval has not noticed that ܕܥܡܐܢܐ is for *ἐλαϊον ἀγαλλιᾶσεως* (Ps. xlv 8), and renders with query, 'l'huile mystique (?)'. On p. 85 ll. 16-17, we read 'Le tyran tige en loi tout dessein contre la religion, quoique la loi doive être établie légalement (?)'. The query is needed, for the rendering does not yield sense. The meaning of the Syriac is: 'for every king who makes law against religion is a tyrant, even though he be legally instated.'

In spite of a few blemishes, the translation which M. Duval has given is, as a whole, excellent. It is a pity that translators from Syriac do not adopt the plan of transliterating theological terms such as *k'yānā*, *wāmā*, *ihūthā*; such a course would greatly enhance the value of translations in the hands of those who do not read Syriac: especially if the words were bracketed and italicized so as readily to catch the eye.

R. H. CONNOLLY.

CHRONICLE

PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION.

HÖFFDING'S *The Philosophy of Religion*, translated from the German edition by B. E. MEYER. (London: Macmillan & Co., 1906.)

MR MEYER has rendered English students a great service in affording them a translation of this important and most interesting book, and such a translation as they might easily take to be a work originally written in their own language.

Prof. Höffding's *Philosophy of Religion* has been known for some years as a valuable contribution to the subject with which it deals, and as one which displays at once considerable originality and great learning. The work falls into three main parts, dealing respectively with the epistemological, the psychological, and the ethical relations of religion.

The first of these sections begins with a discussion of the relation of the religious to the scientific view of the world, the outcome of which is that the scientific description, in terms of causality, does not exclude a religious evaluation: the two explanations do not come in contact. Hence religion cannot be used to explain phenomena which science fails to explain. From causality the transition is easily made to the cosmological argument, which receives criticism both old and new, and is dismissed as insufficient for religious needs. Both philosophy and religion need to presuppose some ultimate unity as a principle of explanation; but this, we are told, knowledge cannot discover and define. Moreover, if philosophy is satisfied with the presupposition of 'interconnexion, according to law, of the manifold elements of the world', Prof. Höffding declares that the religious consciousness betrays the tendency to display the unity of the manifold in a relation of extreme contrast, as if God and the world were two different powers. He seems here to exaggerate; for religion always derives the world from God, leaving but one ultimate reality. Objection will also be taken by many philosophers to Prof. Höffding's use of the concept of 'cause', in the context previously referred to, as if its content were exhausted in yielding merely the empirical idea of antecedent event. But, apart from certain questionable details, we may admit the main contention of the epistemological section of this book: religion has not arisen from pure

thought on the world, or solely from intellectual needs. That religion has no intellectual functions is much more disputable, and much less securely established by Prof. Höffding.

Nevertheless, in the second (the psychological) part of his work, Prof. Höffding proceeds from this standpoint. Here he seeks to establish the hypothesis, which constitutes the main theme of his book: that the essence of religion is 'faith in the conservation (maintenance, imperishability) of value'. This means belief that the good persists, through all the temporary and changing forms it assumes in the world's history. We are reminded of Matthew Arnold's 'stream of tendency which makes for righteousness'; but whereas for Arnold religion was 'morality tinged with emotion', it is difficult to see much ground for emotion, or, at least, for a social or racial motive power, in what Prof. Höffding regards as the essence of religion. It may be granted that this faith is implied in all actual religions, and in all types of religious experience—many of which Prof. Höffding submits to a psychological analysis of that masterly and penetrating kind which we had previously learned to expect from him; but it does not follow that this common factor of religions is the primary, the 'constitutive' element in religion, or even that it contains anything distinctive of religion. Belief in the continuance of value is implied in rational effort in almost any sphere, besides that of religion.

When the author of this work calls religion 'faith' in the persistence of value, he means us to take the word 'faith' literally. The persistence in which the religious man believes cannot be proved to be involved in the structure of the world. It is not a necessary postulate; and it cannot, of course, be empirically demonstrated. The rejection of myth, cultus, and dogma, which, Prof. Höffding is persuaded, is a necessary condition for the maintenance of religion in the future, will make room, on this theory of religion, for nothing but symbol. Religion is to live for ever, but without any valid thought about God, and even without any real basis for faith in persistence of value as an objective principle.

Though the reader will perhaps feel that Prof. Höffding has unduly narrowed down the rich and varied content of religion, and has failed to make good his theory as to its essence, he will find this book one which will thoroughly repay study. It abounds in subtle analysis and acute criticism, and with its fresh treatment and lucid language illuminates many a problem in the fields of philosophy, ethics, and religion.

Reason in Belief, by F. SEWALL, M.A., D.D. (Elliot Stock, 1906.)

THE author of this volume, 'starting from Kant's generally accepted doctrine of the "unity of apperception in the soul" as the basis of all

relation and all *knowing*,¹ endeavours to carry the principle to its consequences and shew that in them lies a vindication of the rationality of faith. He hopes that he has carried further the constructive argument of Prof. J. Ward's *Gifford Lectures*, leading to a spiritualistic monism, and has accomplished for the doctrines of Revelation, Incarnation, Immortality, and Salvation, what Prof. Ward did for Theism. This is indeed a lofty aspiration, and it would have been wiser to avoid inviting comparison with a masterpiece such as Prof. Ward's *Naturalism and Agnosticism* in presenting *Reason in Belief* as a developement of its argument. For the method of Dr Sewall's work, especially in the portion of it which deals with the doctrines enumerated above, is very different. Nor does he possess the grip of philosophical and scientific knowledge which is requisite for so immense an undertaking as to write a treatise supplementary to Prof. Ward's great work. One observes inaccuracies from which the study of that book might have saved the author of *Reason in Belief*. For instance, on p. 42 the epistemological problem of mind and matter is confounded with the psycho-physical question of the relation of soul and body; science is credited, on p. 100, with knowledge of a medium, distinct from ether and atmosphere, called the 'aura', and, on p. 150, with teaching the substantiality of ether.

Regarded as a more or less popular treatise, it must be said, however, that this volume is well written, thoughtful, and interesting. The chapter on Miracle and Law contains good matter, and some of the earlier ones, read with caution, are valuable. That on Revelation is a little rhetorical.

Aux Croyants et aux Athées, by WILFRED MONOD. (Paris: Librairie Fischbacher, 1906.)

THIS book is a collection of addresses dealing with social and theological questions, and more especially with atheism. This most negative of all theological creeds, as M. Monod remarks, is rarely professed; but it is sometimes professed by men of religious feeling, of lofty aspirations, and of philanthropic zeal. Such men abstain from belief in God because the popular conception of God is faulty. Hence M. Monod would have this conception stripped of much that is usually suggested by it, e.g. omnipresence and omnipotence. That omnipresence or immanence is a dangerous and much-abused concept may be admitted; and that omnipotence cannot be predicated of God without important qualifications is a commonplace: but M. Monod's suggestions for avoiding the difficulties attaching to these attributes of Deity seem crude and untrustworthy. To regard the world, for instance, as created in germ by God, but as evolving itself independently of God and by means of a causality of its own, is to adopt what has proved over and over again to be an

impossible hypothesis, and one which does not even remove further back the difficulty which it seeks to avoid. For if God created the world 'in germ' He must have created all its potentialities. M. Monod would reduce God to a finite Being, not by any self-imposed limitations or by the necessities which some philosophers believe to exist independently of a creative God in the laws of thought, but quite arbitrarily. There are other positions adopted in this volume which are open to criticism and, indeed, seem fraught with danger for the theology which its author seeks to succour.

For Faith and Science, by F. H. WOODS, B.D. (Longmans, Green, & Co., 1906.)

MR WOODS writes in a quite simple style for believers who may have been led to fear that science may compel them to give up some of their most cherished convictions. But he writes as a scholarly theologian, and as a thinker who has no desire to shirk the real difficulties which increase of knowledge has been bringing to the intelligent believer. His little book is so honest and sensible, so fresh and original in its method, that it may be recommended, as quite one of the best of its kind, to those who seek to know in outline the results of modern research as to the nature of the Bible, inspiration, revelation, and miracle.

The Goal of the Universe, or the Travail of the World's Saviour, by S. W. KOELLE, Ph.D. (Elliot Stock, 1905.)

FIVE chapters (some 250 pp.) of this comprehensive work are devoted to the wide field of Christology. They evince considerable learning, but are perhaps an over-lengthy introduction to the subject described by the title of the book. This occupies the last three chapters, which deal respectively with The Restitution of All Things, Christ's Resignation of the Christocratic Kingdom, and The Final Goal of the Universe—God all in all.

The author tells us, in the introduction to his appended explanatory and illustrative notes, that he has endeavoured to adapt the treatment of his profound theme to the ordinarily educated reader and to the trained theologian; and he expresses the hope that 'for such readers, the strictly Scriptural character of (his) studies will secure special interest'. Scripture is indeed the sole basis for all his arguments and proofs. But the author's conception of the authority of Scripture, and his methods of elaborating doctrine out of Scriptural passages, are such as have largely been rendered obsolete by the application, during the last half-century, of the scientific method to Biblical studies. They belong, in fact, to the age of Bishop Pearson rather than to our own

times. Thus the early chapters of Genesis are naively assumed to be literal history, and Isa. vii 14 to be a prophecy of the Incarnation and Virgin-Birth of our Lord; while the doctrines of universalism and of the apocatastasis are traced in entirely irrelevant texts of Old and New Testaments alike. This is the great weakness of the work. It may well be indirectly valuable to the class of readers for which Dr Koelle has written, but can hardly bring conviction to such as have, unlike himself, come at all under the influence of present-day methods in theological science.

The Freedom of Authority, by J. MACBRIDE STERRETT, D.D. (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1905.)

SOME of the essays collected together in this volume are of high value. The first has the title which is given, with considerably less relevance, to the whole book, and might be called an essay on social heredity. It shews the importance and necessity of this factor in the making of the individual man, and the absurdity of the idea of a freedom which would be independent of the authority inherent in the accumulated heritage of knowledge and belief transmitted to us by human society. Succeeding essays deal with the types of modern subjectivism in religion which are represented in the works of Sabatier and Harnack, the latter of whom is chosen to exemplify the Ritschlian school in general; and with the position of Loisy, which, reached by a different route, has much in its results that is common to the standpoint of the subjectivist and pragmatist. These chapters abound in telling criticism, which, perhaps, is occasionally a little overdone, and are written in racy and pungent language. Their style and structure suffers, however, very materially from hasty composition, to which the author confesses, and which has led to the faults of disjointedness, lack of logical progress, and repetition. There is, further, an essay on the historical method which is commendable for its clear account of the nature and limits of scientific explanation. The remainder of the book, consisting of reprinted magazine articles, is less interesting and valuable.

There are several misprints in the volume, and perhaps a few inaccuracies; e.g. on p. 172, where a misprint in the name of Helmholtz occurs, Lord Kelvin is included among the physicists who have 'emptied' science 'of its metaphysics'. We note with pleasure the almost complete absence of any of the liberties commonly taken by American writers with our language, which offend the English eye and ear. Indeed there is rather the tendency to revive obsolete words (e.g. the verb 'to fault') and spelling (e.g. 'lillies'), than to introduce the new-fangled. But there is no reason, surely, for 'nowheres' in place of nowhere; and 'to disconscious' is a somewhat shocking verb.

Wilhelm Herrmann et le Problème Religieux Actuel, par Dr M. GOGUEL.
(Paris : Librairie Fischbacher, 1905.)

A CONSIDERABLE number of students—English, Scottish, American, and French—have been attracted to the University of Marburg by the reputation of Prof. Herrmann, and have experienced there the influence which this remarkable teacher seems to exert upon all who come in contact with his magnetic personality. The author of the work before us is one of this number, and he writes as a convinced adherent to the main positions of his master. Dr Goguel modestly says of his book that it claims to be only a *résumé*, not a critique, of Herrmann's doctrine; and he remarks that at the age of twenty-five one cannot be expected to have a theological system of one's own, such as is requisite for a standpoint from which properly to criticize the matured views of so ripe a scholar and thinker as Prof. Herrmann. We gather from this statement that Dr Goguel is as yet a quite young writer; and from the merits of his book, which, by the way, is not his first publication, we may confidently hope that there lies before him a theological career of some distinction.

A fairly full, and apparently accurate as well as sympathetic, account of Herrmann's system, such as Dr Goguel has supplied, based on careful study of all that Herrmann himself has written, and also on acquaintance with much of the controversial literature which his works have elicited, will be acceptable in England, where the seed of Ritschlian doctrine has already germinated; and to be provided with an analysis, in lucid French, of Herrmann's untranslated and tough German will be a boon to many English students. To such Dr Goguel may be commended as a trustworthy guide.

The exposition of Herrmann's teaching, which is given very systematically, is followed by an account of the historical development of some of the chief problems with which Herrmann has dealt, in which there is applied some criticism of the master's positions. This criticism, as one might expect, is not the strongest element in Dr Goguel's book: it is too hesitating, too much qualified by reservations and extenuations, to be very effective or illuminating. But we must remember the author has himself informed us that criticism is not his task, and has admitted that it can only be competently attempted by one who approaches Herrmann's position from another school of thought. It is no disparagement to the excellent account which Dr Goguel has given us of Herrmann's teaching, to say that it will certainly not resolve, for those who feel them, the difficulties which prevent acceptance of some of the contentions of the school of Ritschl and Herrmann.

Dr Stanton expressed the belief that such lectures would be welcome to others besides students of the section, comprising principles of Philosophy of Religion, recently introduced in the Theological Tripos. It is this wider circle to which the lectures seem to have been addressed; and their publication would be welcomed since they are certainly calculated to prove both interesting and helpful to a very considerable number of persons, besides the clergy, and many amongst the laity who are interested in questions on the border between theology and philosophy or science. Mr Storr's book is a very simple, lucid, and interesting exposition of various questions and problems connected with the development of design, and of the present position of the argument.

Paley and Darwin are the two great names round which the discussion of design mainly centres; and nothing could be more valuable than his account of the doctrines of these two thinkers. The contrast between Organism and Mechanism is also worthy of especial mention. The statement of the differences between living and non-living organisms, and the bearing of the theories of evolution and natural selection on the logical arguments is a subject which has of late years been treated so frequently and so fully that, at the present moment, it is difficult to find anything wholly new to say upon it; but, if not new, Mr Storr's treatment is certainly very fresh.

There is another great name connected with the history of the speculation, one at least as important as those which have been mentioned as determining the course of the discussion in this country, though one that is apt to be almost ignored in philosophy of the less heavy kind—the name of Kant. An examination of his

These remarks are particularly relevant to Mr Storr's discussion of the teleological import of 'progress' in Nature, which will be found in Chapter IV. Our conception of 'progress' is essentially teleological; but it is quite another matter whether the facts that we collectively call 'progress' are the outcome of actual design. Mr Storr recognizes this; or, after insisting that *we* necessarily interpret progress in teleological terms, he remarks (p. 82): 'it is true, indeed, that this does not prove that the progressive developement of the world is designed.' Had this truth been dwelt upon, and its consequences always borne in mind, it would have been easier for the reader to appreciate the vast difference in demonstrative value between the subjective necessity of teleological concepts for our explanation of the organic world and their objective necessity as 'constitutive principles'. All that can be derived from the concept of progress, and indeed all that Mr Storr claims after the admission just cited, is that 'it renders it natural for us to ask whether we may not apply' it to the movement of the universe; which may be granted without the teleologist's position being improved. The argument, in fact, becomes only an apparent argument; and this the reader will the more easily gather who observes the recurrence in this context (pp. 82-85) of expressions (here italicized) such as '*we seem* compelled to interpret (progress) in teleological terms', 'it becomes *natural* to ask' or 'to regard', &c. On a later page (p. 127), in a passage dealing with the argument from design, the distinction between the subjective and the objective necessity of the teleological concept seems for the moment to have been forgotten altogether; for the sentence: 'We cannot look out upon the natural world and not see in it the marks of purpose' is shortly followed by the statement, having all the appearance of an equivalent proposition: 'the growth of organic structures and the nature of living forms are such that we are compelled to say of them that they *look as if* they had been designed.'¹ One nowhere finds in this volume an adequate appreciation of the immensity of the gulf between these two propositions, the latter of which alone the author, and indeed the teleologist generally, on the plane of discussion hitherto adopted, is entitled to make. And the difference between them is in no wise bridged over by the reflexion that 'the teleological idea is an ultimate category of thought' (i.e. a fundamental postulate?) 'or, at any rate, presents what must always remain an ultimate attitude for the majority of men' (p. 127). There may be matters in which we can trust the influence of 'the common consciousness' of the race, which Mr Storr at times appeals to us to respect; but one would have thought that included among them a question, metaphysical in the attitude and the equipments of mind

italics are mine.

which the common consciousness, in virtue of the fact that it is common, necessarily lacks. Belief in the independent existence of the world, as it is known to us sentient beings, will probably always remain 'an ultimate attitude for the majority of men'—more ultimate than the teleological idea; yet one gathers from *Developement and Divine Purpose* that its author has not, in this instance, himself been impelled by respect for the common consciousness to join in the universal consent.

The narrower kinds of teleological argument, such as those from progress and adaptation in the organic world, do not furnish anything like a theistic proof of themselves; they have confirmatory value, however, when absorbed into the wider argument derived from the implications of order in Nature. This, which is the prior argument in logical sequence, is also philosophically by far the most satisfactory. And it is presented in Mr Storr's fifth chapter with ability and force. In the spiritualistic and teleological implications of the inorganic world we find a ground for our teleology of the organic; and such cosmic teleology being granted, it matters little whether variation be definite or indefinite, whether natural selection, in so far as it is an exclusive theory and not a platitude, be true or false, or whether the organism be essentially different from a mechanism. This might perhaps with advantage have been brought out more clearly in the work before us; nevertheless the chapters which discuss these special points are indispensable to a treatise dealing with developement and design, and they are certainly rich in interesting facts and useful criticism. After meeting certain difficulties and objections to the argument from design, the author analyses the conceptions of developement and purpose, and, in discussing the tests of developement as applied to theological doctrine, furnishes a criticism of Newman's theory.

F. R. TENNANT.

RECENT PERIODICALS RELATING TO THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

(1) ENGLISH.

Church Quarterly Review, January 1907 (Vol. lxiii, No. 126: Spottiswoode & Co.). The real Yellow Peril—Lay readers and their work—The Mozarabic rite: II The Mozarabic Mass—Some modern French literature—The authorship of the Pastoral Epistles: II The language and the style—Gothic architecture in England—The Assuan Papyri—Irish University Education: II A University for Cork—Short Notices.

The Hibbert Journal, January 1907 (Vol. v, No. 2: Williams & Norgate). C. FRASER Our final venture—A. O. LOVEJOY The entangling alliance of religion and history—P. SABATIER La crise religieuse en France et en Italie—G. G. COULTON The failure of the Friars—R. S. CONWAY The Messianic idea in Vergil—R. J. CAMPBELL The Christian doctrine of Atonement as influenced by Semitic religious ideas—H. RASHDALL A grave peril to the liberty of Churchmen—C. S. PATTON The new Theism—F. F. GRENSTED The 'eternal Now' in Anglican theology—H. MACCOLL Chance or purpose?—B. DE SÉLINCOURT The parallelism of religion and art—W. R. B. GIBSON A peace policy for idealists—Discussions—Reviews—Bibliography.

The Jewish Quarterly Review, January 1907 (Vol. xix, No. 74: Macmillan & Co.). G. E. BIDDLE A theist's impressions of Judaism—ELBOGEN Studies in the Jewish liturgy—A. COWLEY Bodleian Genizah fragments—L. GINSBERG Geonic Responsa xiii-xv—J. H. A. HART The prologue to Ecclesiasticus—H. S. Q. HENRIQUES The political rights of English Jews—S. A. COOK Notes on Old Testament History: II Literary and historical criticism; VIII Saul and David; IX Conclusion—Miscellanea—Critical Notices—Bibliography.

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February 1907 (Seventh Series, No. 14). W. M. RAMSAY Professor Harnack on Luke—J. STALKER Robert Rainy—J. R. HARRIS

Sons of Thunder—W. H. BENNETT The life of Christ according to St Mark—A. E. GARVIE The Agony in the Garden—G. C. MARTIN The Epistle of James as a storehouse of the Sayings of Jesus—A. R. GORDON Job.

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(2) AMERICAN.

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THE APOCALYPSE.¹

THE appearance of Dr Swete's *Apocalypse* in two editions, following each other within a year, is an event of importance in the history of English exegesis. At last we have an edition of this remarkable book on an ample scale, covering the whole book and applying modern methods with the full apparatus of scholarly criticism. In saying this no disparagement is intended of the other books upon our list. Every one of them is good, and even very good, in its kind. Sir William Ramsay's *Letters to the Seven Churches* has all the qualities that we expect from him, a strong grip on the historical situation and abundant illustration of the political and geographical environment; but it is of course confined to the first three chapters. The two small books, by Prof. F. C. Porter (of Yale, though the book has an English publisher, Mr James Clarke) and Mr Anderson Scott, are excellent in their way, but their scale prevents them from taking the place of a classical commentary. This place Dr Swete has now filled, to the great satisfaction of all English-speaking students.

We learn incidentally from a note on p. civ of the new edition that Dr Hort lectured upon Apoc. i-iii in 1888 (rather 1889; see *J. T. S.* for April last, p. 431). I believe that these lectures are in existence, and I would venture to express the hope that they may be published. I am well aware that the reputation of

¹ H. B. Swete, D.D. *The Apocalypse of St John*, London, 2nd ed. 1907 (1st ed. 1906). Sir W. M. Ramsay, D.C.L. &c. *The Letters to the Seven Churches of Asia*, London, 1904. C. Anderson Scott, M.A. *Revelation (in the Century Bible)*, Edinburgh (n. d.). F. C. Porter, D.D. *Messages of the Apocalyptic Writers*, London, 1905. The same, art. 'Revelation', in *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible*. Joh. Weiss, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes*, Göttingen, 1904. W. Bousset, D.D. *Die Offenbarung Johannis*, Göttingen, 2nd ed. 1906 (1st ed. 1896).

a great writer is supposed to suffer when material that has not received his final touches is given to the world after his death. That this should be so is partly the fault of the critical press, which should be the guardian of such reputations and is sometimes apt to think too much of ephemeral fashions and too little of the value of exact statement. Dr Hort was an expert, if ever there was one, and every stroke of his pen had a lifetime of critical study behind it. For this reason anything from his hand possesses a high value, and I gather that he has left behind a reasoned argument for the earlier of two alternative dates of the book which, whether right or wrong in its conclusion, would in any case be welcome. To this question of the date I hope to return shortly.

The mention of Dr Hort leads us naturally to the relation of the present Regius Professor at Cambridge to the great triad of Cambridge exegetes. It is a happiness to every one in this country to think that their line should be so worthily continued as it is by the Dean of Westminster and Dr Swete. At present we are concerned only with the latter. Dr Swete fully shares the great Cambridge characteristics. He is, to begin with, an accomplished scholar. Perhaps he has even more literary finish than any of his predecessors. Bp Lightfoot would come nearest to him in this respect; but the bishop's was just a plain lucid style, which said with a maximum of clearness and effect all that its author desired to say. In the case of Dr Swete there is a touch of gentle refinement—in reference to another subject-matter I should have said, of elegance—which goes one degree beyond this: it is personal to the writer. And there is one other personal trait that cannot be suppressed, however little it is obtruded. That is, the religious feeling which runs through the commentary. There is a sentence in the preface which strikes a distinctive note of Dr Swete's work.

More especially I have had in view the wants of the English clergy, who, scholars at heart by early education or by the instincts of a great tradition, are too often precluded from reaping the fruits of research through inability to procure or want of leisure to read a multitude of books.

Those who are acquainted with the history of Dr Swete's labours—and what English churchman is not acquainted with

them?—will understand the depth of sympathy that is contained in those words. Of the yet deeper individual feeling which permeates the book I will give but one example—the concluding words of the same preface.

In letting it go from me, I can only repeat Augustine's prayer, which stood at the end of the preface to *St Mark*, and is even more necessary here. *Domine Deus . . . quaecumque dixi in hoc libro de tuo, agnoscant et tui ; si qua de meo, et Tu ignosce et tui.*

We know how even a quotation sometimes reveals the secret of a whole character ; and it seems to do so with peculiar felicity here.

It may well seem that in the description just quoted of those of the English clergy who are 'scholars at heart by early education or by the instincts of a great tradition' the author has unconsciously drawn a picture of himself. The influence of the traditional English classical training is still strong upon him. It determined the form of his commentary, with its predilection for quotations from the ancient commentators skilfully selected and worked in, with its careful technical treatment of textual criticism, and with its abundant illustration also from ancient sources. It is indeed scholarship conscientiously brought up to date, as it is incumbent upon all true scholarship to be. And yet we feel the difference when we turn to German work like Bousset's, which again is admirable in its kind. No one writer has really done so much for the understanding of the Apocalypse. With the exception perhaps of Sir W. M. Ramsay all the English and American commentators are largely indebted to him. Here, as so often elsewhere, it is the Germans who have led the way in breaking up new ground and by the boldness of their experiments. It is the difference between the specialist and the scholar. The specialist is intent upon discovery, upon getting to the bottom of the problems that present themselves to him. Half of his merit lies in the statement of these problems and in the fertility with which he invents hypotheses to solve them. He does not greatly care if these hypotheses prove untenable. He is ready to discard them as soon as anything better is propounded. He does not mind being wrong, if his failure contributes to the general advance. The monograph of Johannes Weiss is rather an instance of a very able man throwing away his labour by

mistaken method, or insisting upon points that will not bear the stress laid upon them. In the mass of collected material, in strenuous wrestling with difficulties, in the application of a strong judgement which neither allows details to be neglected in the pursuit of a general idea nor the general idea to be buried beneath the load of details, in comprehensive and systematic method, Bousset occupies the first place. His book is eminently 'workmanlike', but it does not aim at the finish and grace of diction, nor yet at the mild and wise reserve, which characterize Dr Swete.

The English commentator may be taken as really typical of the best Biblical study in this country. An adequate commentary on the Apocalypse has been long in coming, and follows in the wake of much that has been done upon the continent; its strongest point is not that of relentless logic and science; but it does sift the results that seem to have been obtained, and the meshes of the sieve are fine.

I

The broad meaning of the book is now at last after all these centuries sufficiently clear. The leading factors that enter into its explanation are contained in the history of the time at which it was written. It represents a death-grapple between the Roman State and Christianity. The empire of Rome is summed up in the person of the emperor, and its religion culminates in the worship of the emperors. To the Christian prophet this worship is idolatrous and blasphemous to the last degree. An attempt is being made, and threatens to be made on a still vaster scale, to enforce it upon all subjects of the Empire, including Christians. These can only resist to the death; and their resistance will not be in vain. Already the conflict which is about to be fought out on earth has been decided in heaven. Strange grandiose pictures of this heavenly warfare follow each other in succession. Events on earth and events in heaven are mingled up together, and run up into the great panorama of the end of the world-age, which is regarded as near at hand.

A far-reaching change has come over the relation of Church and State since St Paul and St Peter gave advice to their converts. In their time the Roman Empire was in the main a

beneficent power ; they spoke of it with all respect, and urged their disciples to submit to its lawful demands. The worship of the emperors was indeed going on in the background, but except in the excesses of a madman like Caligula not in a very obtrusive way ; it is probable that Christians had no great difficulty in evading it. Such sporadic persecution as appears to have been taking place in the provinces to which St Peter wrote was not like a battle of antagonistic principles ; it turned largely upon the calumnies of which Christians were the victims in common report. There is still an element of uncertainty as to the exact date and the historical circumstances implied in the First Epistle of St Peter, but there is practically none as to the Epistle to the Romans. Between Romans xiii and the Apocalypse two great events have intervened. One of these was the Neronian persecution, and the other was the stricter enforcement of the imperial cultus, so that it pressed directly and personally upon Christians. The prophet of the Apocalypse foresees that this pressure will soon be still greater than it already is. His whole manhood rises in revolt against it ; and he issues a trumpet-tongued appeal to all his brothers in the faith to join him in his resistance. He encourages them with the assurance that God is on their side ; that the hosts of heaven will fight for them ; they have only to endure, and their cause will be won. It is true that the hostile powers, the pagan empire and its false religion, are the instruments and agents of Satan himself, but Satan's reign itself is doomed, and will soon come to an end.

The Neronian persecution, as an event in the past that has taken a strong hold on the imagination of the writer, and the enforcement of the emperor-worship seem to be the two main historical keys to the book. We are tempted to think that the writer himself had been a witness of the first, and was at the time of writing in more or less close contact with the second. The tremendous chapters xvii and xviii seem to suggest that the writer had himself actually visited Rome, and seen with his own eyes its public places dripping with the blood of Christian victims. He may have even had to undergo some form of torture himself.

Of course it is only a speculation, that cannot be historically verified ; but I confess that in this connexion I should like to

think of the story of St John at the Latin Gate as having some real foundation. The first evidence for the story is in Tertullian, who was well acquainted with Roman traditions; and there are local details in the story that go some way to invest it with verisimilitude. But the main point is that we should understand the impassioned language of the Apocalypse better if its author had been in the earlier sense a martyr or a confessor not at Patmos only but at Rome. And the details of the picture of 'Babylon the Great, the mother of harlots', look as though they came from one who had himself stood at the centre of the imperial system (xvii 2, 12-13, 17-18; xviii 3, 7, 9, 15-19), who had moved about the crowded markets, and watched the ceaseless stream of traffic and the loading and unloading of varied merchandise. We may doubt if there is not rather more in all this than Ephesian experience will account for.

As to the other point, the threatened implication of Christians in the blasphemous rites of emperor-worship, we need not feel bound to suppose that either this or the persecution that went along with it had gone very far when the prophet began to write. He saw it coming, and close at hand, on a larger scale than ever before. That was enough. For the rest, he fills in his canvas with the traditional paraphernalia of dragon and beasts and heads and horns, which were the common property of apocalyptic writings.

II

The most conspicuous point on which Dr Swete departs from the tradition of the Cambridge triumvirate is as to the date of the book we are considering. Except in the unpublished lectures of Dr Hort's to which reference has been made, none of the three directly commented upon it. But, although this was the case, they had all made up their minds, and they were unanimous in the conclusion at which they arrived. The references given by Dr Swete on p. xcix shew that they had each expressed themselves definitely as to the date, and they may be said to have practically fixed upon the year 69 or thereabouts, before the Fall of Jerusalem. This was indeed the prevalent opinion among the more critical writers a quarter or half a century ago when the older Cambridge School flourished; among those who held it were Ewald and Renan. The stronghold of this view was the begin-

ning of chap. xi, from which it seemed natural to infer that the Temple at Jerusalem, though threatened, was still standing. There seemed to be also a clear allusion (xiii 3) to the recent death of Nero, as to whom a rumour soon got abroad that he was not really dead but hiding among the Parthians. We shall see presently that the hints in reference to this rumour are still better satisfied by a later date; but it might well be thought that both these data and those of chapter xvii 10 harmonized sufficiently with the beginning of the reign of Vespasian. Another very tempting feature in the hypothesis was that it seemed to make it easier than any other hypothesis could, to attribute all the writings that bear the name of St John, Gospel Epistles and Apocalypse, to the same author. The writer of this is free to confess that he himself was much inclined to go with the stream, though he could not pretend to have given the subject close study.

But in the later years of the last century there came about a steady reaction. It had to be admitted from the first that the critical theory which placed the book before 70 A.D. ran directly counter to the main body of early Christian tradition. And that in this particular instance was exceptionally strong. Irenaeus was able to appeal to the testimony of those who had themselves 'seen John'; and according to him the vision of the Apocalypse was itself seen towards the end of the reign of Domitian (81-96). We shall have to return to the interpretation of this phrase, which has recently been questioned; but I may as well say at once that in my opinion the ordinary explanation is correct. The whole body of external evidence bearing upon the date is well collected by Dr Swete on p. xcv f. Thus there was a conflict between the external and the supposed internal evidence, which to many minds was disquieting. An important note of Mommsen's (*Röm. Gesch.* v 520 ff) contributed to shake the current view. Prof. Ramsay, with his usual vigorous independence, declared in favour of a date that is practically that of Irenaeus, 'not earlier than about A.D. 90' (*The Church in the Roman Empire* p. 301). Harnack, in like manner, in his *Chronologie* (1897), adopted the Irenaeian date. So too did Bousset in 1896, and Prof. F. C. Porter, both in his little book and in the very learned and valuable article 'Revelation' which he contributed to Hastings' *Dictionary*. This strong phalanx of present-day opinion is now

joined by Dr Swete. Dr V. Bartlet (*The Apostolic Age* p. 404) and Mr Anderson Scott take a mediating line with 75-80 or 77 A.D.

The chief support of this last which we may call the Vespasian theory is the passage xvii 9-11:—

The seven heads are seven mountains, on which the woman sitteth; and they are seven kings; the five are fallen, the one is, *the other is not yet come*; and when he cometh, he must continue a little while. And the beast, that was, and is not, is himself also an eighth, and is of the seven; and he goeth into perdition.

It is one of the best modes of reckoning to regard Nero as the fifth and Vespasian as the sixth, not counting the brief usurpations of Galba, Otho, and Vitellius; Vespasian appears to have considered himself to be the next successor of Nero. But, if the words in italics seem to point to Vespasian, those which follow point no less distinctly to Domitian. The reign of Titus (79-81) was very short; and Domitian (81-96) was regarded as a second Nero (Tert. *Apol.* 5: *portio Neronis de crudelitate*, and the other passages quoted by Dr Swete *ad loc.*). The writer assumes a double standpoint, first an earlier and then a later. We shall have to come back to this under the next head of our treatment.

If we are to determine the date of the book we must in any case follow the latest indications contained in it. One of these seems to have escaped the notice of the English writers, though it is duly noted by Prof. Porter (p. 190). At the suggestion of the Dean of St Patrick's Dr Swete has introduced a reference to it into his note on vi 6 in his second edition, but he has not utilized it in his discussion of the question of date. Really the point was first brought forward, not by Harnack, but by Salomon Reinach in an article in the *Revue Archéologique*, at the end of 1901 (reprinted in *Cultes, Mythes et Religions* ii 356-380, 1906). The verse vi 6 had hitherto been a *crux interpretum*: a voice proclaims, 'A choenix of wheat for a denarius, and three choenices of barley for a denarius; and the oil and the wine hurt thou not.' The denarius as Dr Swete tells us, 'the silver "franc" of the Empire,' was the daily wage, and a choenix of wheat the average daily consumption of the workman; barley was the food of the very poor. According to M. Reinach's computation the price of

heat is to be seven times the ordinary, and that of barley four times; in other words, the necessities of life were to be at famine prices, while luxuries (like wine and oil) were to be abundant.

It was natural to look for some historical allusion here; and E. Reinach found it in the fact that in the year 92 Domitian, wishing to benefit the Italian vine-growers, issued an edict forbidding the planting of new vineyards in Italy and ordering the reduction by one half of those in the provinces. Asia Minor was so much affected by this that an agitation at once began, which led to the withdrawal of the edict, and the production of wine and oil was left to take its course unchecked. The Apocalypticist regarded this as a calamity, which only pandered to drunkenness and immorality. If this allusion holds good, he would be writing soon after the withdrawal of the edict, or about the year 93.

To me, as at present advised, the general situation seems to favour some such date as this. It may be true that some of the more general arguments adduced for it are not quite stringent. They could not (e.g.) lay so much stress as Sir W. M. Ramsay does on 'persecution for the Name'. The prominence given to 'the Name' or 'My Name' in the Synoptic Gospels and the Acts would seem to account sufficiently for this without supposing an allusion to the laws of the Empire. No great stress can be laid on the slender hints as to the constitution of the Asian churches. And, though it may be well to widen the interval which separates the Apocalypse from the missionary labours of St Paul, there is nothing under this head that could be pronounced incompatible with such a date as 77, or even 69. It does indeed seem to me that the Nero-legend is too far developed for the earlier year. After the reign of Vespasian it was no doubt in full force; but even then we should hardly have had anything quite so definite as 'The beast that was, and is not, is himself also an eighth, and of the seven'. On the other hand, it is not easy to think of an acute crisis arising out of the pressure of emperor-worship in a peaceful period like the end of Vespasian's reign, and under an emperor who took his own divinity so lightly (*ut puto deus fio*). Domitian was much more in earnest on this head; and the zeal of the provincials would anticipate his wishes.

Still other arguments are subsidiary; the main argument for a later date must be the strong tradition first expressed by

Irenaeus. For myself I must confess that the attempt to invalidate this so ably made by Dr Chase in the last number of this JOURNAL is quite unconvincing. It seems to me that the Latin version of Irenaeus is exactly right with its rendering *visum est*; it is not, to be quite precise, so much the apocalypse itself that was seen as the vision (of the apocalypse). It seems to me that τοῦ τῆν ἀποκάλυψιν ἑωρακότος and ἑωράθη in such close juxtaposition must have the same reference. Nor can I think it a natural way of speaking to say that a man 'was seen' simply in the sense of 'he lived'. It is a different thing where attention is called to individual links in a chain of testimony: 'Clement, who also had sight of the blessed Apostles and conversed with them'; 'Polycarp, whom we also saw in our early youth.'

III

The substantial agreement of so scientific a worker as Bousset and so cultured a scholar as Dr Swete on the date of the Apocalypse seems to me to be important; and not less important is their practical agreement as to its unity. I believe that on this subject sounder and truer views are being arrived at than have been current for some time. Bousset's close analysis of the style of the book shews that a single masterful hand has been at work all through. And Dr Swete's careful examination of the use of the Old Testament tends to the same result. There is no objection on principle to the use of 'sources'; but at least they have not been reproduced crudely side by side. The most that can be said is that now and again perhaps particular features derived from such sources have not been completely harmonized with the rest.

As Dr Swete's position on this point has been not quite accurately represented in some quarters, it may be well to give his own words.

That the author of the Apocalypse made free use of any materials to which he had access, and which were available for his purpose, is highly probable. But did he transfer large masses of earlier apocalyptic writing to his own work, in such a manner as to make his book a compilation or to detract from its unity? Was this his method of dealing with the works of older apocalyptists? It so happens that we are in a position to give a definite answer to the second of these questions.

the writer of the New Testament apocalypse has made large use of the apocalyptic portions of the Old Testament. He refers to the Book of Daniel in some forty-five places, and the Books of Isaiah, Ezekiel, and Zechariah are used with almost equal frequency, while the prophets, the Psalter, and the Pentateuch are often in view. No book of the New Testament is so thoroughly steeped in the thought and imagery of the Hebrew Scriptures. Yet the writer has not once quoted the Old Testament, and rarely uses its *ipsissima verba*. Seldom does he borrow from it a scene or the suggestion of a vision without modifying the details, departing from his original with the utmost freedom, or combining features which have been brought together from different texts. This method of using Old Testament materials runs through the whole of the Apocalypse, and is characteristic of the book. Whether the writer is indebted to non-canonical apocalypses is less certain, but he is, he has followed the same principle. There is no evidence that any one of them has served him as a 'source'; coincidences between the work of John and the extant Jewish books are nearly limited to minor points connected with the imagery and diction. Under such circumstances it is more than precarious to postulate sources of which nothing is known (p. liii).

I think that I should have expressed the last part of this paragraph rather differently. While fully admitting the possibility that foreign material has been used, Dr Swete seems to deprecate the hypothesis rather more than I should. And, besides the direct quotation of non-canonical apocalypses, I should allow for a more indirect influence of floating material of that kind. In some cases—and indeed perhaps in the two that are most important—the balance of probability seems to me to incline in this direction more than it does to Dr Swete.

The first of these is the curious and difficult passage xi 1, 2, which runs thus in R. V.:—

And there was given me a reed like unto a rod; and one said, Rise, and measure the temple of God, and the altar, and them that worship therein. And the court which is without the temple leave without, and measure it not; for it hath been given unto the nations; and the holy city shall they tread under foot forty and two months.

Dr Swete would spiritualize the interpretation of this. For the inner court represents the Church, and the outer court perhaps the rejected Synagogue, while the holy city stands for Jewish polity. I should prefer, if not exactly to take it

literally, yet to think that it was suggested at least by literal external events; and in accordance with this view I should be disposed to date the passage, or its original, from that stage in the siege of Jerusalem when the outer court was in the possession of the Romans but not the inner.

In like manner as to the other passage, xvii 10, 11, which I have already quoted. I agree with Dr Swete that these two verses as a whole probably date from the time of Domitian; but I do not see how it is possible to apply this to the seventh king, who 'is not yet come'. I do not quite understand what Dr Swete means by suggesting that the writer perhaps 'purposely transfers himself in thought to the time of Vespasian', though I should wholly endorse the clause which follows, 'interpreting past events under the form of a prophecy after the manner of apocalyptic writers.' Why should the time of Vespasian be chosen more than any other time? In other words, why should the writer say that the seventh king 'is not yet' for any other reason than that he himself was living under that reign? To me it seems that there are two distinct notes of time in the passage, and that we are almost compelled to suppose that what was written at one date has been adapted to another.

It is in his treatment of chap. xi that Dr Swete appears to be still to some extent entangled in an old method of interpretation, which as a whole he has rightly abandoned. He explains the Two Witnesses of xi 3-12 of the Church in her function of witness-bearing.

The witness of the Church, borne by her martyrs and confessors, her saints and doctors, and by the words and lives of all in whom Christ lives and speaks, is one continual prophecy.

It may perhaps be possible to come round to something like this; and for homiletic purposes the application would be legitimate. But it can hardly be said that such a sense was directly present to the mind of the writer. He is thinking of the near future, not of the distant future; and he is thinking of it in terms of the past. The Two Witnesses are probably Moses and Elijah (the Law and the Prophets) conceived as prophesying of Christ much as they are represented in the scene of the Transfiguration.

IV

So far I have argued steadily for the date under Domitian, *irca* 93 A.D. And it is really very disinterested of me to do so. I have been led by what seemed to me to be the probabilities of the case, and by nothing else. I am free to confess that for me the earlier date, 69 A.D., would be more welcome. To assume this date would greatly simplify what we are in the habit of calling the Johannine problem. On the strength of it I should not much hesitate to believe for myself, though I should not be equally confident of convincing others, that one hand might have written not only the Apocalypse but also the Gospel and Epistles that bear the name of St John.

Prof. Porter is a more uncompromising critic than I am. And the view that he expresses is so natural that I should not like to say that it is worded too dogmatically. 'Our author', he says, 'is certainly not the writer of the Fourth Gospel. The difference in style and in type of religion remains too great, after all that has been said of minor points of contact between the two books' (p. 184). I cannot agree that the points of contact are 'minor', though I frankly admit that the differences are at first sight considerable, and even very considerable. Great as the differences are, they do not seem to me to be greater than could be accounted for by twenty years of continuous residence in a Greek city. If the present writer were to speak for himself, he would say that he has undergone changes every whit as great in his own career. And these changes, he would say, were due in part to environment and in part to new knowledge. He is conscious of great revolution, though of no violent breaks. It is only that he has become aware as time went on of new facts and new points of view which were not present to his mind when he formed the provisional conclusions of his youth. And yet he does not think that there is one of these changes of which he need be ashamed, when once it is assumed that he made his start with mediocre abilities of all kinds, though he hopes with a certain singleness of mind. There has been a thread of continuity running through them all; and he believes that just such a continuity may be discerned in the writings that bear the name of St John.

We have to remember that in the case of their author (sup-

posing him to be the same person) allowance would have to be made for a change of time and place not only within like conditions but within widely different conditions—indeed with a complete difference of civilization. The divergent handling of language and grammar would become a mere trifle, if we might suppose twenty years familiar intercourse with Greeks. The important term *Logos* in the Gospel as compared with the Apocalypse might well be a Hebrew word filled out with Greek meaning. No one who touches upon this subject in future can possibly overlook the elaborate section in Bousset's *Introduction* (pp. 159-179). The conclusion, which is expressed as follows, is, we may be sure, well within the mark.

It is certainly right when this Johannine colouring of the language is set down to the last redactor of the Apocalypse (Harnack, *Spitta*). But it may be seen again that this redactor has recast the material before him far more drastically than is commonly supposed. The parallels just collected appear to justify the supposition that the whole cycle of Johannine writings comes from circles which stood under the influence of John of Asia Minor. From this side too we arrive at the conclusion that 'my servant John' is not intended to be, and is not, any one else than John of Asia Minor. And when of late the conjecture has been thrown out that there existed in Asia Minor the language and style of a specifically Johannine School, it seems to me that the facts presented by the Apocalypse go to confirm this conjecture.

The argument might be pressed even further than this, not only to the identity of a school but to actual identity of authorship, if only we could adopt the hypothesis of migration from Palestine to Ephesus and a lapse of twenty years.

It will be seen from what has just been said how tempting this hypothesis is. At present I cannot see my way to commit myself to it, because of the other group of facts that seem to locate the Apocalypse in the reign of Domitian. But the penalty that we have to pay is that of leaving the Johannine problem still unsolved. Dr Swete, too, is compelled to do this. And the candour with which he does it will, we think, inspire great confidence in his judgement. The passage is worth quoting:—

But the question of the authorship of the Apocalypse must not be complicated by considerations connected with the still more vexed

question of the authorship of the fourth Gospel. The issue which lies before the student of the Apocalypse is in fact independent of the decision at which the critics of the Gospel may ultimately arrive. Was the John who wrote the Apocalypse the Synoptic son of Zebedee? Was it John the son of Zebedee who lived in Asia, and was exiled to Patmos, or was it the mysterious Elder, who is distinguished by Papias from the Apostle of the same name? A fair case may be made for either view. On the one hand the general character of the book accords with what the Synoptists relate with regard to the Apostle John, and the main current of Christian tradition favours this conclusion. On the other hand, there is some uncertainty as to the length of the Apostle's life, and some reason to suspect that the Apostle and a disciple who was not of the Twelve are confused in our earliest authorities. While inclining to the traditional view which holds that the author of the Apocalypse was the Apostle John, the present writer desires to keep an open mind upon the question. Fresh evidence may at any time be produced which will turn the scale in favour of the Elder. There are those whom this indecision will disappoint, but it is best frankly to confess the uncertainty which besets the present state of our knowledge (p. clxxxiv f).

That is a presentation of the case that I would entirely endorse.

V

The last and most interesting of all the questions arising out of the Apocalypse is concerned with its religious value, its value as a book of the Bible. How far do these modern views to which we have been giving expression affect this value? At first sight they may appear to affect it seriously. We can no longer go to the book as a prediction, literal or otherwise, of events which at the time when the book was written were still in the womb of the future. So far as we do go to it in that sense, we shall only be disappointed. The great persecution did not come as the prophet expected, or the fate of Rome and of the Empire, or the end of the world. What then is left?

1. First, we may learn something as to the nature of Prophecy. We have come to see that both in the Old Testament and in the New it is a mistake to identify prophecy with prediction. It is true that prediction does enter into prophecy, but it is by no means identical with it. Well-attested instances of prediction would be 1 Kings xi 26-39; 2 Kings xix 32-36; Jer. xxviii 16, 17; Acts xxi 11. Such passages have to do with comparatively

small incidental details in the carrying out of God's purposes. Distinct from them is the gradual creation of that great expectation of one summarily called the Messiah, which was so remarkably fulfilled in the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ. But there is a great deal in prophecy that had very little to do with prediction; and its non-fulfilment as prediction leaves untouched its value as prophecy. There is a very admirable paragraph in Sir W. M. Ramsay's *Letters to the Seven Churches*, p. 112 f, which sets this in the right light:—

The most dangerous kind of error that can be made about the Apocalypse is to regard it as a literal statement and prediction of events. Thus, for example, xvii 1–xix 21 is not to be taken as a prophecy of the manner in which, or the time at which, the downfall of the great Empire and of the great City was to be accomplished; it is not to be understood as foreshadowing the Papacy, according to the foolish imaginings, 'philosophy and vain deceit' as St Paul would have called them (Col. ii 8) of one modern school; it is not to be tortured by extremists on any side into conformity with their pet hatreds. Those are all idle fancies, which do harm to no one except those who waste their intellect on them. But it becomes a serious evil when the magnificent confidence and certainty of St John as to the speedy accomplishment of all these things is distorted into a declaration of the immediate Coming of the Lord and the end of the world. Time was not an element in his anticipation. He was gazing on the eternal, in which time has no existence. Had any Asian reader asked him at what time these things should be accomplished, he would assuredly have answered in the spirit of Browning's Grammarian:—

What's time? Leave Now for dogs and apes!
Man has Forever.

The really prophetic element in the book—and it is to be remembered that it is throughout described as a prophecy (i 3, xix 10, xxii 7, 10, 18, 19)—is the extraordinary exaltation of spirit under which it is written, and which sustains the other characteristics of which we are about to speak.

2. The central feature of the book is the clash and collision between the Church of Christ and the great idolatrous world-power. The prophet sees this coming, as no Christian writer had ever seen it before. To all outward appearance the Empire of Rome was omnipotent; it could impose its will upon the subject nations with the greatest ease. At the moment it seemed as

though this will took the form of enforcing an idolatrous and blasphemous worship of a human being in place of God. Nearly all the religions of the Empire seemed to welcome this new divinity. The Jews, by the privileges secured to them, escaped compulsion. It is strange that the Roman government should have so observed its pledges; but it did observe them. The only body that had the audacity to attempt resistance was the insignificant sect of Christians. It is this resistance that the prophet of the Apocalypse undertakes to animate and champion. And how magnificently does he do it! It is one man—*unus homo*—against the embattled power of the world. And the one man wins! He wins, because he is a prophet, and because the Spirit of God is in him and behind him. Let us hear Bousset on this subject.

This one thing the Apocalyptist knows how to drive home with inimitable sureness: the tremendous seriousness of responsibility before the judgement-seat of God, the thought of the nearness of the end, the duty of fidelity unto death and endurance in the wild struggle that is on the point of breaking out. A defiant confidence of victory over against the Dragon, who has been already overthrown in heaven, and whose reign upon earth can only last a short time longer; an irresistible delight in martyrdom: Blessed are the dead, who die in the Lord—a diction that at least in places kindles into flame, a glowing longing for the end and for the new age: Surely I come quickly. Amen, come Lord Jesus—all this imparts to the Apocalypse, in spite of all that is bizarre fantastic and fanatical, which is plentiful enough, a thrilling charm and an impressive force. Of incomparable beauty and tenderness are in any case a series of pictures in which the seer paints the world to come. One must have heard such words as *ii 9 ff, xx 1 ff (xx 11 ff or xxi 1 ff?)* by the side of the grave or at the commemoration of the dead to understand the magical and imperishable effect that is in them. They fall on the ear even now like unearthly music (p. 140).

The Apocalypse is not only a rallying cry to all who are on God's side at a single historical crisis, but it is the inspiration of martyrs and confessors—of all who are banded together to resist the powers of evil—to the world's end. It is for ever a triumph song over Death and Hades.

3. There is one particular in which the Apocalypse comes to us with peculiar force in these latter days. Between the first and

second centuries and the nineteenth the world can have hardly known a capital city on so vast a scale as Rome. Now the huge capitals are a conspicuous feature of modern civilization. The contemplation of them is terrible enough as it is; and, if it were not for Christianity and the knowledge of the devoted Christian work that is going on in them, would be more terrible still. In the face of these huge weltering aggregations of humanity, with their ceaseless current of commerce and trade, with their flaunting extremes of wealth and poverty, with their luxury and their misery, their splendour and their degradation, a chapter like Apoc. xviii is an impressive warning. It may well serve as a call to flee from the wrath to come.

4. If on the one hand the Apocalypse seems to gather up together the forces of evil and present them to us as it were marshalled for the final conflict, so on the other hand it brings to a climax the forces that make for good, and in contrast to the world's Babylon it sets before us an ideal picture of the New Jerusalem, the City of God. Much of the imagery by which this is described is of a rather formal and conventional kind. But we see that through all this the Prophet has really grasped the heart of the matter; the essence of his thought is not formal and conventional, but rather that towards which all revelation has been tending and in which it must end.

And I heard a great voice out of the throne saying, Behold, the tabernacle of God is with men, and he shall dwell with them, and they shall be his peoples, and God himself shall be with them, and be their God: and he shall wipe away every tear from their eyes: and death shall be no more, neither shall there be mourning nor crying, nor pain any more, the first things are passed away. And he that sitteth on the throne said, Behold, I make all things new. . . . I am the Alpha and the Omega, the beginning and the end. I will give unto him that is athirst of the fountain of the water of life freely. He that overcometh shall inherit these things; and I will be his God, and he shall be my son.

5. Incidentally the writer lets us see what are his convictions on other points besides those which form the main subject of his book. These are collected by Dr Swete in the section of his Introduction headed 'Doctrine'. They are the more important because they are taken for granted—they are the accepted Chris-

ianity of that branch of the Church to which the author belongs. And the reason that gives them an enhanced significance at the present day is that this branch of the Church is independent of St Paul. The author of the Apocalypse is a Jew, and in all probability a Jew of Palestine. He brought with him to Asia Minor the beliefs of his home ; and it is to those beliefs that he really testifies.

The Apocalypse thus supplies welcome evidence of a line of teaching that is parallel to St Paul's, and that really goes back behind his. The point on which most turns is naturally the Christology. It is not necessary for me to go into this at length ; for it is impossible to read even the opening verses and the rest of the first chapter without seeing that fundamentally the Christology is that which has been held by the Church Universal. This one chapter is enough to dispose of the theory that has obtained some currency in recent years that the Church owes its doctrine of the Person of Christ to the initiative of St Paul.

W. SANDAY.

PRAYER FOR THE DEPARTED IN THE FIRST FOUR CENTURIES.

To pray for the departed seems to be, in the last resort, an instinct of natural piety. Men who have grasped the continuity of human life before and after death, and believe in the efficacy of prayer, are moved by natural affection to remember in their prayers the souls of friends and relatives who, though dead to the world, are still alive in the sight of God. Thus when prayer for the dead first appears among the Jews, it is connected with faith in the Resurrection. The epitomist of Jason of Cyrene's lost work on the Maccabees points out that Judas Maccabaeus, in providing for a sin-offering to be made for certain Jews who had fallen in the war, 'took thought for a resurrection; for if he were not expecting that they which had fallen would rise again, it were superfluous and idle to pray for the dead.'¹

It might have been supposed that the Church, with her living hope of immortality, her fuller knowledge of the condition of the dead, and her strong sense of corporate union with departed members of Christ, would from the first have commemorated her dead, both in private devotions and at the Eucharist. Yet the first century has scarcely any evidence to offer upon the subject. The New Testament contains but one passage which can fairly be construed as a prayer for the dead.² Early post-canonical writers are equally reticent. The long liturgical context in the letter of Clement, based, as Bishop Lightfoot at once perceived, on the Eucharistic Prayer of the

¹ 2 Macc. xii 43 f. The epitomist proceeds: *ὁσία καὶ εὐσεβὴς ἡ ἐπίνοια· ὅθεν περὶ τῶν τεθνηκότων τὸν ἐξιλασμὸν ἐποιήσατο, τῆς ἀμαρτίας ἀπολυθῆναι*, for which the Vulgate strangely gives: *sancta ergo et salubris cogitatio pro defunctis exorare, ut a peccato solvantur*. See Berger *Histoire de la Vulgate* p. 23.

² 2 Tim. i 18 *ᾧ αὐτῷ* (sc. τῷ Ὀνησιφόρῳ) ὁ Κύριος εὐρεῖν ἔλεος παρὰ Κυρίου ἐν ἡμέρῃ, where the context perhaps suggests that Onesiphorus was dead when the letter was written.

contemporary Roman Church, and containing petitions for all sorts and conditions of living men both within and without the Christian brotherhood, makes no reference of any sort to the Christian dead. Nor are they mentioned in the Eucharistic forms of the *Didache*, unless we may regard them as included with the living in the petitions: συναχθήτω σου ἡ ἐκκλησία ἀπὸ τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς εἰς τὴν σὴν βασιλείαν . . . μνήσθητι, Κύριε, τῆς ἐκκλησίας σου τοῦ ῥύσασθαι αὐτὴν ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ καὶ τελειῶσαι αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ σου, καὶ σύναξον αὐτὴν κ.τ.λ.¹

This lack of evidence continues until past the middle of the second century. But it would be easy to exaggerate its significance. The commemoration of the Christian dead is not a subject likely to have found a place in the letters of Ignatius, the apologies of Justin, or the polemics of Irenaeus. The letter of the Church of Smyrna on the martyrdom of Polycarp promises better things, and in one passage seems to be on the point of supplying the information which is sought. 'We laid his bones', the writers say, 'in a convenient place,' adding: ἐνθα ὡς δυνατόν ἡμῶν συναγομένοις ἐν ἀγαλλιάσει καὶ χαρᾷ παρέξει ὁ κύριος ἐπιτελεῖν τὴν τοῦ μαρτυρίου αὐτοῦ ἡμέραν γενέθλιον, εἰς τε τὴν τοῦ προηθληκότος μνήμην καὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἄσκησιν τε καὶ ἐτοιμασίαν.² It is clear from this that the *natalicia* of martyrs were kept as early as A. D. 155; the mention of ἀγαλλίασις and χαρά suggests the anniversary *agape* and perhaps the commemorative Eucharist, but it would be unsafe to press either point.

Meanwhile the inscriptions on Christian tombs speak with a less uncertain voice. Early dated inscriptions containing prayers for the dead are rare, but De Rossi produces from the cemetery of Callistus one belonging to the year 268 or 289 which has the words MARCIANE VIBAS INTER SANCTIS.³ The cemetery of Domitilla yields the simpler and perhaps earlier ΖΗΧΗC ΕΝ ΘΕΩ, VIBAS IN PACE.⁴ Other forms which occur in the Roman

¹ *Did.* 9f. Both in their comprehensiveness and in their vagueness these petitions resemble the Anglican forms, 'that with them we may be partakers of thy heavenly kingdom': 'that we, with all those that are departed in the true faith of thy holy Name, may have our perfect consummation,' etc.

² *Mart. Polyc.* 18. It is instructive to compare the later Pionian *vita*, c. 20 προσέφερον ἄρτον ὑπὲρ τοῦ Βαυκόλου.

³ *Inscr. Chr.* i p. 16.

⁴ Wilpert *Ein Cyclus christolog. Gemälde* p. 40.

catacombs are *vivas in Spiritu sancto, spiritus tuus in refrigerio* (or *in pace et in Christo, or requiescat in Deo*), *spiritum tuum Deus refrigeret*.¹ In the catacomb of Priscilla there is the epitaph:—

‘ vos, precor, o fratres, orare huc quando veni[tis],
et precibus totis Patrem Natumque rogatis,
sit vestrae mentis Agapes carae meminisse
ut Deus omnipotens Agapen in saecula servet.’

Another person who is commemorated ‘Meruit titulum inscribi, ut quique de fratribus legerit roget Deum ut sancto et innocenti spiritu ad Deum suscipiatur’.² This may not be very early; but the epitaph of Avircius Marcellus, written by himself within the second century, contains a similar appeal for the prayers of the passing Christian, which was meant to bear fruit after the death of the writer:—

ταὺθ' ὁ νοῶν εὐξαίθ' ὑπὲρ [αὐτοῦ] πᾶς ὁ συνφθός.³

Avircius had visited Rome, and may have borrowed from a Roman monument this form of request to survivors. It is certainly remarkable that nothing of the same kind occurs among the numerous inscriptions on Christian tombs in Phrygia collected by Sir W. M. Ramsay.⁴ But if monumental testimony is scarce in the East, the literature of the time supplies evidence of the use both of prayers for the departed and of commemorative *agapae* or Eucharists. In the *Acts of Paul and Thecla*,⁵ Queen Tryphaena is solicited by her deceased daughter in a dream to beg the prayers of Thecla for her removal to the abode of the just (ἵνα μετατεθῶ εἰς τὸν δίκαιον τόπον). Upon this Tryphaena calls Thecla and says, Τέκνον μου δεύτερον Θέκλα, δεῦρο πρόσευξαι ὑπὲρ τοῦ τέκνου μου, ἵνα ζήσεται εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, and Thecla, without hesitation (μηδὲν μελλήσασα), prays for Falconilla's salvation. The *Leucian Acts of John* represents the Apostle as celebrating the Eucharist at a tomb on the third day after death: τῇ δὲ ἐξ ἡμερᾶς ἔωθεν . . . παραγίνεται εἰς τὸ μνήμα τρίτην ἡμέραν ἐχούσης τῆς Δρουσιανῆς, ὅπως ἄρτον κλάσωσιν ἐκεῖ.⁶ Thecla's prayer for the unbaptized dead finds a remarkable parallel in the prayer of Perpetua for her little brother Dinocrates, who is brought by her

¹ *Op. cit.* p. 35.

² *Op. cit.* p. 50.

³ Ramsay *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* ii pp. 723, 728.

⁴ No. 387 (*Cities* ii p. 534) is scarcely an exception, as Ramsay points out.

⁵ Lipsius-Bonnet ii 1 p. 186.

⁶ Lipsius-Bonnet i p. 255 f.

intercessions from a state of misery into one of comfort and enjoyment: 'Dinocratem [video] mundo corpore, bene vestitum, refrigerantem . . . et satius accessit de aqua ludere more infantium gaudens.'¹

It is at Carthage, the scene of Perpetua's martyrdom and perhaps the home of her childhood,² that prayers and offerings for the faithful dead are first seen to take a recognized place in the services of the Church. Whether in North Africa Montanism helped to mature a movement which in other provinces of the Empire was still at its beginnings, must remain uncertain; but our knowledge of Carthaginian practice in this matter comes from the later writings of Tertullian, which were composed under Montanistic influence. Thus in the *De Anima* we read of the dead being, in the interval between death and burial, 'laid to rest by the presbyter's prayer' (c. 51 'cum in pace dormisset et morante adhuc sepultura interim oratione presbyteri³ componeretur'); in the *De exhortatione castitatis* it is urged as an argument against second marriages that the prayers and annual Eucharists, which affection requires the widower to offer for the soul of a deceased wife, will create an impossible situation if he takes a second (c. 51 'duae uxores eundem circumstant maritum, una spiritu, alia in carne; neque enim pristinam poteris odisse, cui etiam religiosiorem reservas affectum ut iam receptae apud Dominum, pro cuius spiritu postulas, pro qua oblationes annuas reddis. Stabis ergo ad Dominum cum tot uxoribus quot in oratione commemoras, et offeres pro duabus et commendabis illas duas per sacerdotem'). The same objection is raised to the second marriage of widows in the *De Monogamia* (c. 10 'pro anima eius orat et refrigerium interim postulat ei et in prima resurrectione consortium, et offert annuis diebus dormitionis eius').

In an earlier number of this JOURNAL⁴ I have called attention

¹ *Texts and Studies* i 2 p. 72 f. (*Passio S. Perpetuae*, 7, 8). Dinocrates 'no doubt had died unbaptized'; Augustine, who denies this (*De anima ad Renatum* i 10), 'was blinded by the desire to dispose of a disagreeable objection' (*ib.* p. 29). On *refrigerantem* see below p. 513, note.

² *Texts and Studies* i 2 p. 22 ff.

³ The *oratio presbyteri* in Tertullian's time was perhaps not a precomposed form, but it is interesting to compare the *orationes post obitum hominis* of the Gelasian and the *orationes in agenda mortuorum* of the Gregorian Sacramentary.

⁴ *J.T.S.* iii p. 167.

to the special stress laid by the Carthaginian Church of the third century on the sacrificial character of the Eucharist, adding, 'It is in keeping with this deepened sense of the reality of the Eucharistic commemoration that the Church in North Africa was the first Christian community, so far as we know, which offered the Eucharist for the benefit of the departed.' Even if the practice began with the Montanists, it must soon have become general among the Christians of Carthage, for Tertullian writes elsewhere in terms which imply that the Eucharist was offered as a matter of common custom at Christian burials and on the anniversaries of a death (*De corona* 3 'oblaciones pro defunctis, pro nataliciis, annua die facimus'). Cyprian, again, speaks of the offering of the Christian Sacrifice for the departed as having been regulated, and therefore approved in principle, by his predecessors.¹ In Cyprian's own time to be remembered at the altar was evidently a highly valued privilege, and the discipline which withheld this privilege from offenders had become a formidable weapon in the hands of the bishop and presbyters of the Church. Such phrases as *offerre pro aliquo, sacrificia pro aliquo* (or *pro dormitione alicuius*) *celebrare, apud altare Dei nominare in prece, deprecationem alicuius in ecclesia frequentare*,² are familiar to the readers of Cyprian, and present to the mind a picture of one side of Church life in Carthage during the third century which is impressive and well defined. We see the clergy and people surrounding the primitive altar: we hear the name of the deceased read out by the deacon, and the intercession offered for him by the bishop; we see the mourners go back to their homes comforted by the knowledge that their brother rests in the unity of the Church and in the peace of Christ. And when the *anniversaria commemoratio* of a martyr comes round, we catch the note of triumphant joy with which the Sacrifice is offered at his tomb.

¹ *Ep.* i 2 'quod episcopi antecessores nostri religiose considerantes . . . censuerunt ne quis frater excedens ad tutelam vel curam clericum nominaret, ac si quis hoc fecisset, non offerretur pro eo nec sacrificium pro dormitione eius celebraretur'. See Hefele *Councils* (E. tr.) i pp. 86, 92; Benson *Cyprian* pp. 45, 92.

² See *Epp.* i 2, xxxix 3. On *deprecatio* cf. E. W. Watson in *Studia Biblica* iv pp. 281, 283, and on *deprecari* = *orare* *ib.* p. 265. The term was afterwards used in the Gallican and Celtic rite; see F. E. Warren *Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church* p. 105 f.

It would be of great interest to know whether other Churches had by this time followed in the steps of Carthage. A passage in the Latin interpretation of Origen's commentary on Romans¹ excites the hope that we have his testimony to a similar commemoration of the martyrs by the Church of Caesarea towards the middle of the third century. Rufinus represents him as refusing to decide between the readings *χρetais* and *μνηταιs* in Rom. xii 13, since both subserve the purpose of edification: as to the latter, 'meminisse sanctorum sive in collectis solemnibus, sive pro eo ut ex recordatione eorum proficiamus, aptum et conveniens videtur.' But it has been doubted whether it is Origen who speaks here or Rufinus,² and the question cannot be answered with certainty. The Latin commentary on Job which will be quoted further on, though perhaps Ante-Nicene, is not Origen's.³ Considering the speculative character of Origen's writings, 'his silence as to the prayers of the living for the dead is most remarkable,'⁴ especially when taken in connexion with the fact that he repeatedly alludes to the belief that the dead pray for the living.⁵ Yet Origen's silence is shared, so far as I have observed, by other writers of the third century, with the exception of those of North African extraction. To the witness of Tertullian and Cyprian I can add only a single sentence from Arnobius,⁶ who a few years before or after the end of the third century protests against the destruction of the churches on the ground that prayer is offered in them both for the living and for the dead ('cur immaniter conventicula [meruerunt] dirui? in quibus summus oratur Deus, pax cunctis et venia postulatur, magistratibus, exercitibus, regibus, familiaribus, inimicis, adhuc vitam degentibus et resolutis corporum vinctioe'). This reference to the intercession for the living and the dead in the liturgy compels us to believe that by the time of the last persecution the commemoration of the departed in the Eucharist had become so

¹ Lommatzsch vii 314 f 'memini in latinis exemplaribus magis haberi: *memoriis sanctorum communicantes*; verum nos nec consuetudinem turbamus, nec veritati praeiudicamus, maxime cum utrumque conveniat aedificationi'.

² Sanday and Headlam *Romans* p. 362. I do not share the doubt, but it must be noted.

³ See below, p. 506.

⁴ Westcott in *D.C.B.* iv 135.

⁵ See *hom. in Num.* xxvi 6; *hom. in Jos.* xvi 5; *de orat.* 14.

⁶ *Adv. Nationes* iv 26.

general in the churches of the empire that an appeal could be made to it before the heathen world.

We must now retrace our steps in order to examine a group of witnesses by which more light may be thrown upon details of Church life and worship in the third century than we have been able to gain from the literary remains of the time. Reference has been made to the earliest of Church orders, the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*.² The *Canons of Hippolytus*³ are scarcely less disappointing than the *Teaching*; the directions which they give for the celebration of the Eucharist contain no form of intercession for the living or the dead. One paragraph, however, recognizes the use of the memorial *agape*: c. 33 1, 2: 'If an *anagnostis* is held for the dead, let them receive the mysteries before they sit down; and let it not be held on the first day [of the week]. After the offering, before they sit down, let the bread of exorcism be distributed to them.'⁴ More is to be learnt from Haeck's Verona fragments of the *Didaché*, c. 61: 'in memoris congregantes vos, et sacramentum scripturarum facite lectiones et ad Deum preces indesinenter offerite, et eam quae secundum similitudinem regalis corporis Christi est regalem eucharistiam offerite tam in collectis vestris quam etiam in coemeteriis et in dormientium exinitione; panem mandum praeponeutes qui per ignem factus est et per invocationem sanctificatur, sine discretionem orantes offerite pro dormientibus.' Even in its Greek original, this order may not have been earlier than the middle of the

² See above p. 301.

³ According to Funk the *Canons* belong to a much later period. See *J.T.S.* viii p. 307 ff.

⁴ Achelis p. 106; cf. p. 300 f.

⁵ The interesting passage in the Commentary on Job printed among the works of Origen (Lommatsch xvi p. 238) may be cited here at length, as shewing the mind of the ancient Church in its memorial festivals: 'nos non nativitate diem celebramus, cum sit dolorum atque tentationum introitus; sed mortis diem celebramus, utpote omnium dolorum depositionem atque omnium tentationum effugationem. Diem mortis celebramus quia non moriuntur hi qui mori videntur: propterea et memorias sanctorum facimus, et parentum nostrorum vel amicorum in fide morientium devote memoriam agimus, tam illorum refrigerio gaudentes quam etiam nobis plam consummationem in fide postulantes. Celebramus nimirum religiosos cum sacerdotibus convocantes, fideles una cum clero, invitantes adhuc egenos et prosperos, pupillos et viduas saturantes, ut fiat festivitas nostra in memoriam requiei defunctis animabus quarum memoriam celebramus, nobis autem efficiatur in odorem suavitatis in conspectu aeterni Dei.' Whoever the writer of this Commentary may have been, his view of the *memoriae* is surely in the best spirit of the third century.

⁶ P. 85 f.

fourth century¹; but these directions may well represent, like the Hippolytean Canons, the practice of the third.²

With the peace of the Church and the conversion of the Empire the evidence, both literary and liturgical, becomes abundant. Eusebius³ tells us that the obsequies of Constantine were the occasion of a great act of intercession for the Emperor who had put an end to persecution. As his body lay before the altar, priests and people with many tears poured forth their prayers for his soul (λεὼς δὲ παμπληθὴς σὺν τοῖς τῷ θεῷ ιερωμένοις . . . τὰς εὐχὰς ὑπὲρ τῆς βασιλείας ψυχῆς ἀποδίδοται τῷ θεῷ). Eleven years after Constantine's death, Cyril⁴ bears witness to the permanent commemoration of the departed in the Liturgy of Jerusalem: εἶτα καὶ (i. e. after the commemoration of the saints) [προσφέροντες] ὑπὲρ τῶν προκεκοιμημένων ἁγίων πατέρων καὶ ἐπισκόπων καὶ πάντων ἁπλῶς τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν προκεκοιμημένων, μεγίστην δῆσιν πιστεύοντες ἔσθαι ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὑπὲρ ὧν ἡ δέσις ἀναφέρεται, τῆς ἁγίας καὶ φρικωδεστάτης προκειμένης θυσίας. Perhaps at the very time when Cyril was instructing his neophytes at Jerusalem, in the Delta Bishop Serapion was engaged in compiling the office-book which a happy discovery put into our hands some eight years ago. Here at length we find the actual words of a fourth-century liturgical intercession for the departed:⁵ § 1 παρακαλοῦμεν δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντων τῶν κεκοιμημένων, ὧν ἐστὶν καὶ ἡ ἀνάμνησις.⁶ ἁγίασον τὰς ψυχὰς ταύτας, σὺ γὰρ πάσας γινώσκεις· ἁγίασον πάσας τὰς ἐν Κυρίῳ κοιμηθείσας καὶ συγκαταρίθμησον πάσαις ταῖς ἁγλαῖς σου δυνάμεσιν, καὶ ὁδὸς αὐταῖς τόπον καὶ μονὴν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ σου. Still more interesting is the prayer which the Egyptian bishop provides for the burial of the dead.⁷ A short extract must suffice here: § 18 θεόμεθά σε περὶ τῆς κοιμήσεως καὶ ἀναπαύσεως τοῦ δούλου σου τοῦδε

¹ Wordsworth *Ministry of Grace* p. 29.

² It is interesting to compare the form which these directions receive in the *Apostolical Constitutions* (vi 30): ἀπαρατήτως δὲ συναβροῦζεσθε ἐν τοῖς κοιμητηρίοις τῇ ἀνάγνωσιν τῶν ἱερῶν βιβλίων ποιούμενοι καὶ ψάλλοντες ὑπὲρ τῶν κεκοιμημένων μαρτύρων καὶ πάντων τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος ἁγίων, καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ὑμῶν τῶν ἐν Κυρίῳ κεκοιμημένων. καὶ τὴν ἀντίτυπον τοῦ βασιλείου σώματος τοῦ χριστοῦ δεκτὴν εὐχαριστίαν προσφέρετε ἐν τε ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ὑμῶν καὶ ἐν τοῖς κοιμητηρίοις, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐξόδοις τῶν κεκοιμημένων ψάλλοντες προπέμπετε αὐτούς, ἵαν ᾧσι πιστοὶ ἐν Κυρίῳ.

³ *V. C.* iv 71.

⁴ *Catech. myst.* v 9.

⁵ *J.T.S.* i pp. 106, 112.

⁶ Here followed the recitation of the names, for the next clause is preceded by the rubric μετὰ τὴν ὑποβολὴν τῶν ὀνομάτων. See Brightman, *ad. loc.*

⁷ *J.T.S.* i pp. 268, 275.

(ἡ τῆς δούλης σου τῆσδε) τὴν ψυχὴν, τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ ἀνάπαισον ἐν τόποις χλόης, ἐν ταμείοις ἀναπαύσεως . . . τὸ δὲ σῶμα ἀνάστησον ἐν ᾧ ὥρισας ἡμέρα.

Another half-century brings us to the probable date of the *Apostolical Constitutions*. The liturgy of the eighth book, which may be taken to represent on the whole the liturgy of Antioch, recalls Cyril's account of the Jerusalem liturgy, but with the noteworthy difference that the great saints and the martyrs are included in one petition with the faithful generally, the Sacrifice being offered equally for all (c. 12 ἐτι προσφέρομέν σοι καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντων τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος εὐαρεστησάντων σοι ἁγίων, πατριάρχων, προφητῶν, . . . λαϊκῶν, καὶ πάντων ὧν ἐπίστασαι αὐτὸς τὰ ὀνόματα.¹ Explicit mention is made later in the same book of any person lately deceased who was to be commemorated: c. 41 ὁ διάκονος προσθήσει καὶ ταῦτα . . . ὑπὲρ τῆς κοιμήσεως τοῦδε ἡ τῆσδε δεηθῶμεν, ὅπως ὁ φιλόανθρωπος θεὸς προσδεξάμενος αὐτοῦ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀφήσῃ αὐτῷ πᾶν ἁμάρτημα ἐκούσιον καὶ ἀκούσιον καὶ ὧς καὶ εὐμενὴς γενόμενος κατατάξῃ εἰς χώραν εὐσεβῶν ἀνειμένων.² The bishop then offers a prayer to the same effect, and the form ends with a direction to solemnize with psalms, lessons, and prayer the third, ninth, and fortieth days after death, as well as the anniversary (ἐπιτελείσθω δὲ τρίτα τῶν κεκοιμημένων . . . καὶ ἑνὰ . . . καὶ τεσσαρακοστὰ . . . καὶ ἐνιαύσια ὑπὲρ μνείας αὐτοῦ). It is added that such celebrations are of service only to the faithful; to give alms to the poor on behalf of others is futile; their condition remains what it was before death (ὃ γὰρ περιόντι ἐχθρὸν ἦν τὸ θεῖον, δηλοῦν ὅτι καὶ μεταστάντι). Lastly, the sixth book of the *Constitutions* repeats the directions of the Didascalia about cemetery commemorations and Eucharists.³

The fourth century yields an abundance of literary evidence upon the subject of prayer for the departed. A few examples must suffice. In the picture of contemporary Church life which concludes the *Panarion*, Epiphanius writes⁴: ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν τελευτήσαντων, ἐξ ὀνόματος τὰς μνήμας ποιοῦνται, προσευχὰς τελοῦντες καὶ λατρείας καὶ οἰκονομίας. More than once, both in his earlier

¹ Lagarde p. 257 f. Yet a little further on, in the deacon's proclamation, a distinction seems to be drawn: τῶν ἁγίων μαρτύρων μνημονεύσωμεν . . . ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν πίστει ἀναπαυσάντων δεηθῶμεν.

² Lagarde p. 274 ff.

³ C. 30 (Lagarde p. 124 f.). See above p. 506.

⁴ *Panar.* iii 2. 21.

homilies delivered at Antioch and after he went to Constantinople, Chrysostom warmly commends prayers and offerings for the dead. Thus, in preaching on 1 Corinthians,¹ he urges: βοηθῶμεν τοῖνυν αὐτοῖς (sc. τοῖς κεκοιμημένοις), καὶ κόπον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐπιτελῶμεν. εἰ γὰρ τοὺς παῖδας τοῦ Ἰῶβ ἐκάθαιρεν ἡ τοῦ πατρὸς θυσία, τί ἀμφιβάλλεις εἰ καὶ ἡμῖν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀπελθόντων προσφέρουσι γίνεται τις παραμυθία; . . . μὴ δὲ ἀποκάμωμεν τοῖς ἀπελθούσι βοηθοῦντες, καὶ προσφέροντες ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν εὐχάς. Similarly, in the later homilies on Philipians²: οὐκ εἰκὴ ταῦτα ἐνομοθετήθη ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀποστόλων τὸ ἐπὶ τῶν φρικτῶν μυστηρίων μνήμην γίνεσθαι τῶν ἀπελθόντων ἴσασι αὐτοῖς πολὺν κέρδος γινόμενον, πολλὴν τὴν ὠφέλειαν. In the case of catechumens who die before receiving baptism, he recommends almsgiving: ἐνεστι πένησιν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν διδόναι ποιεῖ τινα παραψυχὴν τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ γὰρ παρ' ἀλλήλων ἡμᾶς ὠφελεῖσθαι βούλεται ὁ θεός. The *Historia Lausiaca* has several instances of the use of a commemorative *agape* or Eucharist in the Egyptian monasteries, e.g. § 16 ἄρτους ἀποφέρω, ἐπειδὴ ἀγάπη³ ἐστὶ τοῦδε τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, καὶ αὐρίου σαββάτου διαφαίνοντος χρεῖα τῶν προσφορῶν; § 22 συνέβη τοῦ μὲν τὰ τεσσαρακοστὰ⁴ ἐπιτελεῖσθαι, τοῦ δὲ τὰ τρίτα, παρὰ τῆς ἀδελφότητος. Such commemorations are forbidden in the case of two nuns who have committed suicide (§ 33). An interesting passage in the 'Canonical Answers' attributed to Timothy of Alexandria⁵ regulates the practice of the Egyptian Church in this matter, directing that the Sacrifice shall be offered only where the suicide can be definitely traced to insanity.

In the West the evidence comes chiefly from Milan and Carthage. About 387 Ambrose writes to a friend who is mourning the loss of a sister⁶: 'non tam deplorandam quam prosequendam orationibus reor, nec maestificandam lacrimis tuis, sed magis oblationibus animam eius Domino commendandam arbitror.' No one who has read the *Confessions* will have for-

¹ *Hom. in 1 Cor.* xli 5.

² *Hom. in Phil.* iii 4.

³ E. C. Butler *H. L.* p. 193: 'it may be questioned whether the Agapè in the present passage be not identical with the Eucharistic Celebration.'

⁴ Τριακοστὰ is the reading of important MSS, but Abbot Butler prints τεσσαρακοστὰ, partly for textual reasons, partly because 'the Greek practice, ancient and modern, seems to have been to commemorate the departed on the fortieth day, the Western and Oriental on the thirtieth' (*H. L.* p. 100).

⁵ *Resp. Canon.* 14. The question runs: 'Εάν τις μὴ ἔχων ἑαυτὸν χειρίσῃται ἡ κηρυγῇ ἑαυτὸν, εἰ γίνεται προσφορά, ἢ οὐ;

⁶ *Ep.* i 39 4. Cf. *de obitu Valentiniani* 78.

gotten the touching references which Augustine makes to the belief entertained upon this subject by his mother and himself;¹ how Monnica on her death-bed 'tantummodo memoriam sui ad altare fieri desideravit'; how Augustine and his friends fulfilled her last wish 'in eis precibus quas tibi fudimus cum offerretur pro ea Sacrificium pretii nostri, iam iuxta sepulchrum posito cadavere priusquam deponeretur, sicut illis [at Milan] fieri solet'; how, finally, the reader of the *Confessions* is besought to carry on the chain of prayer: 'ut quotquot haec legerint, meminerint ad altare Tuum Monnicae famulae Tuae.' It is pleasant to learn from Possidius that when Augustine's own time came, the same pious care was bestowed upon himself. Of Augustine's judgement on the efficacy of prayers for the dead more than one explicit record remains in his works; the following from the *Enchiridion*² may be cited here: 'Cum ergo sacrificia sive altaris sive quaecunque eleemosynarum pro baptizatis defunctis omnibus offeruntur, pro valde bonis gratiarum actiones sunt, pro non valde malis propitiationes sunt, pro valde malis etiamsi nulla sunt adiumenta mortuorum, qualescumque vivorum consolationes sunt; quibus autem prosunt, aut ad haec prosunt ut sit plena remissio, aut certe ut tolerabilior fiat ipsa damnatio.'

These remarks of Augustine, as well as those already quoted from Chrysostom, suggest that in the fourth century the question was being asked, 'To what purpose is this expenditure of prayer and Eucharist upon the departed members of the Church?' As a matter of fact, doubts were freely expressed upon the subject more than a generation before Augustine's time. Before A.D. 350 Cyril of Jerusalem had heard the point debated.³ 'I know many,' he tells his neophytes, 'who say, "What is a soul, leaving this world with sins or without them, profited by being remembered in the prayer?"' He replies that in offering the supplications of the liturgy we offer Christ sacrificed for our sins, and thus propitiate God both for the dead and for ourselves.⁴ But the

¹ *Conf.* ix 32, 36, 37.

² *C.* 29. Cf. c. 107, and *de civ. Dei* xxi 26. 4.

³ *Catech. myst.* v 10 οἶδα γὰρ πολλοὺς ταῦτα λέγοντας τί ὠφελεῖται ψυχὴ μετὰ ἁμαρτημάτων ἀπαλασσομένη τοῦδε τοῦ κόσμου, ἢ οὐ μεθ' ἁμαρτημάτων, εἴαν εἴη τῇ προσευχῇ μνημονεύηται;

⁴ *Ibid.* Χριστὸν ἐσφαγιασμένον ὑπὲρ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἁμαρτημάτων προσφέρουσιν, ἐξιλεονόμενοι ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τε καὶ ἡμῶν τὸν φιλόανθρωπον θεόν.

question needed a more complete answer than it received from Hilary. A few years later¹ the dissatisfaction which was felt came to a head in the outspoken words of Aetius of Pontus. Aetius condemned the practice of offering the Eucharist for the dead as once irrational and mischievous: *τίνι τῷ λόγῳ μετὰ θάνατον ομάζετε ὀνόματα τεθνεώτων; εὔχεται γὰρ ὁ ζῶν, ἡ οἰκονομία ἐποίησε· ὠφελήθησεται ὁ τεθνεώς; εἰ δὲ ὅλως εὐχὴ τῶν ἐνταῦθα τοὺς ἐκείσε ηἴσεν, ἄρα γοῦν μηδεὶς εὐσεβεῖτω μηδὲ ἀγαθοποιεῖτω, ἀλλὰ ποιησάσθω ἑαυτὸν τινὰς δι' οὗ βούλεται τρόπον, ἥτοι χρήμασι πείσας, ἥτοι φίλους ἰώσας ἐν τῇ τελευτῇ, καὶ εὐχέσθωσαν περὶ αὐτοῦ ἵνα μή τι ἐκεῖ πάθῃ, καὶ τὰ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γεγόμενα τῶν ἀνηκέστων ἁμαρτημάτων ἐκζητηθῇ.*² The retort of Epiphanius to this somewhat crude attack on the established practice of Christendom is temperate beyond his wont. The practice rests, he says,³ on the conviction that the departed members of the Church still exist, and live with Christ; to pray for them is not more futile than to pray for friends who are away on a journey. And even if our prayers do not wholly cancel their sins, we may render service to them by praying. In the liturgy we name both the righteous and the sinful, seeking mercy for the latter, and honouring the former, while at the same time we distinguish between the relative holiness of the saints and the approachable purity and majesty of our Lord. In any case it is too late to attempt to change the inflexible rules of our order, the Church, who has ordained prayers and offerings for the dead (*ἡ μήτηρ ἡμῶν ἡ ἐκκλησία εἶχε θεσμοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ κεκείμενους ἵτους, μὴ δυναμένους καταλυθῆναι*).

Epiphanius knew himself to be on the winning side, and Aetius made so little impression on his own age that our knowledge of his name and opinions is perhaps due to the *Panarion*. If we trust Epiphanius, he deserved to fail; in any case, there was

Eustathius of Sebaste, whose appointment to that See was, according to Epiphanius, the occasion of the outbreak of Aetius, was consecrated about 356.

Epiph. *haer.* 75, 2.

Ibid. 7 *τί ἂν εἴη τούτου προύργιαίτερον; . . . πιστεύειν μὲν τοὺς παρόντας ὅτι οἱ ὠθέντες ζῶσι . . . ὠφελεῖ δὲ καὶ ἡ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν γενομένη εὐχή, εἰ καὶ τὰ ὅλα τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν μὴ ἀποκόπτοι κ.τ.λ.*

Aetius is mentioned also by the Latin heresiologists, Philaster (c. 72), Augustine (c. 53), Isidore (c. 39), Paulus (c. 18), Honorius of Autun (c. 54); but their mention, so far as it refers to Aetius himself, was probably derived from Epiphanius.

need of a stronger man and one of more saintly character to begin a successful crusade against a practice which perhaps was coeval with Christianity, and certainly had been making steady progress in the Church for two centuries and a half. The Aerians seem scarcely to have survived their founder¹; any remaining tendency to call in question the offering of prayers and Eucharists for the departed was effectually checked by the authority of the great leaders of Christian thought and life who flourished during the next fifty years.

This brief examination of the evidence of the first four centuries points to some results which it may be well to collect here.

1. Although prayer for departed friends may have been occasionally offered by individual Christians from the very first, there is nothing to shew that the dead were commemorated by name, in *agape* or Eucharist, during the Apostolic and sub-Apostolic periods. Such commemorations probably began in the second century with the holding of memorial *agapae* at the tombs of the martyrs and afterwards at those of other Christian dead.² If the Eucharist was associated with the cemetery *agape*, whether it was held concurrently or immediately preceded the feast, the names of the dead may thus have found admission into the Eucharistic prayer. Early in the third century the Eucharist itself was, in North Africa at least, offered for the faithful departed, and before the end of the same century intercession for the dead seems to have been everywhere a familiar feature of the liturgy; while special celebrations of the Eucharist in memory of deceased individuals, in the cemeteries³ as well as in the churches, were advocated in contemporary manuals of Church life. The fourth century, with its assured freedom from persecution, its veneration for the martyrs, its growing sense of the greatness of the Mysteries and the unity of the Body of Christ, held still more firmly by

¹ He was alive when Epiphanius wrote (cf. § 1 οὗτος δ' Ἀέριος ἔτι καὶ δεῦρο (§ 5 ἐν σαρκί); his followers were numerous at first (§ 3 παρείλκυσε πολλὸν χορὸν ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν) and, as Philaster seems to say, abounded in Pamphylia till near the end of the fourth century.

² Dr. Keating (*Agapé and Eucharist* p. 156 f) suggests that the mortuary *agapé* 'was originally in all probability a grafting, so to speak, of the Christian Agapé upon the immemorial custom of funeral feasts'.

³ It was the first care of the tyrant Maximin in 311 to find a pretext for stopping the meetings of Christians in the cemeteries (Eus. *H. E.* ix 2 πρῶτον μὲν εἰργάζετο ἡμᾶς τῆς ἐν τοῖς κοιμητηρίοις συνόδου διὰ προφάσεως πειρᾶται).

these commemorations ; and notwithstanding the opposition of malcontents such as Acrius, and the reluctance of the worldly to burden themselves with the spiritual care of their dead, the practice of offering prayers, Eucharists, and alms for deceased members of the Church thenceforward established itself as an important factor in the Christian life both of East and West.

2. It may be that at first no attempt was made to analyse the purpose of these prayers and offerings. It was enough that by means of them the Church kept alive the memory of her departed members, and commended their souls and bodies to the keeping of Almighty God. The precise benefit to be reaped by the departed themselves was not clearly indicated ; even towards the end of the fourth century, Chrysostom is content to speak of an undefined help or profit which they would receive from the prayers of the living. On the other hand, Tertullian, with the Western love of definiteness, already counts up the principal advantages to be gained by the dead ; the prayers of the Church will bring them *refrigerium*¹, refreshment and rest after the toils of life, such as Lazarus found in the bosom of Abraham, and a part in 'the first resurrection'. Forgiveness of sins was also expected to follow from these intercessions. No importance can be attached to the case of Falconilla or to that of Dinocrates ; in both accounts we are dealing only with private speculations, which cannot be taken to reflect the general belief of the Church. The Church of the first four centuries was careful not to encourage prayer for any but such as had departed in the faith of Christ. But what of Christians who had passed away with sins committed after baptism ? Might not prayers and Eucharists gain for them a remission more or less complete ? The fourth century answered the question generally in the affirmative, attaching special weight in this connexion to the offering of the Eucharistic Sacrifice. Evidence to this effect has been found in the *Catecheses* of Cyril, in the *Apostolic Constitutions*, and in the *Enchiridion* of Augustine. Augustine works out the principle into a careful statement, in which the benefits received by the departed are graduated according to the class to which in the judgement of God they severally belong.

¹ On *refrigerium* in Tertullian see Roensch *Itala u. Vulgata* p. 321 f ; *Das N.T. Tertullians* pp. 217 ff, 645.

A middle course between this position and the vagueness of the early Roman *missae in pace* is followed by the Egyptian bishop, Serapion. His petitions for a fuller sanctification of the soul after death, and its reunion with the body, will commend themselves to many who dare not be more explicit. One may be permitted to regret that so chastened and reasonable a form of intercession for the departed was not before the Reformers of the sixteenth century when they fixed the practice of the English Church. It is in great part the fear of over-definiteness, in regard to a sphere of life whose conditions are still so imperfectly known, which debars thousands of private Christians from the comfort of prayer for their dead, and whole communions from reciting the names of the faithful departed in the liturgy, after the example of the ancient Church.

H. B. SWETE.

DOCUMENTS

CODEX TAURINENSIS (Y). IX.

ΙΜΑΜΑ ΛΟΓΟΥ ΚΥ 'ΕΠΙ ΤΟΝ 'ΙΗΛ 'ΕΝ ΧΕΙΡΙ 'ΑΓΓ[ΕΛΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ]: Ι

θεσθε δὴ ἐπὶ τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν· ἡγάπησα ὑμᾶς λέγει κ̄σ· καὶ εἶπατε ἐν
τῇ ἡγάπησας ὑμᾶς· οὐκ ἀδελφὸς ἦν ἡσαὺ τοῦ ἱακώβ . . κ̄σ ; καὶ ἡγάπησα
ἱακώβ· τὸν δὲ ἡσαὺ ἐμίσησα· καὶ ἔταξα τὰ ὅρια αὐτοῦ εἰς ἀφ . . σμόν·
καὶ τὴν κληρονομίαν αὐτοῦ εἰς [δῶμα]τα ἐρήμων· ὁ δὲ ἐὰν εἶπη ἡ ἰδου-
μαία κατέστραπται καὶ ἐπιστρέψωμεν καὶ ἀνοικοδομήσωμεν τὰς ἡρημω-
με[νας αὐτῆς] τὰς λέγει κ̄σ παντοκράτωρ· αὐτοὶ οἰκοδομήσουσι· καὶ ἐγὼ
καταστρέψω· καὶ . . αὐτοῖς ὅρια ἀνομίας· καὶ λαὸ . . τέτακται κ̄σ ἕως
εἰσῶν[ος]. ὁφθαλμοὶ ὑμῶν ὀφνῶνται καὶ ὑμεῖς ε . . κ̄σ ὑπεράνω τῶν ὀρίων
ἡγλ· υἱὸς δοξάζει π̄ρ· καὶ δοῦλος τὸν κ̄ν αὐ [13-15 litt (?)] καὶ εἰ π̄ρ
εἰμι ἐγώ· ποῦ [ἐστι ἡ δόξα μου καὶ] εἰ κ̄σ εἰμι ἐγώ· ποῦ ἐστι ὁ [φόβος
μου λέγει κ̄σ παντοκράτωρ] ὑμεῖς οἱ ἱερεῖς οἱ φαυλίζοντες τὸ [ὄνομά μου]
καὶ εἶπατε· ἐν τίνι ἐφανίσταμεν [τὸ ὄνομά σου ; ὁ προσάγοντες πρὸς τὸ

[al. I. 2^b Chrys. Hom. li 2 2, 3^a In Chan. et in Phar. ii 6^a De incompreh. Nat. ii 5

mscr. Μαλαχίας ιβ Β Ν Α Q 22

1. λημμα] αρμα Αq λημμα Σ Θ. 1, 2. εν χειρι—υμας] obelos adpinx et in mg
π' εβρ' Β^a (non b) αγγ[ελου αυτου] μαλαχίου Αq Σ Θ θεσθε—υμων] hab sub
Syro-Hex δη] om 147 2. ηγ(απησας)] ηγαπησα 62 147 185 ημας] υμας
(ημ. Ν^{c,a,c,b}) του ιακωβ] τω ιακωβ 86 147 ηγαπησα ιακωβ] + λεγει κ̄σ Ν (OL^c
ys = Y) ιακωβ 2^o] ρτ τον 22 3. τον δε η(σαν εμι)σησα] OL^c Chrys = Y
[δωμα]τα] εις δοματα Β Ν Α Q 95 185 εις σειρηνας Αq εις ανεπιβατα Σ Θ 4. εαν
] ερει Β Ν Α Q 48 288 εαν ειπε 22 86 51 62 86 95 97 147 185 εαν ειποι 228^a
om 51 (hab 51^a) ι(δουμαια)] ιδουμα Ν επιστρεψωμε(ν)] -ομεν 95 185
οικοδομησωμεν] -ομεν 95 185 τας] τα Ν^a τας Ν¹ ηρημωμε(νας)] ερημους
233 ερημωμενας Ν^{c,a,c,b} (αυτης)] om Β Ν^{a,b} (hab Ν^{c,a}) Αq 48 233 4. (οικο-
σου)σι] -σιν Β Ν Α Q (-σι Q^a) ανοικοδομησουσι 228 και εγω] καγω Q αιανο(ς)]
zu 62 86 147 5. (οφθαλμοι)] ρτ οι Ν Α ρτ και οι 22 των] τεν Ν^a (των Ν^{c,a,c,b})
] ρτ του Β Ν Α Q 2 (exc 22 86 51 95 97 185) 6. (υιος)—κ̄ν αν***] OL¹ = Y
+ φοβηθησεται 86^{ms} αν***] εαυτου 2 (exc 48) 13 litt (?) om Β (φοβηθησεται
Postea ras) Α Q 48 233 Syro-Hex OL¹ φοβηθησεται 2 (exc 48 233) Chrys και ο
ρ φοβηθησεται 147 και ει π̄ρ—(παντοκρατωρ)] et si pater sum ego ubi est
gr meus? dicit Dominus Omnipotens OL¹ και ει π̄ρ—(φοβος μου)] Chrys
που (εστι) 1^o—ειμι εγω 2^o] om 185 υμεις οι ιερεις ad fin com] OL^c = Y
αυλιζοντες] οι αυλιζοντες 147^a εξουθενουντες Αq εφανλισαμεν] εφανλισατε 62 86
OL^c = Y exc : et ponentes pro προσαγοντες : benedicta pro (εξ)ουδενωμενη] προς]

θυσιαστήριόν μου ἄρ]τους ἡλισγημένους· καὶ εἶπατε· ἐν [τίνι ἡλισγήσ]μεν
αὐτούς; ἐν τῷ λέγειν ὑμᾶς· τρά[πεζα κυ] ἐξ]ουδενωμένη ἐστὶ· καὶ τὰ ἐν-
8 τεθέ[μενα ἐξου]δενώσατε· ⁸ διότι ἐὰν προσαγάγητε [τυφλὸν εἰς] θυσίαν οὐ
κακόν; καὶ ἐὰν προσαγάγητε . . ἄρρωστον οὐ κακόν; προσάγαγε δὴ αὐ[τῷ]
. . ομένῳ σου· εἰ προσδέξεται εἰ λήψ[εται πρὸς]ωπὸν σου· λέγει κῶ
9 παντοκράτωρ· ⁹ [καὶ νῦν ἐξιλ]ίσκεσθε τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ θ[υ] ὑμῶν καὶ
δε[ή]θητε αὐτοῦ· ἵνα ἐλεήσῃ ὑμᾶς· [ἐν χερσὶν ὑμῶν] γέγονε ταῦτα· εἰ
10 λήψομαι ἐξ ὑμῶν πρόσωπα] ὑμῶν· λέγει κῶ παντοκράτωρ· ¹⁰ [διότι καὶ
ἐν ὑμῖν συ]γκλεισθήσονται θύραι καὶ [οὐκ ἀνάψετε τὸ θυσι]αστήριόν μου
δωρεάν· οἷ[κ] ἐστὶ μου θέλημα ἐν ὑμῖν· λέγει κῶ παντοκράτωρ· [καὶ
11 θυσίαν οὐ προσ]δέξομαι ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν ὑμῶν· ¹¹ διότι ἀπ' ἀνατολῶν ἡλίου

9^b Adv. Ind. v 12 10^a De Chanaanæa vi. Cur in Pentec. iv. Adv. Ind. vi
11 De Chanaanæa vi. Expos. in Psal. cxii i. In Psal. xcvi ii Theod. 10^b, 11 in
Psal. xcvi. Graec. Affec. Cur. x De Otac.

ἐπι 36 97 ἡλισγημένους] μεμολυσμένους Aq Σ Θ καὶ εἶπατε] in mg ras asterisc B¹
(ἡλισγησ]αμεν) -ομεν 22 -αμεν 22^a ἡλισγησατε μεν 62 ἡλισταμεν 147^a ἐμολυσταμεν Aq Σ Θ
(ἐξ]ουδενωμένη] ἡλισγημένη B A ευλογημένη 62 86 (ἐξουδενωμένη 86^{me}) 228 (ἐξουθε-
μένη 228^a) (Syro-Hex) ἐστὶ -ιν B N A Q (-ι Q^a) καὶ τα ἐπιτεθε[μενα]
in mg asterisc B² καὶ τα ἐπιτ. ad fin com] hab sub ~ Syro-Hex ἐπιτεθε-
(μένα)] ἐπιτιθέμενα B A Q 22 ἐπιθενα N^a ἐπιθεμένα N¹, c^a (ἐξου]δενώσατε] βρώματα
ἐξουδενώνται N^c, b (postea revoc ἐξουδενώσατε] βρώματα ἐξουδενωμένα A Q 36 86^{me} 233
ἐξουδενώται 228 8. θυσίαν] θυσίας 228^a pon ante τυφλὸν 62 86 147 απιστ 1¹
ak sup ras A^a καλὸν 22 36 ου κακὸν 2^o om 22 (36^{me} cum καλὸν pro κακὸν) 97
προσαγαγε] προσαγαγετε N^a (-γαγε N^c, b) 95 185 προσδέξεται] + σε B 2 (ex 51 62
95 97 147 185) + αὐτο N^c, a (postea σε) A Q 86 233 εἰ λήψ[εται πρὸς]ωπὸν σου]
(εἰ) δυσωπηθήσεται (το πρόσωπον σου) Aq Σ λήψ[εται] ληψεται B N A λήψ[ει 62
(πρὸς]ωπὸν] pr το 62 9. (ἐξιλ]ίσκεσθε] ἐξελακεσθε B^a (ἐξελασκ. B² ἐξελασκ. B²)
πρὸσωπον] προπον (sic) 22 υ(μων) 1^o ημων 147 ἵνα ἐλεήσῃ υμᾶς] om B (hab N^a
ras N^c, b) A Q 228 (hab 228^a) ἐν] pr οτι 36 228 γεγόνε] -γεν B N A Q εἰ λη-
ψομαι ad fin com] Chrys = Y ληψομαι] ληψομαι B A Q ληψόντε N^a (-μαι N^c, a, b)
ληψομαι 62 10. (διότι καὶ)—δωρεαν] ἰδου (al οτι καὶ al διότι) ἐν υμῖν συγκλεισθή-
σονται θύραι (al πύλαι al πύλαι χαλκαὶ καὶ οὐκ ἀνάψετε (al ἀλλαζονται) το θυσιαστήριον
(al προκειμένον) μου δωρεαν Chrys (διότι καὶ)—(ἐν υμῖν] τις ἐστὶν ἐν υμῖν ο κλεισ-
τας θύρας καὶ ἀναπτῶν το θυσιαστήριον μου δωρεαν; ου χρῆζω υμων Aq Σ (σε]τ
κλεισθήσονται] συνκλ. B^a (συγκλ. B^a fort^b) N θύραι] + μου 62 86 147 (ras 147^a)
ἀναψετε] ἀναψεται B N¹ (ἀναψεται N^a) A Q 62 86 147 (ἀναψετε 147^a) ἀναψατε 233
(Syro-Hex) (το)] om 147 ου(κ ἐστι) ad fin com] non est mihi
voluntas circa vobis (in vobis OL^{ce} om OL^a) dicit Dominus (+ omnipotens OL^{ce} OL^a)
et sacrificium (sacrificia OL^{tert}) acceptum (om OL^{ce} OL^a OL^{tert}) habebō (accipiam
OL^{ce} OL^a recipiam OL^{tert}) ex (de OL^{ce}) manibus vestris OL^{ce} OL^{ce} OL^a OL^{tert}
Theod = Y ἐπε μοι μου : om παντοκράτωρ (μου)] μοι 22^a (μου 22) 36 51 62 86 97
147 (228^{sup} ras) (μου θελήμα)] tr 95 185 (θελήμα)] θελήματα 97 11. (διότι
ἀπ ἀνατολῶν ad fin com] quoniam a solis ortu (ab ortu solis OL^{ce} ab oriente sole
OL^{tert}) et (om OL^{ce} OL^{tert}) usque in occasu (ad occasum OL^{ce} in occidentem al in
occasum OL^{tert}) clarificatum (glorificatum al clarificatum OL^{tert}) est nomen meum
apud gentes (in gentibus OL^{ce} in nationibus al in omnibus gentibus OL^{tert}) in omni
loci odores incensi offeruntur (incensum offertur OL^{ce} offeruntur sacrificia munda

ἕως δι[σμῶν αὐτοῦ τὸ ὄνομά μ]ου δεδόξασται ἐν τοῖς [ἔθνεσιν καὶ ἐν
τὶ τό]πῳ θυμίαμα προ

[vide p. 520]

ιούς μου ἀλλ' ἐλαμβάνετε πρόσωπα [ἐν νό]μῳ· ¹⁰ οὐχὶ ὅς εἰς ἔκτισεν II
; οὐχὶ [πῆρ] εἰς πάντων ὑμῶν; τί ὅτι ἐγκατελίπετε [ἐκ]α[στος
ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ· τοῦ βεβηλώσαι [τὴν δια]θήκην τῶν πατέρων
ν; ¹¹ ἐγκατελείφ[θη] ἰούδας καὶ βδέλυγμα ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ ἱηλ καὶ [ἐν]
λ· διότι ἐβεβήλωσεν ἰούδας τὰ ἁ[γία κῶ] ἐν οἷς ἡγάπησε καὶ ἐπε-
υσεν εἰς [θεοὺς] ἀλλοτρίους· ¹² ἐξολοθρεύσει κῶ τὸν ἀπ[ὸ]ν τὸν
ἵντα ταῦτα· ἕως ἂν καὶ ταπ[εινωθῇ ἐκ] σκηνωμάτων ἱακῶβ καὶ ἐκ
π[αγόντων] θυσιῶν τῷ κῶ παντοκράτορι· ¹³ [καὶ ταῦτα] ἃ ἐμίσουν
καίτε· ἐκαλύπτετε δ[άκρυον τὸ] θυσιαστήριον κῶ καὶ κλαυθμῷ [καὶ

II. 13^b Chrys. *De Libell. Repreh.* ii

nomini meo et sacrificium mundum quoniam magnum est nomen meum
ntes (om quam—apud gentes OL¹⁰ in gentibus OL¹⁰) dicit Dominus (+ omni-
OL¹⁰) et sacrificium acceptum non habeo ex manibus vestris (om et
um ad fin com OL¹⁰ OL¹⁰ OL¹⁰ OL¹⁰) OL¹⁰ OL¹⁰ OL¹⁰ OL¹⁰ διότι (al οτι)
τολων ἡλιου καὶ εως (al μεχρι) δυσμων (al + μεγα) το (al om το) ονομα μου
τα (al om δεδοξ.) ἐν τοις ἐθνεσι καὶ ἐν παντι τοπω θυμαμα (al το θυμ. μοι)
εται τω ονοματι μου καὶ θυσια καθαρα διότι μεγα το ονομα μου ἐν τοις ἐθνεσι
ριος παντοκράτωρ Theod (διότι απ ανατο) λων—θυσια καθαρα] Chrys = Y
pro διότι : απο pro απ : om ἡλιου [al hab] : μεχρι pro εως : ἡλιου pro αυτου
] : σου pro (μ)ου : δοξάζεται pro δεδοξασται : προσφερεται τω κυριω (al προσαγ.)
αγεται (απ)] απο Α Γ καὶ 1^o om Α Q (αυτου)] om B N A Q 48
: (Syro-Hex = Y) δεδοξασται] δοξασει 95 185 (ἐθνεσιν)] -σι 22
] + μοι 22 51 97

ἀλλ ἐλαμβάνετε—(νο)μῳ] ἐδυσωπεισθε προσωπα ἐν νομῳ Σ ἀλλ] ἀλλα
προσωπα] προσωπων 228 10. ουχι θς—παντων υμων] ουχι πῆρ εἰς
υμων ουχι θς εἰς ἐκτισεν υμας N^{c.b} (prior ord mox restit) (OL¹⁰ = Y exc :
υμας : unus est pro εἰς : nostrum pro υμων) (Syro-Hex¹⁰)
? ܡܝܢ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܡܝܢ Syro-Hex τι οτι—
] L^c = Y τι οτι] διότι Γ ἐγκατελίπετε] ἐγκατελίπετε B (εγκ. B^b) N
εἰπετε A Q Γ 233 (την)] pr καὶ 228 11. (OL¹⁰ = Y exc affectavit pro
σεν εἰς) ἐγκατελείφ(θη)] ἐγκατελείφθη B (ἐγκατελείφθη B^b) ἐγκατελείφθη Γ
A Q διότι] οτι N^{c.c} 228 ἡγαπήσε] -σεν 22 (-σε 22^a) καὶ ἐπιτηδευσεν εἰς
λλοτρίους] καὶ εσχῃ τὴν θυγατέρα θεου ἀπηλλοτριωμένου Α q καὶ εσχῃ (s. ἐκτῆσατο)
τερα θεου ἀπαλλοτριώσεως Σ καὶ ελαβε τὴν θυγατέρα ἡλ ξενου Θ εἰς] om N^{c.b}
οθρευσει—ταυτα] OL¹⁰ = Y ἐξολοθρεύσει] ἐξολεθρ. B N A Q Γ εως απ—
t humilis in tabernaculis iacob OL¹⁰ αν] om B N^a (hab N^{c.a}) A Q Γ 48 86
(εκ) 1^o] ἐξ N^a (εκ N^{c.b}) προσ(αγόντων)] προσαγαγόντων Α τω] om Α 51
ταυτα) α ἐμίσουν ad fin com] καὶ τουτο δευτερον εποιεῖτε· ἐκαλύπτετε δακρυω
στηριον κλαυθμῳ καὶ οἰμαγῇ απο του μη εἶναι ἐτι νευσαι προς το δωρον καὶ λαβεῖν
απο χειρος υμων Α q καὶ ταυτα δευτερον εποιεῖτε καλυπτοντες ἐν δακρυσι το
ριον κλαιοντες καὶ οἰμασσοντες απο (s. υπερ) του μη εἶναι ἐτι νευοντα προς το
μ δεξασθαι το ευδοκημενον απο χειρος υμων Σ καὶ τουτο δευτερον εποιήσατε·
ιτε δακρυσι το θυσιαστήριον κλαιοντες καὶ στενοντες απο του μη εἶναι ἐτι
ιζοντα το ολοκαυτωμα καὶ λαβεῖν τελειον εκ χειρων υμων Θ α] om Q^a

στεναγμῶ] ἐκ κόπων· ἐτι ἄξιον ἐπιβλέψαι εἰς θυσίαν] ὑμῶν ἢ λαβὼν
 14 δεκτὸν ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν ὑμῶν ¹⁴ καὶ] εἶπατε ἔνεκεν τίνος· ὅτ' . . ἀνὰ μέσον
 σου καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον . . τητός σου ἦν ἐγκατέλιπες· . . νός σου· καὶ γυνή
 15 διαθήκη σου ¹⁵ καὶ οὐ κάλλος] ἐποίησεν καὶ ὑπόλειμμα πνός σου καὶ
 εἶπατε τί ἄλλο ζητεῖ ὁ θς· [ἡ σπέρμα καὶ φυλάξασθε] ἐν τῷ πνι ὑμῶν
 16 καὶ γυναῖκα νεότητός [σου μὴ] ἐγκαταλίπης· ¹⁶ ἀλλ' εἰς μισήσας ἐξαπο-
 τεῖλον λ]έγει κς ὁ θς τοῦ ιηλ· καλύψει ἀσέβεια ἐπὶ . . νμήματα
 ὑμῶν· λέγει κς παντοκρά . . καὶ φυλάξασθε ἐν τῷ πνι ὑμῶν καὶ μὴ
 17 [ἐγκατ]αλίπτε τὴν συνθήκην· ¹⁷ οἱ παροξύνοντες] τὸν θν ἐν τοῖς λόγος
 ὑμῶν· καὶ εἶπατε [ἐν τίνι] παρωξύναιεν αὐτόν· ἐν τῷ λέγειν ὑμᾶς [πὺς
 ποιοῶν] πονηρὸν καλὸν ἐνώπιον κς· καὶ [ἐν αὐτοῖς] αὐτὸς εὐδόκησε· καὶ πῶς
 III ἰ ἐστὶν ὁ θς [τῆς δικ]αιοσύνης; ¹ ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἐξαποστέλλω τὸν [ἄγγελόν μου]
 καὶ ἐπιβλέψεται ὁδὸν πρὸ προσώ[που μου] καὶ ἐξαίφνης ἥξει εἰς τὸν ναὸν
 ἐαυτοῦ κς ὃν ὑμεῖς] ζητεῖτε· καὶ ὁ ἄγγελος τῆς δια[θήκης] ὃν ὑμεῖς] θελετε

17^{a,b} In Isai. iii 4III. 1^b Ad Theod. Laps. i 12. In Mulier. iii

(superscr Q^{vid}) 22 (hab 22^a) εμσουν] εμσαν N* (-σουν N^{c,a,c,b}) εποιε[τε]
 εποιεσατε 228 δ(ακρυσιν)] δρακυσιν B* (δακρ. B^{ab}) κοπταν] κοπταν N* τη
 αξιον ad fin com] Chrys = Y εχε ει προ ετι : ει (αλ η) προ η ετι] προ ει 22 υμω
 om BNAQG 36 48 97 228 (hab 228) 233 Syro-Hex ημων 62 εκ των χει(ρων
 υμων)] ειρκταν (sic) χειραν ημων 62 14. ενεκεν] ενεκα A Q Γ ην] + ου 62 86
 147 εγκατελιπες] εγκατελιπες B (εγκ. B^{ab}) εγκατελειπες A Q* (ενκ. Q*) εγκατελειπ[ε]
 Γ εγκατελοιπες 62 γυνη] προ η 62 15. ου καλλος] ου καλον B 48 233 ου καλον
 N^{c,b} 86 ουκ αλλος nisi potius ου καλλος A Q Γ (ουκ αλλος Γ^{vid}) ουκ αλλος 36 95 97 185
 228 𐤇𐤒𐤃 𐤓𐤕𐤁 Syro-Hex υπολειμ(μα)] υπολιμμα B (-λειμμα B^{ab}) NA Γ
 (πνός σου)] πν. αυτου BNAQG 48 86 (σου 86^{ms}) 228 (σου 228^a) 233 . . εν αυτω Aq
 . . ο χει Σ 𐤇𐤒𐤃? . . Syro-Hex (ει)πατε] ειπα N* (ειπατα N^a) ζητει ο θς (η
 σπέρμα)] η σπέρμα ζητει ο θεος BNAQG 48 228 233 η] αλλ η Q (φυλαξασθ[ε])
 -ξεσθε N^a (-ξασθε N^{c,b}) εν] om 62 86 147 γυναικα] γυνεκα N* (γυναικα N^{c,a,c,b})
 εγκαταλιπης] ενκ. B (εγκ. B^{ab}) εγκαταλειπης A Q* (ενκ. Q*^{vid}) Γ 233 16. αλλ]
 αλλα BQ μισησας] μισησης Q^b 𐤇𐤒𐤃 (εχε 36 48 228 233) εξαπο(στειλων)] εξαπο-
 στειλης BNAQ (εξαποστειλων Q^b) Γ 36 48 228 233 ο θς] + ο παντοκρατωρ θς A
 προ ο παντοκρατωρ ο θεος 86^{ms} του ιηλ] om του A Γ 86 (hab 86^{ms}) καλυψει] προ
 και BNAQ 48 86 (hab 86^{ms}) 228 233 Syro-Hex αποκαλυψει 95 185
 ασεβεια N υμων 1^a] σου BNAQ 48 228 233 𐤇𐤒𐤃? Syro-Hex 𐤓𐤕𐤁 2^a] + ο θεος
 ο 228 τω πνι] om τω Γ μη] προ ου BNAQ 22 48 228 233 (εγκατ)αλιπτε]
 ενκ. B (εγκ. B^{ab}) εγκαταλειπτε A (-ται) Q 233 την συνθηκην] om BNAQ 48
 228 233 Syro-Hex την διαθηκην 95 185 17. (OL¹ = Y εχε : qui facit προ ποιαν =
 bonum est προ καλον : deo προ κυ : om αυτος) θν] κυριον 228 και ειπατε ad fin
 com] Chrys = Y παρωξυναμεν] παροξ. NA αυτον] om A Γ 233 σε 228 πονηρον]
 πονηρα 95 185 προ το 147 καλον] καλος 62 86 147 233 ευδοκησε] -σεν BNG
 ε 2^o sup ras A' ηυδοκησεν Q* (-σε Q^a)

III. I. εγω] om B N* (hab N^{c,b,vid}) mox ras) 48 228 εξαποστελλω] εξαποστελλω
 62 95 147 185 228 και 1^a] om N* (superscr ε N^{b,c,a}) επιβλεψεται] επιβλεψεται
 86 σχολασει Aq αποσκευασει Σ ετοιμασει Θ (κ)αι εξαφνης—θελετε] OL¹ = Y
 Chrys = Y (εχε τον εαυτου ναον προ τον ναον εαν(του) : ο κυριος προ κς εξαφνης]
 εξαφνης BN (εξαφν. B^{ab} N^{c,b}) Γ εαν(του)] αυτου A Q^{ms} Γ 228 233 om Q 𐤇𐤒𐤃

κράτωρ· καὶ εἰσ[φέρετε] ἀρπάγματα καὶ χελεὶ καὶ τὰ ἐνοχλοῦ[μενα καὶ]
προσφέρετε αὐτὰ εἰς θυσίαν· εἰ προ[σδέχομαι αὐτὰ] ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν ὑμῶν·
14 λέγει κω παντ . . 14 καὶ ἐπικατάρατος ὃς ἦν δυνατὸς καὶ ὑπῆρχεν· ἐν τῷ
ποιμνίῳ αὐτοῦ ἄρσεν· καὶ εὐχὴ [αὐτοῦ ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ θύει διεφθαρμένα τῷ
κω· [διότι βασι·] λέυς μέγας ἐγώ εἰμι λέγει κω παντοκράτωρ καὶ τὸ ὄνομά
1 μου ἐπιφανὲς ἐν τοῖς ἔθ[νεσι] 1 καὶ νῦν ἡ ἐντολὴ αὐτῆς πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὡς ἱερεῖ * II
2 2[ἐὰν μὴ ἀκούσητε] καὶ ἐὰν μὴ θῆσθε εἰς τὴν κ[αρδίαν ὑμῶν τοῦ] δοῦ[ναι]
δόξαν τῷ ὀνόματί μου· [λέγει κω παντοκράτωρ καὶ] ἐξαποστελῶ ἐφ' ὑμᾶς
τὴν κ[ατάραν καὶ ἐπικατα]ράσσομαι τὴν εὐλογίαν ὑμῶν [καὶ καταράσσομαι
αὐ]τήν· καὶ διασκεδάσω [τὴν εὐλογίαν ὑμῶν καὶ οὐ]κ ἔσται ἐν ὑμῖν ὅτι
3 ὑμεῖς [οὐ τίθεσθε ἐπὶ καρδίας] ὑμῶν 3 ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἀφορίζω ὑμῶν τὸν ὄμιον·
καὶ σκορπίω ἐνυστρον ἐπὶ τὰ πρόσωπα ὑμῶν· ἐνυστρον ἐορτῶν ὑμῶν καὶ
4 λήψομαι ὑμᾶς εἰς τὸ αὐτό· 4 καὶ ἐπιγυνώσκειτε διότι ἐγὼ κω ἐξαπέστειλα
πρὸς ὑμᾶς τὴν ἐντολὴν ταύτην· τοῦ . . τὴν διαθήκην μου πρὸς τοὺς λέγ[ειτας]
5 λέγει κω παντοκράτωρ· 5 ἡ διαθήκη μου ἦν μετ' αὐτοῦ τῆς ζωῆς καὶ τῆς

14 Chrys. *In Ep. ad Hebr.* i. Hom. xxxiii 3

BNAQΓ 36 48 86 228 233 και τα ενοχλου(μενα)] και τα αρρωστα Αq Σ
προσφερετε] εαν φερητε B N^a (προσφερετε N^{c,a,b}) A Q 48 233 εαν θυσητε Γ προσφερετε
51 62 95 147 185 προσφερητε 86 αυτα] οτι BNAQΓ 48 228 233 εις] οτι
BNAQΓ 48 228 233 θυσιαν] ρη την BN 48 228 ει] και 51 ου 233 (αυτα)
αυτο 62 233 147 14. και επικατατος -τω κω] OL^a = Y (εxс: οti και ι°: homo
qui pro os): επικατατος os εχει αρσεν και θυει διεφθαρμενον το θεω Chrys επι-
κατατος] + ανθρωπος 36 (υπρηxen)] + αυτω A τω ποιμνιω] οti τω Q* (hab Q*)
233 αυτου ι°] οτι A ευχη] ρη η 62 147 (ew]) εν 36 51 97 θυει] θυσι Ν
διεφθαρμα] διεφθαρμοι BNAQΓ 36 48 51 228 233 εμμοιον Σ Θ (βασί)λευς
Ρηγας] η A εγω] οti 62 147 εθ(νεσι)] -σιν BNAQ (·σι Q*) Γ 22 (ν ras 22*)
II. I. (OL^c = Y εxс vos est ρη υμας) ω ιερει+ οι ιερεις BNAQΞ (εxс 22 36 51
228) τους ιερεις Γ ω οι ιερ. 228 2. (και εαν ακουσγητε)—ευλογιαν υμων] OI^a = Y
εxиm και 2° (ακουστητε)] υποκουσγητε A Γ 36 εαν μη 2°] οti N^{c,b} (postea ras)
Θηρι] θεσει N^{c,a,b} εις την κ(αρδια) ι°] εν τας καρδιας N^{c,b} (postea repos
εx την καρδιαν) τω ονοματι] ρη εν 22 (Λεγει) Syro-Hex^{me} sline nom
(κai) εξαποστειλω] εξαποστελλω N^a (-στελω N^{c,a,b}) και εξαποστειλω 95 οti και 51
ε(στηρα)] στανιν Αq την ευλογιαν υμων ι°—διασκεδασω] οti 147 (και καταρασμαι
αυτη—εν υμιν) * Syro-Hex^{me} και διασκεδω—εν υμιν] obelos adpinx et in mg ου κ' εβρ. B^{7ms}
Syro-Hex και διασκεδω] οti 62 228 (hab 228^{me}) (την ευλογιαν υμων) 2°] οti υμων 62 228 (hab
228^{me}) εν] οti 62 147 228 (hab 228^{me}) (ει καρδιας)] εις (ει N^c. bvid) postea
ras) την καρδιαν BNAQΓ 48 228 επι καρδιας 36 επι τας καρδιας 86 επι την καρδιαν 233
Syro-Hex 3. ιδου εγω—εορταν υμων] ιδου εγω επιτιμιαν υμιν συν τω
Βραχιονι και λικμησω κοπον επι προσωπα υμων κοπον εορταν υμων Αq ιδου εγω επιτιμι-
ων... Σ ευσυτρον ι°] κοπον Σ Θ επι τα προσωπα υμων ευσυτρον] οti Ν (hab
N^a) εορταν] εορτης A Q 62 86 147 233 Syro-Hex Syro-Hex^{me}
εορταν υμων η ληφομαι υμας sup ras B^a εορταν υμων] οti υμων ΒΓ ληφομαι
λημφομαι BAΓ λημφομαι N^{c,b} (postea revoc λημφομαι) εις] επι Α 4. επιγνωσεθε]
γνωσεσε Ν Γτι κσ] οti B N 48 51 228 233 Syro-Hex εφεσσεσταλκα] εφεσ-
τευτα 62 86 147 την διαθηκη] οti την Νⁱ 228 λε(υτας)] λευitas BNAQ*
Λευτας Ο^a] προκειμενους 86^{me} λευι Αq Σ Θ 5. η διαθηκη ad fin com] Testa-

εἰρήνης· καὶ ἐ**κα αὐτῷ φόβῳ φοβεῖσθαι με καὶ ἀπὸ [προσ]ώπου ὀνόματος
 6 μου στέλλεσθαι αὐτόν· ⁶[νόμος] ἀληθείας ἦν ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ· καὶ
 αἰδία οὐχ εὐρέθη ἐν χείλεσιν αὐτοῦ· ἐν εἰρήνῃ [κατευθύνων] ἐπορεύθη
 7 μετ' ἐμοῦ· καὶ πολλοὺς [ἀπέστρεψεν] ἀπὸ ἀδικίας· ⁷ ὅτι χεὶλ ἱερέως [φω-
 ξεται] γνῶσιν· καὶ νόμον ἐκζητήσουσιν [ἐκ τοῦ στόματος] αὐτοῦ· ὅτι
 8 ἄγγελος κυ παντοκράτορός ἐστιν· ⁸ ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐξεκλίνετε ἐκ τῆς [δόου καὶ
 ἡσθενησα]τε πολλοὺς ἐν νόμῳ μου [διεφθείρατε] τὴν διαθήκην τοῦ λαοῦ
 9 λέγει κύριος· ⁹ καὶ ἐγὼ δέδωκα ὑμᾶς ἐξου[δεωμένους καὶ ἀπ]ερριμμένους εἰς
 III 3 πάντα . . εἰς οὐκ ἐφυλάξατε τὰς [vide p. 519] ³ ἔσονται τῷ κύριῳ προσάγοντες
 4 θυσίαν ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ· ⁴ καὶ ἀρέσει τῷ κύριῳ θυσία ἰούδα καὶ . . καθὼς αἱ
 5 ἡμέραι τοῦ . . καθὼς τὰ ἔτη τὰ ἐμπροσθεν· ⁵ καὶ προσελεύσομαι ὑμᾶς ἐν
 κρίσει· καὶ ἔσομαι μάρτυς ταχὺς ἐπὶ τὰς φαρμακοὺς· καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς μο-
 χαλίδας· καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀμνύοντας τῷ ὀνόματί μου ἐπὶ ψεύδει· καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς
 ἀποστεροῦντας μισθὸν . . τοῦ· καὶ τοὺς καταδυναστεύοντας χήρας· καὶ . .
 διυλίζοντας ὀρφανούς· καὶ τοὺς ἐκκλίν· . . κρίσιν προσηλύτου· καὶ τοὺς μη-
 6 φοβ· . . με λέγει κύριος παντοκράτωρ· ⁶ διότι ἐγὼ [κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὑμῶν] καὶ οὐκ
 7 ἡλλοίωμαι· ⁷ καὶ ὑμεῖς υἱοὶ ἰ . . [ἀ]πέχεσθε ἀπὸ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν . . ἔξ-

II. 7 Chrys. *Expos. in Psal. cxxxvii* 1. In *Psal. xc* 2. In *Cap. i Eph. ad*
Gal. Com. vii. Theod. iii 6. *Dial.* i

mentum meum (al om meum) fuit cum vita et pace et dedi illi (al illis) timorem ut
 timeret (al timere) me a facie nominis mei proficisci illum OL^c φοβῶ] pr a BN^a
 (om N^{c,b}) A Q G L (exc 48 95 185 228) 86 Syro-Hex φοβον 95 185 φοβεσθαι]
 φοβεσθε 95 185 με] om B (hab B^{ab} (v12)) Γ ονοματος] pr του A 6. (OL^c = Y
 exc : om ην : in pace linguae (al om linguae) pro εν ειρηνη : nobiscum pro μετ' εμου)
 αληθειας] αληθιας N^a (-θειας N^{c,b}) χειλεσιν] pr τοις Q 36 (κατευθυναν)] κατευθυ-
 incep N^a (κατευθυν.) N¹ (απεστρεψεν)] απεστρεψεν BN A Q Γ 48 62 86 228
 (απεστρ. 228^a) 233 7. (OL^c = Y exc om παντο(κρατορος) (al hab)) χειλη ιερων
 (al ιερως) φυλαζεται κρισιν (al γνωσιν) και εκ στοματος αυτου ζητησουσι δικαιοσυνην οτι
 αγγελος κυριου παντοκρατορος εστιν Chrys (του)] om BN A Q Γ L (exc 22 36 51 95
 97 185) 86 οτι 2^o] διοτι BN A Q Γ 48 233 (εστι)] εν BN A Q Γ 8. (δδου)]
 + μου 51 (και ησθενησα)τε] και εσκανδαλωσατε Aq και εσκανδαλισαι 38
 (ησθενησα)τε πολλους] tr A Q Γ 233 μου] om BN A Q Γ L (exc 22 36 51 97 228^a)
 86 Syro-Hex (διεφθειρατε)] και διεφθειρα A (sign sup a 2^o adpinx A^a) λειν]
 λεινι NA Q^a (λειν Q^a) Γ 9. και εγω] καγω BN εξου(δενωμενους)] εξον incep
 N^a (εξουδ. N¹ v12) (απ)ερριμμενους] απερριμμενους B^a (απερριμμ. B^{ab}) N^a παρμενους
 N^{c,b} fort (πα superscr) παρειμενους Q 86 147 185 παρημενους 62 παρερριμμενους 228
 ܡܠܟܐ Syro-Hex ουκ εφυλαξατε] ου φυλασσεσθε BN L (exc 36 51 97) 86 exc
 εφυλαξασθε A (-σθαι) Q Γ

III. 3. θυσιαν] θυσιας N Q 228 233 ܡܠܟܐ Syro-Hex 4. θυσια] pr η N και
 2^o] εν L (exc 48 36 233) 86 ετη] τ sup ras A^a 5. προσελευσομαι] προσελω
 BN A Q Γ 48 86 (αξω 86^{me}) 228 233 υμας] pr προς BN Q Γ εσομαι μαρτυς] in
 mg et sup ras A¹ (om μαρτυς A^a v12) τας 1^o] τους 36 51 62 95 147 185 τους
 καταδυν.] om τους L (exc 48 228) 86 χηρας] χηραν BA Γ 22 48 147 233 χη^N v12
 χηρας N^{c,a}, c,b τας χηραν Q^a τας χηρας Q^a 36 κρισιν] κριμα Q 233 προσηλυτου
 προσηλυτους (superscr s) Q^a οι γ' προσηλυτου Q^{me} 6. διοτι ad fin com] εγω ει
 και ουκ ηλλοιωμαι Theod (υμων)] ημων A Γ και] om A 7. (α)πεχεσθε]

- 14 σου; 14 εἵπατε] μάταιος ὁ δουλεύων θῶ· καὶ [τί πλέον ὅτι ἐφ' ὑλάξαμεν τὸ
φυλάγματα [αὐτοῦ καὶ διότι ἐπ' ὀρενύθημεν ἰκέται πρὸ προσώπου κυ πατρ
15 κ]ράτορος· 15 καὶ νῦν ὑμεῖς [μακαρίζομεν ἄλλο] τρίτους· καὶ ἀνοικοδομοῦνται
16 πάντες ποιοῦντες ἀνομήματα ἀντὶ [16-17 litt] ἦσαν· 16 ταῦτα κατε-
λάλησαν οἱ φοβούμενοι] τὸν κν· ἕκαστος πρὸς τὸν πλησίον αὐτοῦ· καὶ
προσέσχ[ε κσ καὶ] εἰσήκουσε καὶ ἔγραψε βιβλίον μνημοσ[ύνου] ἐνώπιον
17 αὐτοῦ τοῖς φοβουμένοις τὸν [κν καὶ] εὐλαβουμένοις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ· 17 καὶ
ἔσονται μοι λέγει κσ παντοκράτωρ εἰς ἡμέραν ἣν ἐγὼ ποιῶ εἰς περιποίησιν
καὶ αἰρετιῶ αὐτοὺς ὃν τρόπον αἰρετίζει ἄνθρωπος τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν υἱὸν
18 δουλεύοντα αὐτῷ· 18 καὶ ἐπιστραφήσεσθε καὶ ὤψεσθε ἀνὰ μέσον δικαίου
καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον ἀνόμου καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ δουλεῖοντος] τῷ θῶ· καὶ ἀνὰ
IV 1 μέσον τοῦ μὴ δ***** αὐτῷ· 1 ὅτι ἰδοὺ ἡμέρα ἔρχεται καιομένη] ὡς
κλίβανος· καὶ φλέξει αὐτοῦς καὶ ἔσονται] πάντες οἱ ἄλλογενεῖς· καὶ

III. 14⁸ 15. Chrys. Adv. Ind. v 5

IV. 1. Ad Theod. laps. i 12

BNAQG 48 228 233 Syro-Hex 14. (OL¹ = Y ex: quia dixistis pro isto: omnis qui servit pro o δουλευων; omi διοτι) μάταιος μετεος N* (mateos N^{a,b}) εἰ αναφελος 95 185 ο δουλευων θῶ] pr pas 36 223^a τω θεω δουλευειν 95 185 (πλεων)] πλιον N* πλειον N^{a,b} Q (εφ)υλαξαμεν τα φυλαγματα] εφυλαξαμεν τα προσταγματα σου Chrys (και) 2^o] omi AΓ 233 15. (OL¹ = Y ex: nos pro vmeis et restiterunt pro ante . .) και νυν—ανομηματα] Chrys = Y ex: omi vmeis: o ποιουντες pro παντες ποιουντες vmeis] ημεις BNAQG 48 228 233 Syro-Hex (αλλο)τριους] υπερηφανους Aq Σ Θ (παντες)] omi N^{a,b} vid A Q Γ 233 (ποιουν)τες] bis scr B ανομηματα] ανομα BNAQG 48 95 185 228 233 ανομια 62 86 147 ante . .] και (omi και A Q Γ) αντεστησαν θεω και εσωθησαν BNAQG 48 86 95 185 228 αντεστησαν τω (omi τω 36 51 62 97 147 233) και εσωθησαν 48 86 95 185 228] εδομμασαν τον τον θεον . . Aq επειρασαν τον θεον . . Σ Θ 16. (OL¹ = Y ex: deum pro τον κν 1^o) κατελα(λησαν)] ελαλησαν A (φοβουμενοι)] + τοι N* (improbi N¹, c^a, c^b) τον κν 1^o] omi τον Q Γ 233 omi κν N^a vid (hab N¹) προσεσχ(ε)] -σχ BNAQ (-σχε Q^a) ιδεν Γ εισηκουσε] -σεν BNAQ (-σε Q^a) Γ 22 ν ras 22^a εγραψε] -ψεν BNAQ (-ψε Q^a) Γ 17. (OL¹ = Y ex: erit pro εσονται) μοι] μου N^a vid (μοι N¹) περιποιησιν] περιουσιον Aq περιποιησιν οι λ' αιρετιω] ερετι A¹ (superscr A¹) αιρετιω—τον υιον αυτου] φεισομαι (αυτων) ως φειδεται ανθρωπος του υιου αυτου Aq αιρετιζει] αιρετει Q^a εν] omi BNAQG 48 22 36 51 97] 86 Syro-Hex 18. (OL¹ = Y ex: omi και 2^o: quantum sit inter pro ανα μεσον 1^o: omi ανα μεσον 2^o: inter servientem pro και ανα μεσον του δουλευ(οντος): omi ανα μεσον 4^o: omi αυτω) και 1^o] omi N* (hab N^a) ανομου] αδικου AΓ 36 του 1^o] omi 22 147 228 τω] omi BNAQ 48 22 36 51 97 ανα μεσον 4^o] omi BNAQ 48 22 51 62 95 147 185 (Syro-Hex = Y) του μη] τω μη B^a (του μη B^a) αυτω] omi BNAQ 22 48 228 233 Syro-Hex

IV. 1. οτι ιδου ad fin com] ecce dies domini venit ardens velut clibanus erantque omnes alienigenae et omnes iniqui stipula et succendet illos adveniens dies dici dominus (OL¹) et non derelinquetur ex eis radix nec vitis (OL^a) Chrys = Y ex: omi οτι: add κυριου post ερχεται: καταφλεξει pro φλεξει: τα ανομα pro ανομα (al omi) καλαμη pro καλαμη: om αυτων οτι] διοτι BN* (οτι N^{a,b}) A Q Γ 48 233 ιδου] omi A* (διοτι ιδου in mg et sup ras A^a) ημερα 1^o] + κν A Q Γ ερχε(α)] + κν 36 καιομενη] καιομενη Q^a και φλεξει αυτου(ς)] omi 62 86 (και φλεγει αυτου 86^{ms}) 147 hab sub 4 Syro-Hex (και εσονται)—(αναφει αυτους)] omi 228 παντες

πάντες οἱ ποιοῦντες ἄνομα καλᾶμην· καὶ [ἀνάψει αὐτοὺς ἡ]μέρα ἡ ἐρχο-
μένη λέγει κῶ [παντοκράτωρ καὶ] οὐ μὴ ὑπολειφθῇ αὐτῶν [ῥίζα οὐδὲ κλῆμα]
2^a καὶ ἀνατελεῖ ὑμῖν τοῖς φοβουμένοις τὸ ὄνομά μου ἥλιος δικαιοσύνης καὶ
ἴσους ἐν ταῖς πτέρυξιν αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἐξελεύσεσθε καὶ σκιρτήσετε ὡς μουσ-
3 χάρια ἐκ δεσμῶν ἀνειμένα³ καὶ καταπατήσετε ἀνέμους καὶ . . . τῶν
6 ποδῶν ὑμῶν ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ . . . ποῦ λέγει κῶ παντοκράτωρ·⁶ μνήσθητε νόμου
μωσῆ τοῦ δούλου μου· καθότι ἐνε . . . αὐτῷ ἐν χωρῇβ πρὸς πάντα τὸν ἡλ.
προστάγματα καὶ δικαιώματα·⁴ καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἀποστέλλω ὑμῖν ἥλιαν τὸν
5 θεσβίτην πρὶν ἢ ἔλθειν τὴν ἡμέραν κῶ τὴν μεγάλην καὶ ἐπιφανή·⁵ ὅς
ἀποκαταστήσει καρδίαν πτς πρὸς υἱὸν καὶ καρδίαν ἀνοῦ πρὸς τὸν πλησίον
αὐτοῦ· μὴ ἔλθων πατάξω τὴν γῆν ἄρδην·

. . . αλαχίας

. . . γράφη ἐν ἔτει ἐκ . . .

W. O. E. OESTERLEY.

^a In Psal. ciii 4. In Psal. lxxxiii 2 ^a Theod. In Cantic. Cant. Lib. iii.
Quaest. in Num. iii ⁴ Chrys. De Proph. Obscur. ii 5 4, 5 Theod.
Haez. Fab. Compend. Lib. v

οἱ ἐλλογούμενοι] πάντες οἱ υπερήφανοι Αq ἀνομα] ἢ τα Γ ἀνομοὶ 62 147 (ἡ ἡμέρα]
οἱ ἡ 1^o 147 ἡ ἐρχομένη] οἱ ἡ Β ὑπολειφθῇ] υπολειφθῇ Β* Ν Γ (-λειφθῇ Β^{ab} Α Q)
αὐτῶν] ἢ ἐξ Β Ν* (οἱ Ν^{c.b}) Α Q Γ 48 86 228 233 αὐτον 62 αὐτῶν 147 (οἱ) Syro-
Hex 2. καὶ ἀνατελεῖ—πτερυξίν αὐτοῦ] Chrys = Y ἐκ: οἱ καὶ 1^o: οἱ τοῖς
φοβουμένοις: κυρίου ἔργο μου τοῖς δὲ φοβουμένοις με ἀνατελεῖ ἥλιος δικαιοσύνης καὶ
ἴσους ἐν ταῖς πτερυξίν αὐτοῦ Theod Vobis autem timentibus (al qui timetis) meum
nomen (al nomen domini) orietur (al + vobis) sol iustitiae et sanitas (al curatio) in
alis (al pinnis) eius OL^a OL^{bc} Timentibus oritur sol iustitiae et sanitas in pinnis
eius OL^a μου] αὐτοῦ 147 αὐτοῦ] αὐτῶν Α (ἐξελεύσεσθε καὶ σκιρτήσετε]
λαύσεσθε καὶ σκιρ sup ras Α* (σκιρσατε Α) 3. καταπατήσετε] -σατε Α (καὶ)
2^o] ὅτι Β Ν Α Q Γ 48 95 185 233 οἱ 228 ὑμῶν] ἡμῶν Ξ (ἐκ 51 62 147 233)
4-6. com 6 pon post com 5 Β Α Q Γ Ξ (ἐκ 235) (Ν^{c.b} Syro-Hex = Y) 6. νομου]
νομου 62 μωσῆ] μωσῆ Α Q Γ μωσῆ 51 147 μωσῆ 95 χωρηβ] χωρημ 36 ἡλ]
ἔργου 228 4. (Theod = Y ἐκ: οἱ καὶ 1^o: ἀποστέλω (al ἀποστέλλω): οἱ ἡ:]
καὶ ἰδοὺ—θεσβίτην] ἐγὼ γὰρ ἀποστέλλω ὑμ. ἥλιαν τὸν θεσβίτην Chrys et ecce mittam
vobis helian thesbiten OL^{bc} καὶ 1^o] οἱ Γ ἀποστέλλω] ἀποστέλω 48 95 185
228 233 ἐξαποστέλλω 62 ἐξαποστέλω 86 147 ἡ] οἱ Β Ν Α Q Γ 48 62 86 147 228
(Λ^{ab} 228^a) αὐ 233 τὴν] οἱ Β Ν Α Q 228 233 καὶ ἐπιφανή] καὶ ἐπιφοβον Αq
φοβέραν 86^{bc} sine nom 5. (Theod = Y) ἐλθων] ἐλθω καὶ Β Ν* (ἐλθων Ν^{c.b})
Α Q Γ 48 233

Subscr . . . αλαχίας . . . γράφη ἐν ἔτει ἐκ man recen Y

Subscr Μαλαχίας ιβ' Β προφήτης ἀγγελος Μαλαχίας ιβ' Ν Α

Μαλαχίας ιβ' προφηται ιβ' Q deest ut vid in Γ

μαλαχίας στιχων cΔ 22

SOME NEW FRAGMENTS OF PELAGIUS.

I. TWO NEW FRAGMENTS OF PELAGIUS.

THE fragments in question were discovered last year by Mr Souter, and published by him as an appendix to his admirable paper 'The Commentary of Pelagius on the Epistles of St Paul: the Problem of its Restoration' pp. 29-31.¹ Since however he confined himself—after mentioning the MS in which they were found, Paris lat. 653, saec. ix—to the statement that 'the above two passages have never been printed before, as far as I know: I have no reason to regard them as anything but genuine pieces of Pelagius' (p. 31), I may be allowed to say something on their particular *provenance* and purpose, and to suggest some emendations in them, while leaving all other matters to historians of the Pelagian controversy.

The source of the fragments is certainly the lost reply by Pelagius to St Jerome's Epistle to Ctesiphon (ep. 133) and Dialogue *contra Pelagianos* (both of which belong to A.D. 415), as is shewn by the phrases selected as targets for the refutation, which are partly prefixed to, partly incorporated in, the answers to them.

In fact the passage first prefixed—'Hieronymus "qui nouit" inquit "aliam esse carnis fragilitatem, aliam spiritus fortitudinem: CARO ENIM CONCUPISCIT ADVERSUS SPIRITUM, SPIRITUS AUTEM [AUTEM] ADVERSUS CARNEM; HAEC ENIM INVICEM ADVERSANTUR, UT NON QUAEVUMQUE VULTIS ILLA FACIATIS"'—is taken from § 9 of the letter to Ctesiphon, where we read—with noteworthy differences, in part at least original, of the biblical text, 'Et hoc non mihi sed apostolo imputa, qui nouit aliud esse Deum aliud esse hominem, aliam carnis fragilitatem aliam spiritus fortitudinem. CARO ENIM DESIDERAT CONTRA SPIRITUM ET SPIRITUS CONTRA CARNEM; ET HAEC INVICEM SE INVICEM ADVERSANTUR, UT NON QUAE VOLUMUS IPSA FACIAMUS.'² To this quotation from St Paul (but as given in the editions of St Jerome, as in the Paris codex) Pelagius opposes the criticism that the apost-

¹ From the Proceedings of the British Academy, vol. ii. I owe the *tirage à part* to the kindness of the author.

² Ed. Vallarsi i (A.D. 1734) 1031 = *P. L.* xxii (ed. 1864) 1157. It is curious that in Gal. v 17 the Paris MS gives to St Jerome substantially the Vulgate reading, followed by Pelagius, while Jerome really has here a quite different reading, which Pelagius criticizes as incorrect: it follows that in the Paris MS or its archetype the passage has been considerably retouched.

“non dixit UT NON QUAE VOLUMUS ILLA FACIAMUS, sed ait UT NON QUaecumque VULTIS ILLA FACIATIS”. Pelagius is further referring to the preceding words of St Jerome ‘Reclamabis et dices Manichaeorum dogma nos sequi . . . asserentium malam esse naturam, quae immutari nullo modo possit’—when he writes ‘apostolus . . . non indagit [*lege* inde agit] ut naturam carnis malam esse demonstret, ne, ut tu putas, Manicheorum aplaudat errori’: just as also Pelagius’s words ‘no(n) quae vellet, ut dicis, sed quae nol(1)et cogeretur efficere’ are an echo of St Jerome’s (*ib.*) ‘Interroga . . . quae necessitas illius impediatur voluntatem, quae tanta vis odio digna imperet facere, ut non quod vult, sed quod odit et non vult, facere compellatur?’

The extract prefixed to the second fragment of Pelagius—‘Hieronymus “unde et apostolus” ait “EX PARTE accepisse et EX PARTE conprehendisse se dicit, et NECDUM esse PERFECTUM, PRAETERITORUM quoque oblivisci[t] et IN FUTURUM¹ se extendere. qui semper praeteritorum obliviscitur et futura desiderat, ostendit se praesentibus non esse contentum”’—is a rather free summary of *Dial. contra Pelagianos* i 14: ‘Dicit se NECDUM comprehendisse et nequaquam esse PERFECTUM . . . et asserit PRAETERITORUM se semper oblivisci et AD PRIORA semper extendi: per quae docet praeterita neglegenda et futura cupienda, ut quod hodie perfectum putavit, dum ad meliora et priora extenditur, cras imperfectum fuisse convincat . . . o apostole Paule . . . dicis te NECDUM accepisse et NECDUM comprehendisse et NECDUM esse perfectum et PRAETERITORUM semper oblivisci et AD PRIORA te extendi.’² And on the same context in the Dialogue, and particularly on the words ‘Haec est hominis vera sapientia imperfectum esse se nosse’ depends the almost verbal citation in Pelagius’s reply ‘Ais enim hanc esse in hominibus summam perfectionem sive perfecto [*lege* si imperfectos] esse se nouerint’ and the summary objection put into Jerome’s mouth “Et quo modo” inquires “ipse NONDUM se dicit esse PERFECTUM, et e contrario quo modo ipse non solum se sed etiam alios dicit esse PERFECTOS?”: cf. Jerome *loc. cit.* ‘Dicis te . . . NECDUM esse PERFECTUM’ . . . et quo modo statim infers QUOTQUOT ERGO PERFECTI HOC SAPIMUS? . . . Qui . . . simpliciter fatebatur se non esse perfectum, nunc quod sibi proprie denegabat mittit in turbam iungitque se cum ceteris et ait QUOTQUOT ERGO PERFECTI HOC SAPIAMUS’.

Without question then the two fragments are directed against the

¹ A remarkable version of Phil. iii 13, if indeed it is not an arbitrary alteration of the original maker of the extract or of some later copyist. The almost universal reading ‘priora’ is too constant both here and elsewhere in St Jerome to be explained away as an adaptation to the Vulgate. Even Pelagius in his commentary *ad loc.* has ‘ad priora festino’, if the reading is genuine.

² Vallarsi ii 694 = P. L. xliii 529 D-530 A.

two anti-pelagian treatises of St Jerome, and are probably derived from the answer which Pelagius, in fulfilment of his pledges,¹ can hardly have waited long before publishing.² The answer had wholly disappeared, but there now remain of it these two fragments, no despicable specimens of Pelagius's controversial ability. They owe their preservation to the care of some ancient annotator of the Pelagian commentary on St Paul, who inserted them at the proper places in the commentary (Gal. v 17; Phil. iii 13), because he found in them a fuller explanation and disclosure of the whole thought of the commentator.³ Whether the notes proceed from the anonymous compiler of the Paris commentary himself, or from one of its sources, we shall perhaps be able to learn when that commentary has been studied and sifted.

And now for some sort of emendation of the text of the fragments.

p. 29, lines 16-19. 'Si autem generaliter omnes homines a bono opere carnis necessitate retrauntur, quur non etiam suam personam simul miscuit, quam eiusdem naturae carnem gerens no(n) quae vellet, ut dicis, sed quae nol(1)et cogeretur efficere?' Read 'quum eiusdem...'

ib. lines 20-23. 'Nullus peritorum dubitat apostoli esse consuetudinem "carnem" pro carnalibus operibus nuncupare et substantiae nomine rem conversationis exprimere, idque auctoritatem vertere scripturarum'. Read 'auctoritate', and construe 'and that he makes that transference or trope ("id vertere") on the authority or example of the holy scriptures; 'legimus enim in Genesi' etc.

ib. lines 25-27. 'Non despicit creaturam quam fecit, sed prava opera creaturae: et tamen ita loquitur ut si non rectae intellecta si uideatur damnare naturam hominis ipse qui condidit'. Souter corrects 'rectae intellecta si' into 'recte intellectus'. I prefer 'si non recte intellecta si(t)' or 'si(nt)', understanding from what precedes 'Genesis' or, possibly, 'verba'.

ib. ad fin. 'Alioquin... videtur Deus non ad ministerium boni operis carnem spiritui copulasse, sed ad peccandi necessitatem. etiam non nostro vitio bonam non efficimus voluntatem, si in malum opus necessitate compellimur: sed ut ostendat peccati necessitatem non esse, subiungit...'. Perhaps it is better to understand (or insert) 'videtur'

¹ Jerome in *ep. ad Ctesiphontem* § 11 speaks thus of the heretic, though without naming him: 'Necdum scripsi, et comminans mihi rescriptorum tuorum fulmina... minamini nobis responsionem, quam vitare nullus potest nisi qui omnino non scribit' etc.

² Compare the 'admonitio' prefixed by Vallarsi to the *Dialogus*.

³ In the MS itself occurs the following marginal note, whatever its origin (Souter p. 30 ad fin.): 'Hoc loco Pelagii sensum non ad probandum sed ad detegendos callidos eius errores legendum.'

before 'etiam', and to write 'etiam non nostro vitio bonam non effici voluntatem, si . . . compellimur. sed . . .'¹

p. 30, line 9. 'Si ita omnia per necessitatem et inpugnatione carnis vitare non possumus'. Souter corrects to 'et inpugnationem.' It would be possible to think of 'ex inpugnatione': but perhaps it is more in Pelagius's style to keep only either 'per necessitatem carnis' (cf. p. 29, line 17) or 'inpugnatione carnis'.

ib. lines 21, 22. 'Et ut evidentius apostoli consuetudinem esse doceamus, "carnem" opera velit carnis intellegi'. Souter alters 'velit' into 'velut'. This is hardly satisfactory, either in itself or in relation to the usage of Pelagius. On the other hand 'vult intellegi' seems common enough: supply therefore 'qui' (or 'qua'??), 'qui "carnem" opera velit carnis intellegi.'²

G. MERCATI.

II. TWO LEAVES OF A SIXTH-CENTURY MS OF PELAGIUS ON ST PAUL.

THE two Vatican leaves of the commentary of Pelagius on the Epistle to the Romans come from a fine MS in semi-uncial writing of about the sixth century, which was taken to pieces, as early at least as the eleventh or twelfth century, to make guard-leaves or for other purposes. The leaves are mutilated, scribbled over and cut down, and part of the blame must rest on the nineteenth-century binder who separated them unskilfully from some unknown MS or printed book, with damage to some letters that are nearly or quite invisible in the photograph³: so that I have thought it worth while to make a faithful transcript of the original.

The two leaves are conjugate, but not consecutive, and contain (with *lacunae*) part of the Pelagian commentary on Rom. vii 9-15, viii 3-8, in a much briefer recension than that published in Migne *P.L.* xxx (ed. 1846) 676 D-677 D, 680 A-D (= 702 C-703 D, 706 B-707 A of the edition of 1865). I leave it to Mr Souter to judge of the quality of the text and of the accuracy of the scribe, and I confine myself to a

¹ [I agree with Dr Mercati that the clause 'etiam . . . compellimur' goes with what precedes, and not with what follows: but I think that all that is necessary to give a good sense, after altering the punctuation, is to read 'et iam' instead of 'etiam'. C. H. T.]

² Further, in the fragment on 'Verbum caro factum est' on p. 27 we ought to read 'nec omnino transivit in militis vilitatem *ut* cessaret esse quod fuerat' instead of 'et cessaret'.

³ The leaves have since been mended and now we read them much more easily.

description of the MS, or so much as we can know of it from its scanty remains.

The vellum is good if somewhat coarse, and has been ruled with a hard point on the softer and whiter side, both horizontally at even intervals and perpendicularly to govern the commencement and the course of the lines of writing. On the external margin of fol. 1 some of the points or punctures still remain which were placed there to make the lines equal.

The margins and some lines of writing as well being wanting, it is not possible to fix the exact size of the leaves as originally complete. But I should reckon the written part of the page as approximately 20×12 cm., and the whole page as at least 25×15 —the dimensions, that is to say, of a good-sized MS in octavo. The existing fragments are unequal, and measure roughly speaking the one 177×118 mm., the other 178×140 mm.

The writing is regular and compact, and keeps to the horizontal lines: both from its own size and from the amount of space left blank between the lines it gives the impression of a certain richness and magnificence. There are no initial letters larger than the rest, but at every new section—and a new section begins with every new *stichos* of the apostolic text to be commented on—a commencement is made two letters outside the line, and the same in every succeeding line (except in fol. 2 a line 19, 2 b line 8) until the *lemma* from the sacred text is concluded. Thus the text stands out at the first glance: and to ensure this effect two perpendicular lines are ruled down the page, one to serve for the beginning of the lines of the *lemma*, the other, further in the page, for the lines of the commentary. From this method of emphasizing the text, it results that part of the preceding line is sometimes left unoccupied; and, conversely, the line is, in such cases, sometimes prolonged further than usual, and the letters made smaller than usual, in order to end off the comment, as can be seen on fol. 2 a line 17, without beginning a new line. In filling up the lost ends these unequal contents of different lines must be borne in mind: the lines vary from twenty-three letters or even less up to thirty-six, the average being about twenty-six.

Punctuation by the first hand is rare, and is distinguished by being placed neither at the top nor at the bottom, but towards the middle of the letters. Abbreviations too are rare, and only the most common occur: *dñs dñs sps xps, s̄ca*, and at the end of the line a stroke for *n* and *m*.¹ *q.* for *que* does not occur. One single ligature, the well-known one

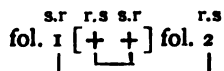
¹ For *m* besides the stroke there seems to be also a point, fol. 1 b, line 2; but the point may be one of punctuation, and not part of the abbreviation of *m* found in other MSS.

-unt, is found on fol. 2 *b* line 20. Noteworthy divisions of words : substantia, cons|tructus), fol. 2 *a* lines 5, 23.

Next we must determine the number of lines to a page, and calculate the interval between the two extant leaves when the MS was still entire.

As far as can be seen, between the *recto* and the *verso* of each extant leaf three whole lines and part of a line have fallen out: so that the whole page consisted of twenty-six lines, equal to about eighteen lines of Migne. Whether the lines which have completely fallen out stood at the foot or at the head of the page, I cannot say for certain.¹

Looking now at the amount of matter which intervenes in the printed text between the two Vatican fragments, it might appear that not one but two pairs of conjugate leaves originally separated them. But since the first extant leaf some thirty-two lines of the edition are unrepresented,² and since eight pages of twenty-six lines in the MS would be most too much even if the whole of the printed text was represented, I strongly suspect that two leaves only, and not four, stood between the two fragments. And it is some confirmation of this view that if we insert two leaves only—which would be of course in that case the two middle leaves of the gathering—the facing sides of them will be both bites or flesh sides, just as the middle sides of the gathering in our best MSS. For the *recto* of fol. 1 is smooth (the flesh side) and the *verso* is rough (the side of the hair), while the converse is the case with fol. 2: so that we have



In that case it would follow that for the rest of chap. vii, just as in the verses covered by our fol. 1, the MS omitted much that the printed Pseudo-Jerome contains, though the proportion omitted must have been somewhat less than what we arrived at in regard to fol. 1. This important conclusion—which the recurring use of *item* in Pseudo-Jerome, reducing alternative explanations, already gave good reason to suspect—will perhaps some day be put beyond doubt by the evidence of some other MS.³ But that does not concern us here.

I will now speak of the two later hands which dealt with the MS.

At the top of fol. 1 *b* I seem to make out the tail of some letter in the preceding leaf, but I am not sure of it.

It is remarkable that the passages omitted are, as it were, so many alternative interpretations introduced by *item*, all of which can well be detached; and when they are detached the residue forms a well connected whole, noteworthy alike in sense and doctrine. And the doctrine is Pelagian at Rom. vii 8, col. 702 B.

[It is practically put beyond doubt already by the evidence of the Karlsruhe MS: see below. A. S.]

One of them, who used a dark ink similar to that of the text, is practically contemporary with the original scribe: he added dots for punctuation, placing them level with, or even above, the tops of the letters, and in four instances corrected or supplemented the text (fol. 1^a lines 4, 12; 1^b line 5; 2^b line 15), probably from a second MS which in two cases gave the readings of the printed text. Whether we should attribute to this or to the first hand the erasure in eg*o, fol. 1^b line 12, is not clear. For the rest, I have reproduced at the foot of the page all corrections and all punctuation due to this second hand.

The third, somewhat later, hand has confined its activity to marking the beginning and ending of the verses of the Apostle with a big stroke something like a bracket, making use of a dirty sooty ink. Of this hand I have taken no account.

Finally, after the two leaves had been already taken from the MS, various uneducated hands have touched up the ink of letters here and there, and have scribbled roughly across the page letters of the alphabet and the words *probatio penne*, *proba*, *probatio inconstri*, *ave cuius* (saec. xi-xii?). One of them, in between the lines but upside down, has signed himself 'Ego dñs adobad' cleric' plebis valliis (or 'vallus') renovata' (*sic*). The name of the valley in question is quite unknown to me; but some other scholar may succeed in identifying it and so gain an indication of the *locale* of the MS at that date.

In the following transcript of the fragments I have divided the words, and have placed a point below letters injured either by rubbing or by the cutting of the vellum, even where the reading is certain. Where the letters have disappeared entirely or where the traces left are ambiguous, I have printed my supplements in italics.

I a

P. L. xxx 702 c fin. Rom. vii 9-13

per scientiam naturalem¹
mortuum fuerat per obliuionem
ideo dicitur reuixisse per legem
v. 10 ego autem mortuus sum qui sci
5 ens praeuaricaui,
et inuentum est mihi mandatum
quod erat in uita hoc esse in morte
quod custoditum proficiebat ad
uitam neglectum duxit ad mortem
10 v. 11 nam peccatum occasione accepta
per mandatum seduxit me et per

2^{ae} m. 4. sum' qui^a 7. uita. 8. custoditum. 9. uitam. 11. m.

¹ Num sequet. in cod. vixerat?

- v. 12 illud occidit me. itaque lex *quidem*
sca. et mandatum *scm.* et iustum
et bonum. contra in

5

legis. et contra eos qui iustitiam
a bonitate secernunt. lex. et *sca*¹
et bona dicitur. et gratia iusta
nisi enim abundauerit iustitia
uestra. sed et dñs nonnumquam
10 in ueteri bonus. et in nouo dicitur
iustus. pater iuste ait dñs. h*ç con
tra marcionistas ****²

v. 13 quod ergo bonum ***

12. occidit. (me cancelled)

I b

- 703, 11, Rom. vii 13-15
sed peccatum ut appareat peccatu⁻.
per bonum mihi operatum est morte⁻.
per bonam legem reuelatur pec
catum et ab ipsa punitur.
5 *ut fiat super modum peccatum de*³
linquens per mandatum legis. an
te legem modum habebat per
ignorantiam supra modum est
*cum scienter admittitur.*⁴
- 10 v. 14 *scimus autem quoniam lex spiri*
talís est. quae spiritalia mandat.
ego autem carnalis sum ego qui
cumque legem accipio. et carna
liter uiuere consueui.
- 15 v. 15 *uenundatus sub peccato. quod*
enim operor non intellego. non
enim quod uolo hoc ago sed quod
*odi illud facio. propositus pec*⁵
cato. ut si consilium eius acce
pero. ipsius seruus efficiar.

1. (p)eccatum. 3. legem. 5. ^{ipsum} peccatum. 7. legem. 8. (ig)norantiam.
2. (scim)us. 12. sum. eg+o, i eras. 16. operor. 17. ago.

¹ et *sca* fuisse conicio propter punctum (cf. l. 13, et ed.).

² In nostro f. Hoc c. marc. facit.

³ fiat non sit, superest cauda (a).

⁴ cum, non quum, ratione spatii habita.

⁵ propositus sic omn. peccato sic vid., non -ta. Verbum odi vel paulo interius, ut
f. 2 a 19, b 8, exaratum est vel duas literas nescio quas subsequebatur.

sponte memetipsum subiciens e¹

***** inebriatus consue

tudine²

II a

706 B. Rom. viii 3-5

diaboli quod hostem deceperat
per hominem condemnari. sicut
ad hebraeos. dicit ut per mortem
destrueret eum qui habebat mor
5 tis imperium siue de illius carnis subs
tantia quae ante seruiebat pec
cato uicit. numquam peccando
peccatum. et in eadem carne dam
10 nauit peccatum ut ostenderet uo
luntatem esse in crimine. non na
turam quae talis a dō. facta est.
ut possit non peccare si uelit.
v. 4. ut iustificatio legis inpleretur in nobis
ut quoniam in illis. repugnante
15 carnali consuetudine inpleri nō
potuit. in nobis saltem inpleatur.
qui exemplo xpi. mortificauimus carnem
qui non secundum carnem ambu
v. 5 lamus. sed secundum spm. qui e
20 nim secundum carnem. sunt quae
carnis sunt sapiunt. qui uero se
cundum spm. quae sunt sps sent
unt. homo ex spu et carne cons
4. eum. 5. imperium. 6. subs|tantia. 9. ut
11. nat|uram. 15. consuetudine. 20. sunt.

II b

706 D. Rom. viii 5-7

tur. unaquaeque enim substan
tia cum eam altera in suam dici
onem. redigerit. et uim quodam
modo propriam et nomen amit
5 tit. nam singulae cognata sibi. et
2. cumeam. 4. propriam.

¹ e|(i iam qua si) vel e|(tiam q.) ut in ed.

² Sequuntur reliquiae incertissimae.

uicina desiderant.

v. 6 nam prudentia carnis mors est.
prudentia autem sp̄s. uita et pax.
ipse alibi dicit. prudentiam huma
nam esse malo uicem referre.
talis ergo prudentia mortem pa
rit. transgrediendo praeceptum.
sp̄s. uero prudentiae et in praese
ti pacem habet. et non reddendo
uicem et uitam in futuro perci
piet. prudentia uero. a prouide
do est appellata.

v. 7 quoniam sapientia carnis inimica
est dō. legi enim dī. non est subiecta
non ipsa caro ut manichei dicunt.
sed sensus carnalis. inimicus est dō.
omne enim non subiectum ini
micum est. et quicumque se uo
luerit

esse. 11. prudentia. 13. prudentiae. 15. uicem. et *deleuit m. 2*
subiectum.

G. MERCATI.

THE RELATION OF THE ROMAN FRAGMENTS TO THE COMMENTARY IN THE KARLSRUHE MS (AUGIENSIS CXIX).

IN my lecture before the British Academy on December 12, 1906,¹ I argued that the commentary contained in the Karlsruhe MS, Augiensis CXIX (saec. ix), is the original, unaltered commentary of Pelagius on the Epistles of St Paul. I also contended from internal evidence that the MS is a copy of a fifth or sixth-century original. The Roman fragments which Dr Mercati has discovered are portions of another copy of the same commentary. Scholars, therefore, are free to dispute that this commentary is the original Pelagius; they cannot dispute that it already existed in the sixth century, the century after Pelagius wrote his commentary. By good fortune the fragments provide the severest possible test of the character of the Karlsruhe MS. For it is on the longer Epistles, especially on the Epistle to the Romans, that the Pseudo-Jerome form is so much longer than the Karlsruhe form. Pseudo-Jerome is characterized, in my view, by numerous explanations added to the original Pelagius, and generally introduced by the word *Item*. All the usages which Dr Mercati has noted above as absent from his Roman

¹ Published in vol. ii of the Proceedings of the Academy, under the title 'The Commentary of Pelagius on the Epistles of Paul: the Problem of its Restoration'.

fragments are absent also from the Karlsruhe MS. The remainder of this note is devoted to a statement of the few and unimportant discrepancies in text between the two MSS.

Romans MS (I a)

- l. 1 *naturalem*
- l. 4 *qui sci—*
- l. 7 *in uita*
in morte

- l. 12 *me*
- ll. 16-17 *scā et bona*
- l. 20 *ueteri*
- l. 22 *marcionistas *****

(I b)

- l. 5 *super*
peccatum delinquens
- l. 6 *legis*
- l. 10 *autem quoniam*
- l. 18 *propositus*
- l. 21 *ipsum*

(II a)

- l. 1 *quod hostem*
- l. 12 *possit*
uelit
- l. 13 *nobis*

(II b)

- l. 5 *singulae*
- l. 13 *prudenciae*
- l. 14 *et*
- l. 19 *est subiecta*

Karlsruhe MS

naturalem et
quia iam sci—
ad uitam
ad mortem (Then follows the part
of Scripture which the Roman
MS introduces after *duxit ad*
mortem)

om.
bona et scā
ueteri
marcionitas (very likely the reading
of Roman MS) *hic locus facit*

supra
peccans peccatum
om.
enim quod
uenundatus quasi propositus
ipse

quo hominem
posset
uellet
nobis (Then follows the part
of Scripture which the Roman MS
introduces after 'mortificauimus
carnem')

singulae substantiae
prudencia
om.
subicitur

While it is premature to discuss the relative value of the texts of the two MSS in these passages, it may be meantime remarked that, while the Roman MS appears to give the better arrangement of text and commentary, the actual readings of the Karlsruhe seem generally preferable.

ALEX. SOUTER.

THE CODEX MURATORIANUS.

LAST Summer, when in Milan, I had an opportunity of examining in the Ambrosian Library the Codex containing the famous Muratori Fragment on the Canon. The MS is numbered I 101 sup., and contains seventy-six leaves (measuring 27 cm. by 17 cm.) of rather coarse vellum. The last of these leaves is blank.

The Codex is a compendium of many theological tracts which are followed by five Early Christian Creeds. The contents are as follows :

DE TERRENIS (of Eucherus)	Fol. 1
DE ANIMANTIBUS (" ")	" 4 b
DE NOMINIS (" ")	" 8 b
FRAGMENTUM DE CANONE	" 10
ABRAHAM NOMERAVIT ETC. (of St Ambrose)	" 11
DE EXPOSITIONE DIUERSARUM RERUM (of Eucherus)	" 12
(a) De gentibus	
(b) De locis	
(c) De fluminibus et aquis	
(d) De mensibus	
(e) De solepnitatibus	
(f) De idolis	
(g) De uestibus	
(h) De duplicis uestimentis	
(i) De auibus uel uolatilibus	
(j) De besteis uel serpentibus	
(k) De ponderibus	
(l) De mensuris	
(m) De grecis numinibus	
DE MATHEO EUANGĒ	" 19
DE DIE ET HORA (? of Ambrosiaster)	" 28
DE TRIBUS MENSURIS	" 29 b
DE PETRO APOSTOLO	" 30 b
DE REPARATIONEM LAPSI (of St Chrysostom)	" 31 b
DE ABRAAM ('Ante hostium sedebat abraam etc')	" 71 b
FIDES SANCTI AMBROSI EPISCOPI	" 73 b
EXPOSITIO FIDEI CHATOLICE	" 74
FIDES SANCTI LUCIFERI EPISCOPI	" 75
FIDES QUAE EX NICOENO CONCILIO PROCESSIT	" 75
FIDES BEATI ATHANASI	" 75 b

Muratori, in 1740 (*Antiq. Ital. Medii Aevi*, Tom. iii, coll. 809-880), was the first to give an account of the MS and its contents. He read

the inscription on its first page which tells us that the MS came from Bobbio. He noted also the second line of the inscription which attributes the contents of the MS to St Chrysostom. The two lines are:

liber s̄ti colūbani de bobio
Ioh̄is grisostomi

This inscription is in a handwriting and ink that are at least as old as the eighth century—possibly the seventh. The Codex therefore either began here, being in that case copied from a mutilated archetype, or else it was mutilated and lost seventy-two leaves within a century of being copied. An examination of the writing and of the numbering of the Quires supports the former view. The Codex consists of nine gatherings of eight, and four other leaves. The scribe began to write the first page of the MS with great precision in his lettering, and at the same time the spacings between letters and words shew that he wrote his first pages in a manner that betokened an absence of the ordinary scribe's faculty of economizing his vellum. He took *ten* leaves of vellum to copy the amount of text which he squeezed into the next seven, and afterwards wrote out in eight. One of these leaves (Fol. 6) was a supply. On the top of his eleventh leaf he wrote the letter I (cf. *ff* Fol. 48 b), and at the foot of Fol. 17 b he affixed the signature K. Thereafter he copied with much uniformity, and signed every eighth leaf on its conclusion—except that he forgot to insert the letter O at the foot of Fol. 49 b. The final signature, which is found on Fol. 73 b is R. The last three leaves in the MS consist of a detached leaf (Fol. 74), and two conjugate leaves (Fol. 75 and 76), of which the latter is blank. Now Fol. 74 is an intrusion, and interrupts the sequence between Fol. 73 b and Fol. 75 a. This interruption Muratori himself noticed. Fol. 74 was therefore originally an intermediate leaf between Fol. 75 a and Fol. 76; for the fact that Fol. 76, *the conjugate of Fol. 75*, is blank, shews conclusively that the Codex terminated with the Quire of eight (or four) leaves that began with Fol. 75 and ended with Fol. 76.

On this blank last leaf there is in an ancient cursive handwriting, which is not that of the scribe himself, a notice of the sum paid to the copyist. This notice which I have only partly deciphered is as follows:

et posterius dedimus " " " " " " " " LXX
haec sunt lupulus ut estis Iuuenculo
† noticia de sold quod dedimus
† noticia de pretiū quod dedimus

During my stay in Milan I copied out first of all the famous Fragment on the Canon, which Dr Ceriani handed to me with the remark, 'It is

good for what it says ; for what it omits it is no good.' The Fragment ends abruptly, shewing that the scribe copied from a mutilated, and therefore presumably ancient, exemplar. After poring intently for three days over the MS, I was happy enough to find at least one new reading of considerable importance. On Fol. 10, l. 25, the word partly erased after *regali* is *patris*, written *pis*. Dr Ceriani agreed with me in this after himself examining the Codex. Also on Fol. 10 b, l. 7, the reading of *m** is neither *ad* nor *ab* but *au*. (Cf. *auit* = *abit* in the Fleury 'alimpsest.') Two different correctors (*m*¹ and *m*²) in my judgement corrected the Fragment, but neither of them was more than a century removed from *m**.

The *De Matheo Euangel.* and the *De Die et Hora* have been already given with great exactness by C. H. Turner in the *Journal of Theological Studies* for January 1904.¹ The Codex is a collection of tracts and reads that appeared in the early Christian ages—between the second and fifth centuries. In its present form it represents a small theological library, collected and transcribed by the devotion of some divine of the fifth century. The prominence given to the writings of Eucherius² of Lyons would suggest that the collection was made in Gaul or Spain rather than in Italy. The vulgarisms in the Codex support the hypothesis of a Gallic rather than an Italic origin. There is a marked correspondence both in grammar and palaeography with the superposed writing in *hæute*—the *De Mundo* of St Isidore of Seville.

If, as the inscription on the first leaf would imply, the archetype of our MS actually belonged to St Columban, we know that he was in Burgundy from 585–610, and he may well have had the collection made for himself and his monastic institutions. Should this fact be established, it would be another proof of the immense debt that Christendom owes to the missionary zeal of the early Irish Church.

The five Creeds (two of them are unhappily partly mutilated) of

Ambrose, St Lucifer, St Athanasius, of Nicaea, and of an Early liturgy (possibly Gallican), all of which I have here transcribed as they stand in the Muratori MS, raise many points of interest both textual and theological. The Creed of St Athanasius in this its earliest extant form differs remarkably from the form it assumes in later MSS and in our English Prayer Book. The readings St Matt. 28¹⁹ (—*omnes*) and St John 5⁷ (+ *in xpo ihu*) are valuable textually.

¹ The reading in the *De Die et Hora* sub fin. is *nisi et apud eos qui negare compelluntur ihm*, '*xpm dm*' *confiteatur*; which upholds the singular reading of *ff* in Luke ii 26.

² The Vienna Edition of Eucherius (Wotke, 1894) has strangely neglected this ancient and valuable collection of his writings, preserved in the Milan MS.

quibus tamen Interfuit et ita posuit.

TERTIO EUANGELII LIBRUM SECANDO LUCAN

Lucas Iste medicus post acensum .xpi.

Cum eo paulus quasi ut iuris studiosum

5 secundum adsumsisset numeni suo

ex opinione concriset dñm tamen nec ipse

quidit In carne et idē pro asequi potuit.

Ita et ad natiuitate Iohannis Incipet dicere

QUARTI EUANGELIORUM · IOHANNIS EX DECIPO LIS

10 cohortantibus condiscipulis et ep̄s suis

dixit conieunate mihi odie triduo et quid

cuique fuerit reuelatum alterutrum

nobis enarremus eadem nocte reue

latum andrae ex apostolis ut recognis

15 centibus cuntis Iohannis suo nomine

cunta describret et ideo licit uaria sin

gulis euangeliorum libris principia

doceantur nihil tamen differt creden

tium fidei cum uno ac principali sp̄u de

20 clarata sint In omnibus omnia de natiui

tate de passione de resurrectione

de conuesatione cum decipulis suis

ac de gemino eius aduentu

Primo In homilitate dispectus quod fo

25 it secundum potestate regali p̄is pre

clarum quod foturum est quid ergo

mirum si Iohannes tam constanter

singula etiā In epistulis suis proferam

i Jn. 1, 1. dicens In semeipsu que uidimus oculis

30 nostris et auribus audiuiimus et manus

nostrae palpauerunt haec scripsimus

uobis

1. 2 secundo m ¹	3 ascensum m ¹	6 concriset m*	7 prout m ¹
14 andrae m ¹	16 cuncta m ¹ ; describeret m*	19 fidei m*	22 c m ¹
uersatione m*	24 humilitate m*	25 potestate m*	29 quae m ¹

Folio 10 uerso

Sic enim non solum uisurem sed auditorem

Sed et scriptorē omnium mirabiliū dñs per ordi

nem profetetur Acta autē omniū apostolorum

sub uno libro scribta sunt Lucas obtime theofi

1. 1 sed et m² 2 dñi m¹ 4 uno m¹; scritta m*

le conprindit quia sub praesentia eius singula
gerebantur sicut et semote passionē petri
euidenter declarat Sed profectionē pauli au ur
bes ad spaniā proficentis Epistolā autem
pauli quae a quo loco uel qua ex causa directe
sint uoluntatibus intellegere Ipse declarant
Primum omnium corintheis scysme heresis in
terdicens deincepsb callatis circumcissione
Romanis autē orḡdine scripturarum sed In
principium earum eṣṣe esse xpm Intimans
prolexius scripsit de quibus sincolis neces
se est ad nobis disputari Cum ipse beatus
apostulus paulus sequens prodecessuris suis
Iohannis ordinē non nisi domenati semptaē
eccleses scribat ordine tali A corenthios
prima ad efesius secunda ad philippinsis ter
tia ad colosensis quarta ad calatas quin
ta ad tesaolenecinsis sexta . ad romanus
septima Uerum corentheis et desaolecen
sibus licit pro pcorrebtione iteretur una
tamen per omnem orbem terrae ecclesia
deffusa esse denoscitur Et Iohannis enī In a
pocalibsy licet septi eccleseis scribat
tamen omnibus dicit uerum ad filemonem unā
et at titū una et ad tymotheū duas pro affec
to et dilectione In honore tamen ecclesiae ca
tholice In ordinatione ecclesiastice

i Co. 1, 12, 13.

Gal. 6, 12.

b m¹; sed et m² 8 proficis. m* 10 uolentibus m² 11 scysmae m¹
ietis m¹ 17 apostolus m*; prodecessor. m¹ 18 nomenati m²
esiis m* 20 philippinses m* 22 thensa. m²; sexta m*
itheis m*; tesaolecen. m¹ 24 licet m* 27 septē m*

I

Folio 11

descepline sc̄ificate sunt fertur etiam ad
laudicensis alia ad alexandrinos piuli no
mine fincte ad hesem marcionis et alia plu
ra quae In catholicam ecclesiam recepi non
potest fel enim cum melle misceri non con
cruit epistola sane Iude et superscriptio
Iohannis duas In catholica habentur et sapi
entia ab amicis salomonis In honorē ipsius
scripta apocalypse etiam Iohannis et pe
tri tantum recipemus quam quidem ex nos
iscepline m* 2 pauli m* 3 heresem m¹ 10 recipimus m¹

tris legi In eclesia nolunt Pastorem uero
 nuperimmet temporibus nostris In urbe
 roma herma concipsit sedente cathe
 tra urbis romae aeclesiae pio e^ps frater
 15 eius et ideo legi eum quidē Oportet se pu
 plicare uero In eclesia populo Neque Inter
 profestas completum numero Nene Inter
 apostolos In finē temporum potest.
 Arsinoi autem seu ualentini. uel metiades
 20 nihil In totum recipemus. Qui etiam nouū
 psalmorum librum marcioni conscripse
 runt una cum basilide assianūm catafry
 cum contitutorem

13 conscripsit m* 14 fratre m¹ 17 neque m¹ 19 metiades : es i
 scripsit m* ; metiades m¹ 23 constitutorem m¹.

Folio 73 uerso (last seven lines)

*INCIPIT FIDES S^CI AMBROSI EPISCOPI
 NOS PATRE ET FILIUM ET S^PU S^CM CONFITEMUR*

Ita ut In trinitate perfecta et plenitudo sit
 diuinitatis et unitas potestatis. nam tres
 d^s dicit qui unitatē separat trinitatis. pater
 d^s. filius d^s. et s^ps s^cs d^s. haec unū sunt
 In x^po Ihu. tres itaq: formae sed una subs
 tantia

R

Folio 75

ergo diuersitas plures facit. unitas uero potes
 tatis. excludet numeri quantitātē quia unitas nu
 mero non est. sic Itaque unus d^s una fides unū
 baptisma. si quis uero hanc fidem non habet cha
 tolicus dici non potest quia chatolicam non tenet
 fidem alienus est aduersus ueritatē rebellis. x^pi an[^a

INCIPIT FIDES S^CI LUCIFERI EPISCOPI

NOS PATRE CREDIMUS QUI NON SIT FILIUS SED HAE

[Heb. 7, 3] filium de se sine Inicio non ad se factum. et filiū
 10 credimus qui non sit pater sed habeat patrem
 de quo sit genitus non factus et s^pm s^cm cre
 dimus qui sit uere s^ps dⁱ. unde diuinae trinita
 tis unam substantiam confitemur. quia qua
 lis est praterē secundum substantiā talem genu
 it filium. et s^ps s^cs non creatura existens dⁱ

l. 6 x^pi : addidit an[^a supra lin. antiquissima manus, vix ipsius scribae.

sed sp̄s dī non est alienus a substantia patris
 et fili sed est Ipse eiusdem substantiae cum
 patre et filio sicuti eiusdem deitatis. EPL
INCIPIT FIDES QUAE EX NICENO CONCILIO PROCESSIT
CREDIMUS UNUM DM PATREM OMNIPOTETEM
 omnium uisibilium et inuisibilium factorem
 caeli et in unum dm ihm xpm filium dī natū de
 patre. hoc est de substantia patris. dm de dō
 lumen de lumine. dm uerum de dō uero. natū
 non factum unius substantiae cum patre
 quod greci dicunt homousion per quem omnia
 facta sunt. siue quae In caelis siue quae In terra
 qui propter nostram salutē descendit et Incar
 natus est. homo factus est. passus est. rexur
 rexit tertia die. ascendit In caelis. uenturus
 Iudicare uiuos et mortuos . per sp̄m . scm̄. neq:
 facturam. neq: creatura. sed de substantiā deitatis

Folio 75 uerso

eos autem qui dicunt erat quando non erat et
 prius quam nasceretur non erat et quia ex nullis
 extantibus fictus est. uel ex alia substantia di
 centes esse aut mutabilem aut conuertibile
 filiū dī hos anathema catholica et apostolica aeclisia EPL
INCIPIT FIDES BEATI ATHANASI
FIDIS UNIUS SUBSTANTIAE TRINITATIS PATRIS ET FILII
 [ET SP̄S SC̄I]
 sine Inicio temporum super sensū et sermonem
 et sp̄u una uirtus unus d̄s trea uero uocabula
 nascitur de uirgine maria accipiens corpus anima
 le sed Ipse sensu praecellens dī uerbum non con
 prehensus a carne sermo. sed In carne et supra car
 ne sicut d̄s praescius dī uirtus dī ueritas passus
 autem humana sermo dī Inpassibilis est. In passionē
 quidem moritur ut uiuificaret protopluustum
 qui ceciderat per Inobedientiā . O . homo deitatē
 querēs uitupero te. si credis bene facis. si autē
 dicis quomodo pater de lumine excidisti et si dixeris
 quomodo filius similiter excidisti de lumine nemo
 enim nouit patrē nisi filius neq: filium nisi pater
 qui tre uirtutes inducit. tres deus confitetur.
 nos autem credimus tres personas. unam uero uir
 tutē. unam deitatē. quando autem nomenaueris

patrem glorificans filiū. et quando nominas filiū
adoras patrem. si Iterum una personā trinitatis
dicimus Iudei nomen portauimus. qui Iudei unam
personam dicunt et unum dñm confitentur. si
tres dñs Inducimus similes sumus gentibus. sed

Jn. 14, 11. confitemur patrē In filio et filium In patrē cum
30 spū sō. non separantur non diuiditur deitas. deus
enim de dō uirtus de uirtute lux de lumine. uerita
de ueritate. testis non est non caelū non terra

Reliqua perierunt.

Folio 74

ITĒ EXPOSITIO FIDEI CHATOLICE

CREDIMUS UNUM DÑM SECUNDUM SECONdUM SCRIPT

esse credendū non sicut Iudei aut heretici solitariū
sed In misterio trinitatis. Id est patrem et filium et
sp̄m s̄m tres personas non tamen tres dñs. personas
autem sic dicimus ut non diuinitatē heretico sensu
membris sicut hominem componamus quia diuinitas
quae est Incorporalis tam Immensa est. tam Inextima
bilis ut Intra se omnia conteneat. Ipsa autē circūscri
bi non possit. sed ut patrem et filium et sp̄m s̄m
10 unum et Inuisum esse et In diuinitatē ac uirtute ut
tres In personis Id est ut patrem credamus non esse
filium. filium uero credamus non esse patrem
sp̄m autem s̄m nec patrem esse nec filium. quia
pater est Ingenitus. filius uero sine Initio genitus

Jn. 15, 26. a patre est. sp̄s autem s̄s processit a patre et ac
Jn. 16, 24. cipit de filio sicut euangelista testatur quia scriptū
est tres sunt qui dicunt testimonium In caelo. pater.

1 Jn. 5, 7. uerbum. et sp̄s. et haec tria unum sunt In xpō ihu
20 non tamen dixit unus est In xpō ihu et In euangelio
Mt. 28, 19. dicit. Ite baptizate gentes in numine patris et fili

Jn. 10, 30. et sp̄s s̄ci. et denuo Ipse dñs dicit etgo et pater unū
Ps. 110, 1. sumus. et In psalmis legimus dicit dñs dño meo
sedet ad dextris meis. et In euangelio Iohannis

Jn. 1, 1. sic dicit In principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat
apud dñm et dñs erat uerbum. dñm ergo dicendum
uerbum id est filium qui esset apud patrem dñm
his nominando dñm patrem et filiū designauit per

Gen. 1, 26. sonas. et In genesi dñs pater ad dñm filium dicit
30 faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinē

Gen. 1, 27. nostrā. et denuo fecit dñs hominem ad imaginem dñi
Deut. 6, 4. Igitur ter dñm dicendo non tres dñs dixit sed unū dñm

Folio 74 uerso

In tribus personis

demonstrauit. nullum sane sicut arrius
 alteri maiorem. qui autem tempore aut
 mensura aut honore unusquisque. alio ma
 ior est adeo nos credamus filium dī sine tē
 pore a patre genitū quomodo potest minor
 esse tempore qui ante tempus es. aut quomo
 minsura minū creditur qui Immensus
 et Inextimabilis est et Infinitus est ac sine ho
 nore minor est cum sit filius dī et d̄s unū
 enim dī nomen est. quando autem sit filius
 a patre genitus. aut ubi aut quomodo non
 licet dici neque amplius scrutari. quando
 autem dicendo tempus designas ubi requi
 rendo locum significas quomodo scrutan
 do mensuram uideris exprimere. et haec
 tria In dño non cadunt quia est Inextimabi
 lis Immensus Infinitus et quia locum non
 capiat quam mens nostra quae modo con
 cluditur. Inuistigare nemo potens factorē
 et In dñm suum. sicut ergo in ac trinitate
 una et Inseparabilis est substantia adq; di
 uinitas. Ita et una est omnipotentia non
 tres omnipotentia enim In eo dicitur quod
 potentiae et uirtute sua d̄s ex nihilo fe
 cerit uniuersa. Id est caelestia et terres
 tria carnalia et spiritalia lucem adque
 tenebras uisibilia et Inuesibilia. angelus
 et animas et quidquid praeter d̄m mens hu
 mana credederit. et haec bona per filiū
 facta sunt sc̄ificantes spū sc̄o quem pa
 ractitum appellamus qui super apostolus
Reliqua perierunt.

[Job. 11, 7]

Ph. 2, 10.

E. S. BUCHANAN.

NOTES AND STUDIES

MACARIUS MAGNES, A NEGLECTED APOLOGIST.

II

I HAVE ventured to claim¹ that the case of Macarius Magnes should be re-heard, before he is finally relegated to the limbo of fifth-century mediocrity. The arguments which I have set forward suggest that his date is much earlier, and therefore the value of his book greater than has been recognized. If they are to be trusted, we are taken back to the years just before the persecution of 303 A.D., and if the *Apocritica* be founded on a dialogue between Hierocles and Macarius, we have a valuable example of the Neoplatonist attacks of Porphyry and his school. I now proceed to consider the objections which have been alleged against this early date.

1. I have left to this place the discussion of the one clear and direct internal evidence of date. Twice the statement is made that 300 years have passed since Christianity began.² These plain statements may seem to suggest a date nearer 350 than 300 A.D. But let us note at the outset that both passages occur in the *questions*, not the answers. Such an explanation, therefore, as that the opponent was really Hierocles, but that he was only answered many years afterwards, does not solve the difficulty. Questions and answers stand or fall together.

It might be urged that the very fact of the statement forming part of the *pagan's* argument serves to somewhat discount it. In both cases his temptation was to exaggerate; the greater the number of years he stated, the more fully would he prove the falsification of Christian expectation. He might well choose the nearest round number on the upward grade. And it is quite possible that he made an inaccurate statement in good faith. He had studied the Christian writings in order to refute them, but after all, he was a pagan, and need not have known the exact date of their beginning. He would scarcely trouble to reckon the time from St Paul, and would be likely to date it from Christ Himself, thinking of Him as of the generation before his own hero Apollonius. And it must be remembered that in any case time

¹ *J.T.S.*, April 1907 (vol. viii, no. 31).

² *Apocr.* iv 3, p. 160, l. 6 ἐτη ἐξ οὗ λέγει (ὁ Παῦλος) τριακόσια, and yet no one has yet been 'caught up'.

Ib. iv 5. Since the time of Christ τριακόσια ἢ καὶ περαιτέρω διέπνευσεν ἔτη, and yet no Anti-Christ has arisen.

is not yet reckoned by the Christian era, and a looseness of expression would be natural then which would be unnatural now. His two statements occur quite close together, and if it is a dialogue, we can all understand how the second time, with the recollection of '300 years' still in his mind, he tries to improve on it by adding 'or even more'.¹

But if the statements are wrong, why did not Macarius say so in his answer? Surely because that is not the line of defence he adopts. It makes not the slightest difference to his arguments whether the number of years be less or more. Take a modern parallel. Suppose some one mocked at the Book of Common Prayer, as a mere survival of a past age—a mechanical formulary long since out of date, which actually had not been altered for 300 years. It is most remotely probable that we should find it necessary in our defence of it to state that it was only 246 years since the last alteration took place! I venture to think that this apparently convincing proof must be content to give way to other considerations.

2. We have now to face the argument brought by Dr Salmon, that the opponent of Macarius shews an indebtedness to *Julian, and the author himself to Epiphanius*. It is evidently this which induces him to accept the theory of the later date, 403 A. D. The first likeness to Julian lies in the fact that both use Exod. xxii 28 'Thou shalt not file the gods'² in defence of polytheism. But for a Pagan who could quote the Scriptures, whether he were a Hierocles or a Julian, the use of the passage is too obvious to suggest borrowing. The second likeness to Julian is in the use of the passage 1 Cor. vi 12, 'such were some of you.' Hierocles develops 'such' into criminals, &c., and then mocks at the washing of Baptism. Julian does the same. But we can well imagine that the passage touching as it does one of the vital points of Christianity, and implicating its initiatory rite, would be a favourite object of pagan scoffs. Neither of the two objectors could have originated this means of attack, but if one of them did so, there is nothing whatever to prove that it was Julian and not Hierocles. Neumann's conclusion is '*Philosophi fragmentum non depromptum est Iuliani libris*'.³ The likeness of Macarius to *Epiphanius* may not so easily be disposed of.

Similarly inexact expressions are common. Justin Martyr *Apol.* i 46, says it is 150 years since Christ was born. Tertullian, *ad Nat.* i 7, says *aetati nostrae idum anni CCL*, but immediately afterwards, i 9 *ut supra edidimus, aetatis nostrae idum anni trecenti*. And Arnobius, writing within a year or two of the time at which I suppose Macarius to have written, says, *adv. gentes* i 13 *trecenti sunt anni ne minus vel plus aliquid ex quo coepimus esse Christiani*.

Apol. iv 23.

Neumann *Iuliani Imp. Contra Christianos* p. 20. Ed. Nestle, Leips. 1880.

Put briefly, the case stands thus. Macarius mentions the Encratites among heretics, and assigns to them almost the same countries as Epiphanius does, and gives them the same epithet *κεκαυμένοι*. But he is alone in giving *Dositheus* as their leader. Now Epiphanius was in search of details, and would not omit such a name from his work if he had seen it in another man's writings. Also he introduces the details about the countries much the more naturally of the two. Therefore he did not borrow from Macarius. So far, we must needs agree. But must we draw the further conclusion, 'therefore Macarius borrowed from *him*'? We can only answer after studying the details.

Hierocles, in arguing against the Christian exaltation of virginity, has quoted 1 Tim. iv 1 *Ἐν ὑστέροις καιροῖς ἀποστήσονται τινες τῆς πίστεως, προσέχοντες πνεύμασι πλάνης (sic), κωλύοντες γαμεῖν, ἀπέχουσαι βρωμάτων*.¹ Macarius in his answer refers to the passage even more briefly, two words of the verse quoted from St Paul with four words of the next verse, viz., *ἀναστήσονται (sic) τινες κεκαυτηριασμένοι τὴν ἰδίαν συνειδήσιν*. He then proceeds to explain *κεκαυτηριασμένοι* as *κεκαυμένους . . . οἷς ἡ φλόγῳσις τῆς Χαλδαϊκῆς καμίνου κατέπρησεν*, and to give examples of sects with such tenets, whom the Christians regarded as wicked heretics.² *Τοιοῦτοι δὲ Μανιχαίων παῖδες ἐξεφοίτησαν τοιαύτας αἵρέσεις ἢ τῶν Πισσιδέων ἔχει καὶ τῶν Ἰσαύρων χώρα, Κιλικία τε καὶ Λυκαονία καὶ πᾶσα Γαλατία, ὧν καὶ τὰς ἐπωνυμίας ἐργῶδες ἀπαγγεῖλαι. Ἐγκρατῆται γὰρ καὶ Ἀποτακτῆται καὶ Ἐρημίται καλοῦνται, οὗ Χριστιανοὶ τινες*. He adds that their *κορυφαῖος* was Dositheus, who powerfully expounded their doctrine in eight books, from which he quotes the interesting sentence *Διὰ μὲν κοινωνίας ὁ κόσμος τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔσχεν διὰ δὲ τῆς ἐγκρατείας τὸ τέλος θέλει λαβεῖν*.

This passage is supposed to be indebted to Epiphanius, *Haeres.* xlviii,³ where the Encratites are localized as *ἐν τῇ Πισσιδίᾳ, καὶ ἐν τῇ Φρυγίᾳ τῇ κεκαυμένῃ οὕτω λεγομένῃ . . . ἴσως . . . διὰ τοῦ κεκαῦσθαι τοὺς οἰκτορεῖς κ.τ.λ.* Then Epiphanius adds that they are *καὶ ἐν μέρεσι τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἰσαύρῳ, καὶ Παμφύλῳ, καὶ Κιλικίᾳ γῇ, καὶ ἐν Γαλατίᾳ* and also *ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀντιοχείᾳ τῆς Συρίας*, but not everywhere. From the Encratites he passes on to fuller details about the Montanists of Phrygia.⁴

It is obvious at once that the argument from the recurrence of *κεκαυμένοι* is valueless. Macarius's use of it is simply in explanation of *κεκαυτηριασμένοι* in the passage of St Paul just partially quoted by Hierocles. But need his application of it to the Encratites imply obligation to Epiphanius? The absurdity of the suggestion is seen at once when we discover that Hippolytus had connected them with

¹ *Apocr.* iii 36, p. 131.

² Epiph. *Haeres.* xlviii. Migne *P. G.* tom 41, p. 850.

³ *Ib.* iii 43, p. 151.

⁴ *Op. cit.* p. 855.

the *κεκαυτηριασμένοι* of 1 Timothy long before in his *Refutatio*. And there is nothing unnatural about Macarius's detailed remarks concerning this particular sect in this place, for they were suggested to him as the special heretics to whom the passage referred.

But the list of countries is said to be almost identical. Certainly four are the same, though the wording is totally different, but this is out of five localities mentioned in all by Macarius, and eight by Epiphanius. If the former was the copyist, how came he to merely insert Lycaonia in place of the larger tracts of Phrygia and other parts of Asia, and to omit altogether the very region in which his own interest is seen elsewhere to centre (see *Apocrit.* ii 7), 'The district of Antioch in Syria'?

The absence of mention of Dositheus by Epiphanius certainly indicates that he was not borrowing from the *Apocritica*, but I do not wish for a moment to suggest that he was. If it be a fact (and it is generally accepted as such) that the Encratites flourished in various parts of Asia Minor, it is only to be expected that two independent authorities would give somewhat similar lists of localities. Nor must it be forgotten that a heresy which affected the south-east of Asia Minor and extended to Syria would be within the sphere of special knowledge shewn elsewhere by Macarius. And if he went out of his way to mention one famous Cilician in Aratus,¹ it is not strange that he should mention another in Dositheus. Nor does it seem that his introduction of the latter (who cannot be identical with the Samaritan heresiarch, and therefore is otherwise unknown to us) was the result of copying from any one, for in a quite different passage and connexion he includes in a list of false Christs 'Dositheus the Cilician'.² I conclude, therefore, that the suggestion that he borrowed from Epiphanius is unfounded.

3. Another argument for a post-Nicene date, which both Möller³ and Zahn⁴ bring forward, is that the practice of the ascetic life is so revealed in *Apocr.* ii 7 as to suggest a developed monasticism, which could not be earlier than the latter part of the fourth century. Macarius is speaking of the Gospel as the sword which divides parents from children, &c. (St Matt. x 34 et seq.). He certainly points to the present condition of Antioch and the East as shewing such a state of things. But he says nothing about the children *joining* in their *ἀσκησις*. Rather does he seem to be simply pointing to the contemporary successors of the first martyrs and other devoted Christians, such as Thecla; and so, when he speaks of the separation, it is in the past

¹ *Apocr.* iv 17, p. 191 l. 17.

² *Ib.* iv 15, p. 184 l. 15.

³ Möller *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 1877, p. 521 sqq.

⁴ Zahn *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 2. Band, 1878, p. 450 sqq.

tense,¹ implying no novel innovation in the Church, but such ascetic practice as was inherited from an earlier time. Instead of stating that in his time the children left their parents and set up separate communities, he merely says of the daughters that they are divided from their mothers by themselves refusing to be mothers.² The sons likewise are εὐαγγελικῇ διδασκαλίᾳ πατρῶας σχέσεως φιλικῶς διχαζόμενοι. It is true that with those who seek ταῖς ἐταίραις συνενῆναι, he contrasts others who ταῖς μονηρίαις θέλουσι συνανλίζεσθαι. But surely such language may have been used long before the end of the fourth century. It is perhaps sufficient to mention the words of Eusebius about the μονήρις, and οἱ τὸν μονήρην καὶ ἀγνὸν κατορθῶντες βίον.³

4. Zahn (loc. cit.) gives as a positive proof that the book dates from 403 A.D., the fact that Macarius states that in St Paul's time the market dealers were mostly heathen.⁴ This is taken to imply that they were not heathen in his own time. Here we may note that, if the whole chapter be read, we find a passage at the end where the use of the present tense suggests that they were *still* heathen.⁵ And in any case his former statement about St Paul's time is limited by the words ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλείστον. If he allowed that a few were Christians in St Paul's days, how many more would be so by 300 A.D.! If he had written when they were *all* Christian, he would surely have said that they were *all* heathen in the first days. The difference from his own time is in degree, not in kind, and suggests a much earlier date than Zahn allows.

5. Möller asserts that Macarius has borrowed from Gregory of Nyssa, both in his language concerning the deception of the devil by the Incarnate Christ, and in his sacramental doctrine. It is true that Macarius's explanation of the prayer of Christ in Gethsemane closely resembles Gregory's more general statement that He deceived the deceiver by covering His Godhead with His humanity.⁶ Both authors say that Christ's miracles may have made the devil afraid to make the final attack, and he therefore needed to be enticed to do so. And there is the same elaborate simile of Satan, like a fish, gulping down the bait of His humanity, and so being caught by the hook of His Divinity. It would be possible to point out that there is little correspondence in the actual language used, even in the list of miracles, and

¹ *Apocr.* ii 7, p. 6 l. 21 πατέρες τέκνων ἐχωρίσθησαν κτλ.

² *Ib.* p. 7 l. 5.

³ *Comment. in Psalm.* lxxviii 7. Montfaucon *Coll. Patr.-Graec.* p. 348, in a comment on the rendering κατοικίσει μοροζώνους ἐν οἴκῳ.

⁴ *Apocr.* iii 42, p. 145 l. 4, where the actual word is Ἑλλήνων.

⁵ *Ib.* p. 147 ll. 17-19 τίνι γοῦν οἱ προὔχοντες τῶν εἰδώλων θύουσι; . . . οἱ δ' ἐν μακελλείῳ τὰ ὕψα πιπράσκοντες . . . μαγείρουσι.

⁶ Greg. Nyss. *Or. Cat.* chs. xxi-xxvi (ed. J. H. Srawley); cf. *Apocr.* iii 9.

at the wording of the passage as a whole is more striking in Macarius. And the complete difference in what follows is remarkable. Gregory, in a truly Origenistic passage, adds that the deception was a worthy one, for even Satan himself shall be purged by the refiner's fire, but Macarius proceeds to denounce Satan as the πνευματικὸς ὄφις. As he elsewhere declares his belief in universalism, would he be likely to so markedly avoid it here, if he were copying an author who suggested it?

But a simpler answer to the charge of copying suggests itself. The theory of a deception of the devil in the Atonement certainly did not originate in post-Nicene days. It may indeed be referred back past Irenaeus to Ignatius,¹ but it was afterwards developed by Origen. And if it was from him that Gregory obtained it, may not the same be the case with Macarius? How then is the identity of simile to be explained? It has been claimed as an original idea of Gregory, but, as a matter of fact, this language of fish and hook and bait was common property by the end of the fourth century. Rufinus² shews a closer parallel with the *Apocritica* than Gregory, for he proceeds to illustrate his words by the quotation of Job xli 1. Here it is to be noticed that he gives a fuller quotation than Macarius, in the form *Adduces draconem in hamo, et pones capistrum circa nares eius*. And he adds the new idea of Satan being drawn from the depths in order to become food for others (*ut esca caeteris fiat*), like the fish. It therefore seems unlikely that our author copied from him. And the same simile is found in other writers from that time onwards.³ But the closest resemblance of all is found in an author with whom no one has compared Macarius, namely Amphilochius of Iconium.⁴ In the long fragment contained in Holl's *Amphilochius*⁴ a similar explanation is given in a comment on the very passage *παρελθάτω ἀπ' ἐμοῦ τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο*. And reference is made in language akin to the *Apocritica*, though not identical with it, to the words *ἐγὼ γὰρ εἰμὶ σκώληξ καὶ οὐκ ἄνθρωπος*, as typifying Christ's humanity as the bait on the hook. There is no special reason for thinking that such language originated with Amphilochius. We cannot tell whence the idea came, but some of the language, and specially the simile of the fish, may possibly have come from Macarius himself, for it is exactly in keeping with the other vigorous similes of the *Apocritica*. The following suggestion is offered for what it is worth.

Amphilochius, in writing a lengthy explanation of the Agony, would

¹ See Lightfoot on *Eph.* § 19, also Oxenham *The Cath. Doctrine of the Atonement* pp. 35, 36, 44.

² Rufinus *Comment. in Symb. Apost.* § 14.

³ See Srawley *op. cit.* p. 93 n., also Mason *Five Theol. Orations of Greg. Nas.* 117.

⁴ Holl *Amphil.* p. 91 et seq.

have been likely to glean comments from all sources, and elaborate them. He would find help in the *Μονογενὴς ἢ Ἀποκριτικός* of Macarius, and would read in it how ὁ Μονογενὴς . . . προσποιεῖται δειλίαν, ὡς δειλέαση τοῦτον αὐθις εἰς μάχην. Can this possibly account for his using at the beginning of his own comment the very word that occurs so frequently in the *Apocritica*, saying διδάσκωμεν αὐτοὺς (αἱρετικούς) ὡς μεγάλα σφάλλονται, φόβον καὶ δειλίαν τῇ ἐπὶ τοῦ Μονογενοῦς προσάπτοντες φύσει?¹ At all events Macarius does not seem to have borrowed the idea of the deception of the devil from any commentator on this single passage concerning the agony, for he says elsewhere, in referring to the death of St Paul, that ἐδελέασεν τὸν ὄφιν.²

The second suggestion of the indebtedness of our author to Gregory of Nyssa is not so serious a matter. His statement concerning the Eucharist is free from such technical terms as μεταποιέω and μετασχηματίζω, and the revealing of the Sacraments as an extension of the Incarnation, which are features of Gregory's exposition.³ There are a few words of Macarius in which interest has centred, where he says of the Bread and Wine οὐ γὰρ τύπος σώματος οὐδὲ τύπος αἵματος . . . ἀλλὰ κατὰ ἀλήθειαν σῶμα καὶ αἷμα Χριστοῦ.⁴ And it is these words which have led critics to connect him with the language of later writers, whose expression of Eucharistic doctrine is really far more developed. Thus Möller has connected him with Gregory, Batiffol⁵ with Theodore of Mopsuestia, Le Quien with John of Damascus.⁶ But after all the argument of Macarius seems only to be as follows: Bread is from the earth, which Christ made, and therefore it is His: and Christ's Body is from the earth; therefore He could say, as no one else could, except He who made the earth, that the bread at the last supper was actually His Body. Dr Salmon recognized the real trend of such language, when he expressed surprise that a Jesuit like De la Torre ventured to quote an authority, who really favoured his opponents as much as himself.⁷ It is true that in another passage Macarius shews much more plainly his grasp of Eucharistic doctrine. For he says that after all there is no promise of eternal life in ordinary bread, but only in that which is ἐν τῇ μακαρίᾳ γῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ γεωργούμενος, δυνάμει Πνεύματος ἡνωμένος Ἀγίου . . . τὴν κλήσιν τοῦ Σωτῆρος ὁ μυστικὸς ἄριστος

¹ *Apocr.* p. 71 l. 19, and Holl *Amphil.* p. 92 l. 6.

² *Apocr.* p. 182 l. 12, where the tradition of the milk mingled with the apostle's blood is alluded to.

³ See Greg. *op. cit.* § 37.

⁴ *Apocr.* iii 23, p. 106 l. 2.

⁵ Batiffol *Études d'histoire et de théologie positive* 2^e série *L'Eucharistie* p. 267. See Theodore P. G. lxvi p. 713.

⁶ Le Quien *Ioanni. Dam.* Paris 1712, tom. i, lib. iv, *De Fide Orthodoxa* p. 271.

⁷ D. C. B. s.v. *Macarius*: 'We are obliged to give him largely the benefit of the *disciplina arcani* in order to save his line of defence from Zuinglianism.'

λημένος . . . ἐνοὶ τὸν ἐσθίοντα τῷ σώματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ. But there is nothing in Gregory which corresponds to this.

5. One difficulty remains, to which both Möller and Zahn call attention. They declare his doctrine of the Trinity to be post-Nicene, and to be stamped as such by the reference to *τρῆς ὑποστάσεις ἐν τῇ μᾶ*. We must concede at once that here we have a real difficulty. Let us begin by marking out its limits. It is only in one short isolated passage that there occurs this apparently Cappadocian expression of trinitarian doctrine. It is all comprised in twenty-three consecutive verses near the end of Book iv chap 25.¹ It would be possible therefore to suggest that this passage is a later interpolation. The answer to the objection to the washing of Baptism would be complete without it, and yet it was so tempting to explain adequately what Baptism 'in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost' really meant, that some post-Nicene student of the book may well have inserted these few lines within it. And certainly the style of the passage is quite different from the rest of the book. The long periods are replaced by short disjointed theological statements, with the frequent repetitions of the same word which are familiar in later theologians and formularies.

And when we see that the very next answer is concerned with the *monarchia* of God, it suggests that it would have been clumsy indeed for Macarius himself to confuse the issue and cripple his own argument by putting out the heathen gods by suddenly lifting the veil for a moment and revealing three Persons within the *Christian's* Deity to a blaspheming pagan opponent. He is certainly much more restrained in the rest of his answers. The only other place where he deals with inner difficulties and defends the Catholic faith in doctrinal language, is where the ubiquity of Christ has been called in question by the production of the text 'Ye have not always'.² There he feels that he must clear the faith from those heretical vapourings, *τὰ τολμῶντα περιίφειν τὸν Χριστὸν ἐν τῷ πάθει*, which seemed to give countenance to his adversary's view.

But if the words are not a later interpolation, can they possibly belong to the ante-Nicene age? He is speaking of the washing of baptism, and he expounds the words 'in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ and in the Spirit of our God' (1 Cor. vi 11) as referring to the *θεὸς εἰς ἐν τρισὶν ὑποστάσεσιν*. The 'washing' is attributed to the Son, the 'sanctifying' to the Spirit, and the 'justifying' to the Father. Not that the other Persons cannot fulfil these processes, but that it befits the Son, *quia* Son, to receive sons, and the Others like manner, *ὥστε τριῶν ὑποστάσεων ἐν οὐσίᾳ μᾶ γνωρισθῇ τὸ ὄνομα*.

¹ *Apocr.* p. 209 l. 15, to p. 210 l. 3.

² *Ib.* iii 7 and 14.

In the first place it is to be noted that this last phrase is not identical with the later stereotyped expression *μία οὐσία ἐν τρισὶν ὑποστάσεσιν*.¹ And it is considerably limited by the word *ὄνομα* to which it is applied.

Again, there are many parallels for the earlier anticipation of language which only became universally recognized at the end of the fourth century. Not to mention the use of *una substantia* and *tres personae* in Tertullian,² we find the words in exactly the sense of the *Apocritica* in Origen,³ of whom Macarius was so plainly a disciple. He had spoken of Christ as *θεὸς κατ' οὐσίαν οὐ κατὰ μετουσίαν*, and therefore of the same *οὐσία* with the Father, and it was against the Monarchians (who seem also to have troubled Macarius) that he asserted that there were *τρῆς ὑποστάσεις*. And a similar usage of *οὐσία* and *ὑπόστασις* is to be found in Dionysius of Alexandria, though his controversy with his namesake of Rome shews the unfortunate confusion and ambiguity of the terms in those days.⁴

But a yet more striking instance is found in Athanasius. It is true that he regularly uses *οὐσία* and *ὑπόστασις* as equivalent terms, as they were used in the anathemas to the Creed of Nicaea. But once at least he discriminates between them in the manner of the later orthodoxy. In his short treatise *In illud Omnia mihi tradita sunt* (written not later than 342 A. D., and conjecturally placed in 335 A. D.)⁵ he says that the Trisagion *τὰς τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις τελείας δεικνύντα ἐστί, ὡς καὶ ἐν τῇ λέγειν τὸ Κύριος, τὴν μίαν οὐσίαν δηλοῦσιν*.⁶

There are therefore early parallels for the use of the words in the sense which Macarius here gives them. And if it can be said even of Tertullian that he anticipated the results of the Cappadocians of almost two centuries later, and 'most plainly paved the way for the later orthodox phraseology',⁷ a similar possibility for Macarius nearly a hundred years later may be allowed. It must be granted that such a differentiation of the terms *ὑπόστασις* and *οὐσία* was only *occasional*. But a close study of the passages in which the words occur throughout the *Apocritica* reveals the fact that Macarius too only occasionally differentiates them. Of the eight passages where the word *ὑπόστασις* occurs (in six of which the word *οὐσία* is also found) there is only one besides the Trinitarian passage where it approaches the meaning of

¹ Bethune-Baker *Introd. to Early Hist. of Chr. Doctrine* p. 238.

² e. g. *Adv. Prax.* ch. 12, 13, 19, 22, 25.

³ Orig. *Selecta in Psalm.* ed. Lommatzsch xiii p. 134, and *In Iohann.*, ed. Brooke, tom. ii p. 71.

⁴ Dion. of Alex., ed. Feltoe, pp. 177, 138.

⁵ Robertson *Athanasius 'Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers'* p. 86.

⁶ Migne *P. G.* tom. xxv p. 220 § 6.

⁷ Harnack *Hist. of Dogma*, Eng. Transl. vol. iii p. 121.

erson'. In the others it is more or less synonymous with οὐσία. It is worth while to consider separately these eight passages.

1. The identity of ὑπόστασις with οὐσία is quite clear in the words¹ *ὡς τὴν ὑπόστασιν τῆς οἰκείας θεότητός φησιν. Ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ἐν ἑσμεν θεὸν ἀναντιρρήτως εἶναι τὸν ταῦτα λέγοντα.*

2. The same is true of the passage² where it is said that as a man who keeps his tent in the vineyard while the fruit remains unpicked, *τὴν ἀνθρωπείαν φύσιν καὶ ὑπόστασιν* remains in the world till the fruit of righteousness is plucked, and then heaven and earth come to an end, *τῆς λογικῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων οὐσίας ἀπελθούσης.*

3. A little further on³ ὑπόστασις is again combined with φύσις, and its application to birds and beasts forbids the sense of 'person'. *δεῖν ὑπάρχειν τῶν γεννητῶν φύσιν καὶ ὑπόστασιν δίχα τῶν ἀσωμάτων δευτέραν λαβεῖν καὶ βελτίω γίνεσιν.*

4. In another passage⁴ it is to be noticed that first οὐσία is coupled with φύσις, and then ὑπόστασις is substituted for the two. *δύο λογικὰς οὐσίας καὶ φύσεις ἀνεδίδαξε καὶ τὴν μὲν προσδοκώμενην, τὴν δὲ ἀπροσδεγὴν γάμουσαν, τὴν ἀγγελικὴν καὶ τὴν ἀνθρωπείαν μηνύων ὑπόστασιν.*

5. The passage which is perhaps most significant because it occurs within forty-five lines of the Trinitarian difficulty,⁵ is dealing with God's rule over the other gods. *οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τὴν οὐσίαν ἔλαβον, ὁ δὲ παρ' αὐτῶν τὰ πρεσβεῖα τῆς τιμῆς ἐπορίσατο· καὶ τῶν μὲν τὰς οὐσίας τοὺς ἐδημιουργήσεν, οἱ δ' ὑποστάσεως ἀρχὴν οὐ κατέλαβον ἐν αὐτῷ.*

6. Again, the meaning of ὑπόστασις does not seem to be different in the following.⁶ *Ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς λαχὼν τὴν ὑπόστασιν λογικὸς καὶ σαρκοῦς γέγονεν ἄνθρωπος, ψυχὴν ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ καὶ σῶμα λαχὼν ἀπὸ γῆς.* It is added that he is allowed to pass away *ὡς δευτέραν ἐν δευτέρᾳ ζωῇ λαβεῖν τὴν διαγωγὴν.*

7. Nor does there seem much difference in the passage where our Lord's saying is being explained that those who do His will are His brethren and brethren.⁷ *συντίκτεται μετ' ἐμοῦ οὐκ ἐν ὑποστάσεως οὐσίᾳ ὁμόνομος, ἀλλ' ἐν θελήματι ἐνούμενος χάριτι, . . . διὰ πίστεως ἐμὲ σὺ δεῖν οὕτως τρέπον τινὰ γεννᾶ με.*

8. The one other place where the word ὑπόστασις occurs, is the solitary report that the rest of the *Apocritica* gives to the Cappadocian sense which it is used of the Three Persons of the Trinity.⁸ The discrepancy of St Matthew and St Mark with regard to the number of the *dæmone demoniacs* is thus explained. *Τάχα ὁ μὲν τῆς ὑποστάσεως ἀγείρει τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἀνθρώπων λέγων δύο, ὁ δὲ Μάρκος τῆς οὐσίας πεπον-*

Apocr. ii 9, p. 12 l. 16.

² *Ib.* iv 16, p. 186 l. 32.

³ *Ib.* p. 188 l. 1.

Ib. iv 18, p. 194 l. 6.

⁴ *Ib.* iv 26, p. 211 l. 21.

Ib. iv 16, p. 189 ll. 29 and 190 l. 12.

⁷ *Ib.* ii 8, p. 11 l. 3.

Ib. iii 11, p. 76 ll. 10 and 20.

θεότης (sic) κατηγορεῖ μὴ φωνήσας τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ. And the explanation is repeated further on, ὁ μὲν γάρ, ὡς ἔφην, τὴν οὐσίαν ἐμήνυσεν, ὡς ἀνθρωπεία φύσις ἢ ἡ τεταυρωμένη· ὁ δὲ τὴν ἐπόστασιν, ὡς οὐχ εἰς, ἀλλὰ δύο τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐτύγγανεν. But first examples of the use of a singular noun in a collective sense are given as an illustration of the singular in St Mark, and explained as being because μίαν τῆς φύσεως τὴν οὐσίαν κέκτηται. The two terms seem therefore to mean individual existence and general existence respectively, a sense which they will also bear in the final passage about the Trinity, which has already been quoted.¹

A consideration of the use of ἐποστάσις by Macarius therefore leads to the conclusion that, when he speaks of τρεῖς ἐποστάσεις, he is giving the word a sense other than is his wont, and that in so doing he is only shewing himself to be as close a follower of Origen's language as he was of his method. So it seems that an ante-Nicene date may still be claimed for the *Apocritica*, even though the Trinitarian passage be a genuine part of it.

In bringing forward these objections, I have consciously omitted nothing which militates against the early date I have assigned to the book. And I venture to think that they are more than counterbalanced by the arguments in its favour, which were adduced in my former article.

The Fragments of Books I and V.

It remains to discuss certain subsidiary interests connected with the *Apocritica*. The fragments of Books I and V deserve a reference, as so little has been said about them. The bearing of the work on the text and canon of the New Testament should also be of interest; and I may conclude this brief survey with some illustrations from the book itself which indicate its theological and apologetic value.

The fragment of the first book, though not in the Athens MS, has been known since the ninth century, when Nicephorus, in answering the Iconoclasts, quoted it as from the sixth chapter.² It simply states that the woman with the issue of blood was Berenice (or Veronica), that she was once head of the city of Edessa, and was famous to Macarius's own day in Mesopotamia and elsewhere for the bronze representation of her healing which she made and gave to her son.³ The woman's name will be remembered from the *Acta Pilati*,⁴ while the bronze

¹ Bethune-Baker *Texts and Studies* vii 1: *The Meaning of Homousios* quotes Basil as saying that man is *ὁβία*, while a particular man, e.g. Paul, is *ὁπόστασις*. So God is *ὁβία*, but closer definition of His existence as Father, &c., is *ὁπόστασις* (p. 81). The same illustration also occurs in Gregory of Nyssa (p. 53).

² *Nicephori Antirrhetica*, in *Spicil. Solesm.* i p. 332.

³ *ὁβία* is Duchesne's convincing emendation of *βίβη*.

⁴ *Acta Pilati* 2nd Gk. form, ch. vii in Tischendorf *Evang. Apocryph.* p. 277.

the statue she set up is minutely described by Eusebius¹ and is likewise mentioned by Sozomen,² Philostorgius,³ and Joannes Malalas.⁴ But all these agree in placing it at Paneas; nor indeed is this contradicted by Macarius, who simply says she was *δέσποινα καὶ ἀρχουσα* of Edessa. It is amusing to note the zeal with which Nicephorus hails our author for the Balaam of image-worship, called in to curse it by his opponents, and now blessing it by this reference to a Christian statue. If Magnus the Confessor had been right in saying that the statue was destroyed by Maximian,⁵ this would have furnished an additional argument for the early date of the *Apocritica*, and we might indeed have been led to surmise that this very answer to Hierocles may have turned the attention of his fellow persecutor to the statue. But there seems much uncertainty about its destruction; Sozomen says that Julian took it down and put up his own instead, while the *Chronicle* of Malalas declares it to be still in existence about 600 A.D., having been moved into the church at Paneas. The only other writer who mentions it without reference to its destruction is Eusebius, so that there is at least the suggestion that Macarius represents the tradition as it stood in the age of Eusebius, rather than in that of Sozomen or Philostorgius.⁶ Although the fragment is only a few lines long, it is linked to the rest of the work by the favourite Macarian word *κατόρθωμα*.

But there is another interest in the fragment. Nicephorus evidently means that the chapter from which he quotes contained references to other miracles performed by our Lord. For he speaks of the sixth chapter, *ἐν ᾧ καὶ περὶ τῶν παρὰ Χριστοῦ τελουμένων θαυμάτων διέξεισιν καθεύδει*. From this solitary indication of the contents of Book I, we therefore gather that before our Lord's sayings were attacked in Book II, the first onslaught was on His *doings* in Book I. The miracles would naturally in all ages form a basis for attack. The Neoplatonists' way of discrediting them was not so much to deny them, as to point to greater miracles done by their own heroes, such as Apollonius of Tyana, in whose case they were not made the basis of a claim to divinity. This is exactly how Lactantius describes the attitude of Hierocles.⁷ That author also credits him with the statement

¹ Euseb. *H. E.* vii 18.

² Soz. *H. E.* v 21.

³ Philost. ap. Phot. Migne *P. G.* saec. v vol. i p. 559.

⁴ Joann. Malalas *Chronogr.* ed. Dindorf p. 329.

⁵ See Pitra *Spicil. Solesm.* i p. 546 § 10 'A Maximino . . . sublatam fuisse statantur multi recentiores.' Asterius is the special authority quoted (see Migne *G.* x p. 1358).

⁶ For the possible foundation of the tradition see Gieseler *Eccles. Hist.*, Harper's ed. i p. 70, quoted in Wace and Schaff's *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, vol. i 304.

⁷ Lact. *Inst.* v 2 'Quum facta eius mirabilia destrueret, nec tamen negaret'.

that Christ was a leader of robbers.¹ Duchesne suggested that this might be in the lost first Book. We may add that this is the more likely, since His actions are alluded to in the fragment. The other fragment is from Book V. This is of more importance, for, so far from being printed in Blondel's edition, it has passed entirely into oblivion. Foucart, in his preface to that edition, only says that Book I is lost, and that a small part of the last chapter of Book IV is also missing. Duchesne² actually says that when Turrianus in the sixteenth century quoted from Book V, he really meant Book IV, and that all his quotations are accordingly to be found in the Athens MS. Here he is wrong, for Turrianus gives some long and interesting quotations from a chapter 'quinto libro eodemque extremo', which is on a totally different subject from anything in the extant *Apocritica*. As it does not appear in the only edition, I quote it *in extenso*. It is on the subject of faith and works, and Turrianus says that Magnes writes as follows concerning the faith of Abraham³ :—

Πιστεύσας γὰρ δι' ἔργων ἀγαθῶν εὐαρέστησε τῷ θεῷ, κἀντεῦθεν ἤξυθη τῇ φιλίας τοῦ κρείττονος, ἐκεῖνα πράττων τὴν πίστιν ἐποίησε λάμπειν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἡλίων. καὶ σὺν πίστει καλῶς πραγματεύεται· δι' ὃ φιληθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ σεμνύνεται, θεμέλιον γὰρ τὴν πίστιν εἰδὼς τοῦ κατορθώματος, ῥιζοῖ τούτῃ εἰς βάθος οἰκοδομῶν ἐπ' αὐτῆς τὸ πλῆθος τῶν οἰκτιρμῶν, συνάψας γὰρ ἑκάτεροι δέσει συγγενικῇ,⁴ ὑψηλὸν ἐν ἑκατέροις ἀνίστησι πύργωμα οὐκ ἀναμάρτητον ἔργων τὴν πίστιν κτησάμενος, οὐδ' αὖ πάλιν τὰ ἔργα δίχα τῆς πίστεως γυμνιτεῦν ἐάσας, σπέρμα δ' εἶναι γνοὺς τὴν πίστιν πολυφόρον, τὰ συμβαλλόμενα ἅπαντα συνάγει τῷ σπέρματι, γῆν, ἀροτῆρας, πήραν, ζυγόν, ἄροτρα, καὶ ὅσα γεωργῶν ἐπιστήμη κατέδοξεν. ὥς γὰρ δίχα τούτων ὁ σπόρος οὐ βάλλεται, καὶ δίχα τῶν σπερμάτων οὐδὲν τῶν μνημονευθέντων ὁ λόγος ἐπιτελεῖ, οὕτως ἡ πίστις, τρόπον τινὰ σπέρμα τυγχάνουσα μυστικόν, εἰ μὴ δι' ἔργων βλαστῇ σείεν ἀγαθῶν, ἄκαρπος ἐστὶ μόνη διαμένουσα, ὡσαύτως τῶν ἀγαθῶν πράξεων ἡ σύνοδος ἐὰν μὴ τὴν πίστιν συμπεπλεγμένην ἔχῃ ἑαυτῇ, ἄργον ὑπάρχει πρᾶγμα, καὶ ἀμπαν ἀτέλεστον, δι' ὃ τὸν Ἀβραάμ ἵνα πίστεως δείξῃ τῶν ἔργων τὴν χάριν ἐκλάμποντα, φησὶν ἡ θεία γραφή, ἐπίστευσεν Ἀβραάμ τῷ θεῷ, καὶ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην.

ὅρᾳς πῶς τὸ προλαβὼν κατόρθωμά⁵ τῆς ἀρετῆς εἰς δικαιοσύνην ἡ πίστις λογισθῆναι πεποιήκειν, ὥς ὁ σπόρος τὴν χώραν καρποφορῆσαι ποιεῖ.

ὥς γὰρ λαμπρὸς ποιεῖ τοῦ ἐλαίου λάμψαι τὴν ποιότητα ἐμβαλλομένην λίνῳ.

¹ Ib. 'Ipsum autem Christum affirmavit a Iudaeis fugatum collecta noningentorum hominum manu latrocinia fecisse.'

² Op. cit. p. 5.

³ F. Turr. *Dogmaticus de Iustificatione, ad Germanos adversus Luteranos*. Romae 1557.

⁴ In the Latin translation that follows it is rendered, 'Vinculo quodam necessitudinis et cognationis.'

⁵ Latin—'superiora opera bona.'

ω πίστις καθάπερ ἐν λύχνῳ βληθεῖσα τῷ Ἀβραάμ ἀστράφαι πεποίηκε ἔργων τὴν ἀρετὴν. φυσικῶς ὁ Ἀβραάμ τὸ μὲν ἴσον τῆς πολιτείας δαυεὶς ἤσπαζεν,¹ καὶ πλησίον χρησίμος ὑπῆρχε, καὶ ἄδολος, ἐν δόσει λήφει φιλῶν τὸ ἀκακούργητον, ἄφθονον τοῖς δεομένοις παραμυθίαν διδούς, ὡς ἐπιτηδευμάτων φάβλων² ἀπεχόμενος, ταῦτα εἰ καὶ καλὰ τῷ φαίνεσθαι, σεμνά, οὐδεὶς ἐλόγιζεν, οὐδεὶς ἀρετὴν κατὰ λόγον ἔταπτεν, ἐπεὶ μὴδ' οἷός ἦν, εἰ μὴ μόνος θεός, ἀλλ' οὕτω ἐπίστευσε. ὁπηνίκα δ' ὁ Ἀβραάμ ἐπίστευσε θεῷ, ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν καλῶν κατορθωμάτων εἰς δικαιοσύνην γίσθη τῷ Ἀβραάμ.

It is possible that Turrianus has still Macarius before him in the words that follow, for though the quotation ends with 'hactenus gnetes', he may still be borrowing ideas from him.

After referring to the above three parables of the building, the seed, the lamp, he adds³ 'Est alia quarta parabola, aptissima illa quidem, nihi videtur, *massae et fermenti*, ut sit instar massae fides, fermenti opera bona et spiritualia, ut enim sine fermento panis est insuavis, digestio ac nutritionem difficilis, rursus fermentum solum sine massa prorsus inutile, massae vero additum panem efficit suavem et solum, salubrem et facilem ad digestionem, sic dilectio, quae est, cum mandata Dei ambulamur, instar fermenti totam massam fidei *μασσα καὶ καταζυμώσασα*, id est firmans ac fermentans reddit eam utilem salutarem, ita ut massa fidei sine fermento dilectionis et bonorum neque utilis sit, neque salubris animae cibus, neque Deo gratus, neque rursus dilectio communis sine massa fidei commoda sit, utriusque temperatio, et admistio salutaris est. Haec est nova conspersio fidei, et bonorum operum Deo placens, sine vetere fermento, id est, sine concupiscentiae corruptione.' Turrianus has a fifth parable, but explicitly derives it from the Epistle of Ignatius to the Ephesians.

The above Latin addition cannot be proved to be derived from Macarius, but the following considerations make it not improbable that it was.

Though Turrianus makes frequent reference to the *Apocritica* of Macarius, he nowhere else gives so long a quotation from the Greek, either translates, or more frequently gives, a brief paraphrase, or an occasional word or two of the original. An example of this is given immediately before the long Greek quotation above, for he first introduces 'Magnetes' by saying, 'Docuit itaque Apostolus istis tam multis tam variis exemplis fidem esse *πολυφόρον σπέρμα* (ut Magnetes, sanctissimus auctor dixit) id est, foecundum semen,' &c.

Latin—'servabat.'

Latin—'deinde a pravis studiis se abstinens': *φάβλων* evidently for *φαύλων*. p. 28.

The insertion of ἐνίστασθαι καὶ καταζυμώσασθαι may similarly be quoted in the fourth parable of the leaven as being Macarius's actual words.

2. It is not the habit of Turrianus to introduce Greek words or expressions in this way, unless he is quoting some author whom he has in mind.

3. This same passage from the fifth Book of the *Apocritica* is given in its Latin form¹ word for word elsewhere, on p. 443 of Turrianus's work *Adversus Magdaburgenses* lib. iv chap. 7. It ends with a similar reference to the three parables, and then, without mentioning the fourth concerning the leaven, he proceeds 'ad has autem parabolas... addidi ego aliam parabolam, ex epistola beati Ignatii ad Ephesios sumptam'. 'Addidi ego,' as referring only to what is in the *Dogmaticus* 'postremo alia quinta parabola', seems to imply that he was not personally the author of the fourth.

The value of this fragment from Book V consists in more than its recovery when scholars were ignorant of its existence. A remarkable feature of the whole work is its advance from the discussion of mere details, such as isolated texts, to the essentials of the faith, such as Baptism, the Virgin-birth, and the Resurrection of the Body. It is chiefly in the later part that interest and controversy have centred. But to have something from the end of the last book is to gain a clue to the extent and completion of the dialogue. And the question arises, what kind of objection is Macarius answering in the fragment before us? Turrianus only tells us that he is speaking about the faith of Abraham. The difficulty to be faced is evidently the problem of the relation of faith to works in the process of justification. In what form has Hierocles raised it?

Has he simply quoted Genesis, and shewn its disagreement with Christian teaching about good works? But if this were so, Macarius is quite broad enough to have pointed out that Abraham was not a Christian. Or has he gone on to shew the discrepancies between the writers of the Epistles, in the same way as, in the early part of the dialogue, he treated those between the writers of the Gospels? In a word, does the argument centre in the difference between the teaching of St Paul and St James on faith and works, as shown by individual passages in their writings? Quite possibly; but this would be such a return to his earlier objections to details, that a more general objection seems more likely.

It would almost seem then as if he had gone on to attack the more esoteric teachings of Christianity, and to object, not merely to discrepancies of individual authors, but to difficulties within the Catholic

¹ He refers to his earlier *Dogmaticus*, saying, 'non pigebit repetere hic. Si quis Graeca conferre voluerit, inde petat.'

with such as the reconciliation of justification by faith with the stress laid upon good works. If this conclusion be correct, it is obvious that the scope of the *Apocritica* as a whole is wider than has been supposed, and we must hesitate before we speak of it as merely a book of answers regarding certain passages in the Gospels and the New Testament generally. The doctrinal range of the dialogue seems wider and deeper than this, and Macarius is revealed as a theologian with a broader horizon than has been attributed to him. Moreover, the exposition which the fragment contains of the relation of faith and good works, is itself an excellent one. Internal evidence supports the genuineness of the fragment. The allegorical and Origenistic style of explanation is quite Macarian, and so is the language. His favourite word *λόγωμα* occurs no less than three times.

A word may be added here about the other fragments of Macarius that remain, namely, the ten fragments of his lost work 'Homiliae in Mesim'. The only place where they are all to be found together is in appendix to the treatise of Duchesne.¹ The heading of the first *δημιουργία* 'Αδάμ suggests at once *δημιουργός*, the title of God the Father which occurs more than once in the *Apocritica*,² and, in the course of the fragment, He is also termed *μονογενής*. The interpretation of the coats of skins in fragment 8 shews an indebtedness to Origen, and the allegorical method recalls the *Apocritica* throughout. The explanation of Exod. xxiii 19 (or Deut. xiv 21), given in the ninth fragment, namely, that the kid not being seethed in its mother's milk is to be connected with the infant Christ not being killed by Herod at Bethlehem, seems to suggest the question whether Macarius wrote a commentary on Exodus (or Deuteronomy) as well. Duchesne does not allude to the title of this previously unedited fragment.³

The Bearing of the Apocritica on the History of the Text and Canon of the N. T.

The testimony of Macarius to the Text of the New Testament is disappointingly small. The result of collecting the variant readings which he leads to the conclusion (already expressed in my former article) that the quotations were made from memory. So many are little more than paraphrases, that it is unsafe to dogmatize about the rest. There are, however, three quotations which stand out from the others. The first, when noting discrepancies in the accounts of the Passion, quotes St Mark xv 34 as *ὁ θεός, θεός μου, εἰς τί ὠνειδίσάς με;*⁴ this he contrasts as differing from *τί με ἐγκατέλιπες;* in St Matthew. This unusual phrasing will be recognized as agreeing with Codex Bezae. Macarius

Op. cit. pp. 39 and 12.

² e. g. *Apocr.* pp. 187, 68, 216, &c.

Duchesne *op. cit.* pp. 42 and 39, ex cod. Vat. Pii II, 22.

⁴ *Apocr.* ii 12.

makes no contradiction in his answer,¹ but we cannot therefore argue that he also had the same reading. For it is only one alleged discrepancy out of many that are adduced, and it is not Macarius's habit to leave the main argument by raising a side issue. The matter therefore seems to admit of the same explanation as I have suggested in the case of the '300 years' of Christianity. But it is of sufficient importance that the reading of D should be unhesitatingly quoted by this Neoplatonist, presumably suggesting that it was current in Syria at the end of the third century.

The opponent again gives the reading of D in quoting St John xii 31, from which he omits *τούτου* the first time after *τοῦ κόσμου*, and gives *βληθήσεται ἔξω* for *ἐκβληθήσεται ἔξω*.² Macarius also omits the *τούτου* and the *ἐκ*, but adds that there is another reading *βληθήσεται κάτω*.³ He thus supports a reading already known to us in the Old Syriac and some of the Latin versions.⁴ This interesting textual reference is the only one in the book, and it is noteworthy that in his answer, though he gives the quotation as *βληθήσεται κάτω*, the idea of the other reading *ἔξω* also enters in.

The other textual point worthy of mention lies in the fact that Macarius quotes from the last twelve verses of St Mark's Gospel. An objection is based on St Mark xvi 18, and the answer accepts it as Scripture.⁵

Concerning the bearing of the *Apocritica* on the *Canon* of the Scriptures more might be said. In the Questions, the Gospels and the Acts are, of course, quoted over and over again, and, together with a few passages from the Pauline Epistles, form the text upon which most of the objections are based. But casual quotations from Scripture are exceedingly few, as indeed we might expect in the circumstances. As regards the whole Bible, quotations occur from Exodus, Deuteronomy, Joshua, the Psalms, and Isaiah, and also from the four Gospels, Acts, Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Galatians, 1 Thessalonians, 1 Timothy, and the Apocalypse of Peter. The answers quote, independently of the questions, from Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, 1 and 2 Kings, Job, the Psalms, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel, and Habakkuk, and also from the four Gospels, Acts, Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Ephesians, 1 Thessalonians, and 1 Timothy. This list includes nine Old Testament books which are not referred to in the questions, but only one from the New Testament.⁶ Even when Macarius

¹ *Apocr.* ii 17.

² *Ib.* ii 15.

³ *Ib.* ii 20.

⁴ Burkitt *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* vol. i p. 499, 'Now is the judgement of the world; now the sovereign of this world is thrown down.' Cod. Veron. 'Nunc iudicium est mundi, nunc princeps mundi hujus mittetur deorum.' Cf. Cod. Corbei.

⁵ *Apocr.* iii 16 and 24.

⁶ *Hebrews* is a doubtful exception, as the ultimate source of Heb. i 9, as quoted in *Apocr.* p. 75, is really Ps. xlv 8. But there are many reminiscences of N. T. language.

does quote from the latter, it is often vaguely, as when he introduces St Paul's words to the Galatians about being crucified to the world by ὡς περ ὅταν λέγῃ τις φιλοσοφῶν ἐν βίῳ.¹ But we must not expect him to add much to the quotations contained in the objections. For as it was the Christian Scriptures themselves that were being held up to ridicule, it was some external support that they chiefly needed from their defender. And it is interesting to find that, although we cannot find any certain trace in the *Apocritica* of the *Epistle to the Hebrews*, we have only to turn to the first fragment of his *Homilies on Genesis*,² to find an express quotation from Heb. i 3. And he shews by adding κατὰ τὸν Ἀπόστολον, that he was among those who accepted the book as Pauline. No acknowledged quotation is made either from the Catholic Epistles or from the *Apocalypse*, but an argument cannot be built on this silence. It is true that when he substitutes a canonical reference to the destruction of heaven and earth for the quotation his opponent had made from the *Apocalypse* of Peter,³ he strangely passes by the obvious parallel from 2 Peter iii 12, and chooses that from Isaiah xxxiv 4. But on the other hand his connexion elsewhere of ἡμέρα with μία ἡμέρα,⁴ suggests a knowledge of 2 Peter iii 8, though it is just possible he is only following the Psalm where the phrase is first to be found,⁵ though in a form influenced by the passage in 1 Peter. But it at least seems as though he avoided basing his argument on a book which could be put down in his day as ἀντιλεγόμενον.

The chief bearing of the *Apocritica* on the canon is through the two passages quoted from the *Apocalypse* of Peter. Though not contained in the new Akmim fragment, they are well known already, and have been discussed by Dr James.⁶ They are both quoted by the opponent, who bases his argument upon them. I see no proof that Macarius quotes it, as Zahn states, as a book not intrinsically of the Scriptures,⁷ or that his attitude was very friendly to this apocryphal book. Rather it seems to quietly pass it by, using such words as παραπέμπειν and ἀποστέλλειν, and skilfully substituting passages from canonical scriptures. This treatment of it rather seems to suggest that it did not form part of the canon. It is worthy of mention, on the one hand, that Macarius and Eusebius of Caesarea⁸ are alike in adopting what seems a semi-hostile attitude towards the book; and on the other hand that Sozomenus later on that he found it read on Good Friday in certain churches in Palestine.⁹ Its recognition in Syria by the opponent of Macarius

¹ *Apocr.* p. 39.² Duchesne *op. cit.* p. 39.³ *Apocr.* iv 16, p. 185.⁴ *Ib.* iv 13, p. 180 l. 3.⁵ Ps. xc 4.⁶ *Two Lectures on the Newly-Discovered Fragments.* Cambridge 1892. See also Ilgenfeld *N. T. extra canonem receptum*, fasc. iv, p. 74 et seq.⁷ Zahn *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, Band ii 1878, p. 450 et seq. Zu Macarius in *Magnesia*.⁸ *H. E.* iii 3. 2, and iii 25. 4.⁹ Soz. *H. E.* vii 19.

accords well with this latter statement. The remark of Dr James, that 'its popularity seems to have been almost confined to the less educated class of Christians', would help to explain how one came to know and quote it who only knew Christianity from outside.¹

There are also in the *Apocritica* several indirect references to Apocryphal literature and legendary stories. The statement of Macarius¹ that, at the martyrdom of St Paul, milk flowed from the wound, is only to be found in Pseudo-Abdias and Pseudo-Linus.² It is noteworthy that the latter was translated into Latin in the fourth century, which suggests that during the previous period it was recognized further East. Again, in speaking of the way in which the Gospel divides kinsfolk, Macarius gives as an instance the parting of Thecla from her mother Theocleia.⁴ Whatever may be the date of the actual *Acta Pauli et Theclae*, the story is at all events traceable as far back as Tertullian.³ The introduction of Alexander the Syriarch into the legend, would naturally make Macarius link it with Antioch in Syria, and his example is followed by Basil of Seleucia⁶ and Gregory of Nazianzus. Once more, Macarius refers to a legend similar to that of the *Vita Polycarpi* when he tells of the efficacy of that saint's prayers concerning the weather,⁷ &c., and the blessing that he brought upon the widow's⁸ house which he managed. The 'Life' bears the name of Pionius, who was martyred at Smyrna in 250 A. D. Concerning its relation to the *Apocritica*, the following criticism⁹ may be quoted: 'There is such a want of closeness of agreement that we cannot believe that the extant life was that read by Macarius. But there is enough of general agreement to make it credible that the extant life is a re-working of a life current in the fourth century. Whether the latter were as old as the Pionius of the third century is a matter in which we have not materials to form a judgement.' This point might be used as an additional argument for the earlier date of Macarius.

Macarius refers more than once to O. T. Apocryphal books. In iv 12, p. 174, where he tells how God Ἀβρακὸν ἀπαύσας . . . ἔθηκεν ἐπάνω τοῦ Βαβυλωνίου λάκκου, there is a reference to Daniel xii 34 (Bel and the Dragon). Again, in iii 3, his opponent complains that the Mosaic books were only written 1180 years after Moses' death ἐπὶ τὸ ἑσῶρα

¹ *Op. cit.* p. 47.

² *Apocr.* iv 15.

³ See references in Duchesne *op. cit.* p. 37. Also *D. C. B.* art. 'Linus', vol. iii p. 728.

⁴ *Apocr.* ii 7, p. 6.

⁵ *Tert. de Bapt.* ch. xvii.

⁶ Bas. Sel. in *Isauria de vita ac miraculis D. Theclae . . . libri duo*, Antwerp 1608, p. 68.

⁷ *Apocr.* iii 24, p. 109.

⁸ Reading χήρας for χείρας of Blondel's edit.

⁹ *D. C. B.* art. 'Polycarp.'

καὶ τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτόν. Macarius accepts the statement in iii 10, but explains that they were then accurately repeated, in the case of both Esdras and Moses τὸ αὐτὸ πνεῦμα ἑκατέρους ἐδίδαξε, καὶ ἀμφοτέροις τὰ αὐτὰ σαφῶς ἐπηγόρευσεν. The basis of his words is evidently not to be found in the book of Ezra, but in 2 Esdras xiv 21-25, though this is not noted in Blondel's edition.

Before leaving this part of the subject, we may note two minor points. Macarius begins his defence in Book III¹ by speaking of the slights that were being put upon τὸν κανόνα τῆς Καινῆς Διαθήκης. And his opponent refers to St Peter's early death² in language which has led to the surmise that he thought St Peter's episcopate at Rome only lasted a few months. His words are simply these: ὁμῶς ἱστορεῖται μὴδ' ἐλίγους μῆνας βοσκίας τὰ προβάτια ὁ Πέτρος ἐσταυρώσθαι, where the word ἱστορεῖται suggests that he was in possession of a tradition.³ The answer of Macarius makes no allusion whatever to this statement.

The Theological Value of the Apocritica.

I now pass to a brief reference to the theology of Macarius. It is scarcely worth while staying to rebut the charges of heresy brought against it by Nicephorus.⁴ More interesting is his statement that Macarius is a follower τοῦ δυσσεβοῦς καὶ ἀποπλήκτου Ὁριγένους. He specifies the particular dogma derived from him as being the non-ternity of punishment, ὡς τέλος ἔξει ἡ κατὰ τὸν μέλλοντα χρόνον τοῖς σειβέσιν ἀνθρώποις ἡπειλημένη καὶ ἡτοιμασμένη παρὰ θεοῦ κόλασις. These actual words are not to be found in what remains to us of the *Apocritica*, but there is a kindred sentiment, evidently overlooked by Duchesne, in iv 16, p. 187. Δεῖ γὰρ πᾶσαν τῶν γενητῶν φύσιν καὶ ὑπόστασιν δίχα τὸν ἀσωμάτων δευτέραν ἀναλαβεῖν καὶ βελτίω γένεσιν. But there are many

¹ *Apocr.* iii 10, p. 168 l. 17.

² *Ib.* ii 22, p. 102 l. 11.

³ Speaking elsewhere of the death of St Paul and St Peter, it is of the *former* at he says ὅσον οὐδέπω ἐν Ῥώμῃ κρατηθεὶς τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀποτέμνεται.

⁴ The only passage that might be construed as unorthodox is in iii 8, p. 68, where he speaks of ὁ δοκῶν πεπονθέναι. But this has never been attacked, and must be read alongside other passages which are entirely opposed to anything heretic. We may here note that he contributes two new names to our catalogue of heretics. In iv 15 he includes in a list of deceivers and anti-Christos Droserius and Dositheus the Cilician, after whom their followers were called. In iii 43 he gives further details concerning Dositheus, as an Encratite in Asia Minor, whose followers were called Apotactites and Eremites. Dositheus is only known by name otherwise (Hegesippus ap. Euseb. *H. E.* iv 19. 3), and we have already referred to him p. 548, 549). Of Droserius there is no mention in that passage of the *Apocritica*, and Duchesne is therefore wrong in saying that he and his followers are mentioned as Eremitae. We may refer to iv 25, p. 209, iii 14, p. 93, and iv 15, p. 184 for proof that Macarius is guiltless of the Arian, Nestorian, or Manichaean tendencies with which Nicephorus charged him.

other passages and explanations where he is obviously indebted to Origen.¹ With regard to his theology generally, I can do no more now than refer to certain passages which give a comprehensive and catholic statement of Christian theology, and receive a peculiar value from the date at which they seem to have been written. I single out twelve, as practically covering the articles of the Creeds, though not identical with them. The doctrine of the Holy Trinity has already been alluded to, as contained in *Apocr.* iv 25, and it again finds a place in iii 27, in a comment upon St Peter's confession. The creation of man is referred to the *δημιουργὸς Λόγος* in iii 13, and the object of creation is very beautifully expressed in iv 16. The fall is stated in the same chapter to have been man's failure to be what the Creator made him. God's work before the Incarnation is shewn in iv 18, His call of sinners having begun with 'Adam, where art thou?' They might have obeyed it then, the fault was in their own choice. Thus free will and predestination are put side by side. The Divinity of Christ is shewn throughout, especially in ii 9 and iii 14, and His humanity in ii 11, ii 9, and iii 14. The Old and New Testaments are closely linked in iii 8, 10, 40, and 41. The law and the prophets fade like moon and stars before the sun and this crown of apostles, and yet remain, though without power. The Virgin-birth is regarded both by Macarius and his opponent as an essential part of the faith (iv 28). The power of Christ's atoning death is set forth in iii 9 and 14, and His Resurrection and appearances are shewn in ii 19 to rest on the power, not of men, but of God. His Ascension and present ubiquity are discussed in iii 14, His Godhead and His manhood being for ever indissoluble. The last things, judgement, resurrection, and eternal life, are spoken of in iv 30, where the world is regarded only as the preparation for eternity, and its destruction as a new and better beginning. With regard to the Church and the Christian life, iv 25 and iii 23 are of the chief value. The water of Holy Baptism has the power to cleanse from the stain of evil, nor is it the fault of the Giver if this grace is abused. The Eucharist is the plainest explanation of Christ's words about eating His flesh and drinking His blood. It is far more than a mere type. The above twelve instances must suffice. But I may add a few illustrations of exegesis. There is something remarkably modern about many of his explanations of controverted passages. 1. For example, in ii 9, he answers the difficulty in 'Why callest thou Me good?' &c. in a now familiar way. For he says the explanation lies in the attitude of the young man, who, conscious as he was of his own

¹ This indebtedness has already been shewn in my former article to vitiate the theory that he is to be identified with the Macarius who accused Heracleidas of Origenism in 403 A. D.

well-doing, simply addressed Christ as if He were an ordinary man. So Christ answers, Why do you think Me a mere man and yet call me good? You are mistaken. Absolute goodness is not in men, but only in God. In *your* sense I deny that I am good, though I should not have done so had you glorified God in Me. I cannot be a party to your confusion of the absolutely and the relatively good.

2. In ii 11, he faces the difficulty that our Lord said 'If I bear witness to Myself, My witness is not true', and yet He did bear witness in such sayings as 'I am the Light of the World'. Such witness, he replies, is not true in *man's* case, but it is in *God's*. So Christ first speaks as man (which the Jews judged Him to be) when He says He does not bear witness to Himself, but seeks it from God. But He says to God that He is the Light of the World, disdaining witness from His inferiors. He therefore simply allows that if in their erroneous judgement He is merely man, His witness is not true. Thus He contradicts, not His own statement, but their opinion about Him.

3. His discussion of the blessing upon St Peter¹ is also of interest, with its sequel in his rebuke. Here, as elsewhere, he urges that the first thing to do is to study the context. He says Christ told St Peter to be 'Rock-man' as witnessing to the Rock of the Godhead and holding an impregnable belief (an explanation which definitely opposes the book to the Roman view). He adds that the devil forthwith tries to rob St Peter of his merit and to hinder Christ's Passion by twisting words in the former's mouth. Christ recognizes the real speaker and addresses *him* when He says 'Get thee behind Me, Satan', and then He turns to St Peter with the words 'Thou art an anointed man, and I have chosen thee to be My apostle, and thou shalt be a witness unto Me'.

The charge of the 'keys of heaven' is explained by the fact that St Peter's faith had reached, in his confession, to a height wherein he was led up to the very court of heaven. He now knew the King upon His throne, and had it in his power to open his knowledge to those who came to him, but to keep it closed from those who were not fit for the beatific vision. In this sense he had the power to open and shut heaven, and to lead men into it or out of it.

Nor is the grammar of the passage ignored, but the presence of pronouns in St Peter's confession of *the* Christ as *the* Son of *the* living God is shewn to reveal the unique nature of each, and that impregnable rock of truth from whence the devil afterwards tried to throw the apostle.

4. As an instance of his treatment of St Paul's words, we may take as an explanation (iii 40) that, when St Paul says to do one thing in the law obliges a man to do all, he is not abusing the law, but pointing to its minuteness, and to that difficulty in carrying it out which Christ has

¹ *Apocr.* iii 27.

freed us from by coming to fulfil it Himself. As to his calling the law 'holy', &c., it was holy because the Holy One fulfilled it. There is no falsehood in St Paul saying (1 Thess. iv 16) 'We shall be snatched up', although the resurrection did not take place in his day. For he is very fond of identifying his own humanity with that of the whole race (iv 12).

5. A few instances of ingenious allegory may be added.

The golden pot of manna (for which the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews was almost giving us a Christian meaning) shews the Eternal Word contained in our Lord's humanity (iii 10). 'The fourth watch of the night', when Christ appeared on the sea, is thus expounded. The sea is the brine and bitterness of existence, the night is human life, the boat is the world, those who sailed all night are the human race, the contrary wind is the devil's opposition, and the fourth watch is the Saviour's coming. There are four watches in the world's life. In the first watch the *patriarchs* helped life by their light, in the second the *law* guided the boat of the world, in the third the *prophets* contended for the world's sailors, and in the fourth Christ checked their fear and their foes, and ended the night by the light of His love for men.

Again, in the parable of the leaven, the woman is creation, and the three measures of meal are either past, present, and future, or man's body, soul, and spirit, or the three dimensions (iv 17).

Its Apologetic Value.

It remains to speak briefly of the apologetic value of the *Apocrita*. The questions have a value of their own, and some of the objections sound strangely modern. The apologist is an otherwise unknown Christian, yet able to defend the faith against promiscuous objections, without involving himself in any inconsistency. The fragment of his first book reminds us of the similar appeal to the results of Christ's miracles which was made by the earliest apologist Quadratus. And the rest of his work contains much that is not without apologetic value. For example, the opponent used a form of 'higher criticism' as a bitter means of attack. The Mosaic books were discredited as written centuries after Moses, the discrepancies of the Synoptists were used to prove the untruthfulness of their narrative, and the single tradition of St John was shewn to be too isolated to be trustworthy. A remarkable spirit of concession is found in the answer, and a readiness to adapt theories of inspiration to new difficulties. The later date of the Mosaic books is accepted without any weakening of their authenticity.¹

¹ *Apocr.* iii 10 ἐπεὶ δ' ἔφη τὰ Μωσείως ἐν τῇ αἰχμαλωσίᾳ πεπονθέναι γράμματα, καὶ αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἀκριβῶς ὑπὸ Ἑσδρα γεγράφθαι, εὐρεθήσεται κατὰ πᾶσαν ἀκρίβειαν δευτερογραφηθέντα· οὐ γὰρ ἄλλος ἐλάλει τῷ Ἑσδρα, καὶ ἕτερος τῷ Μωσεί, ἀλλὰ τὸ αὐτὸ πνεῦμα ἑκατέρωθεν ἐδίδασκε, καὶ ἀμφοτέροις τὰ αὐτὰ σαφῶς ὑπηγόρευεν.

and there is shewn a remarkable recognition of the human element in the Scriptures, as existing side by side with the divine. The objections to synoptic discrepancies are faced by the statement¹ that the details of expression are not the criterion of the truth of a text. Greek accuracy of expression was not to be expected of foreigners, and in such a narrative as that of the Crucifixion, the accounts can be truthful, and yet reflect the suspense of the crisis, the very strangeness of which had unnerved them all. And, apart from their being unlettered men, their object was a faithful record, not fine writing. Speaking elsewhere² of the single tradition of St John, Macarius says it is not to be rejected because the others omit it, but what one evangelist happened to remember must be thankfully received. As second and final instance, I may take the attack and defence of our Lord's Resurrection. Why did He only appear to biased and untrustworthy witnesses? Why did He not shew His glorified Body to the high priest or to Pilate? In answering this,³ Macarius has taken two main lines of defence. First he uses a useful form of apologetic by asking the counter-question, What if He *had* appeared to Pilate? The Jews would still have thought the latter was either deceived or bribed. And then he boldly argues that such appearances would have made the Resurrection seem to need human support. As it was, the weakness of the women and the obscurity of the disciples guaranteed that it could rest on the power not of man but of God. Thus does he frankly admit, here as elsewhere, that the final appeal of Christianity is not to a man's intellectual faculties, but to that spiritual instinct which is in his higher nature. In spite of its blemishes, I believe the *Apocritica* is fit to rank among the great apologies for the faith.

Note on the Text and MSS of the Apocritica.

This is a part of the subject with which I have not attempted to deal. A few notes are here added, for which the only *apparatus criticus* is Blondel's footnotes and pp. 5-8 and 43 of Duchesne's treatise. I have already alluded to the identification of the MS found at Athens in the thirteenth century before from St Mark's, Venice. Duchesne suggests theft as the explanation, Greek officials at St Mark's being the cause of its gradual transference to Athens, by way of Corcyra and Ancona.

Is it possible that the MS was headed by a reproduction of the Emperor's portrait which Nicephorus describes as the frontispiece? If it were the case, it would have an interest of its own, and the early part (missing in the present MS) may have been transferred to a different part of the library. In that event, only that portion would

¹ *Apocr.* i 17.

² *Ib.* ii 18.

³ *Ib.* ii 19.

leave St Mark's, and it is to Venice rather than to Athens that we must turn for the possible recovery of the lost first Book. What survives is a paper MS of the fifteenth century, described by Duchesne as 'prave scriptus, multis lacunis'. The only means of testing its accuracy is by comparing it with other authorities, such as Nicephorus and Turrianus, where fragments are quoted. Duchesne gives a list of eleven MSS containing fragments, and notes a few variants, while Blondel's edition notes the readings of Nicephorus. Sometimes the latter gives undoubtedly the right reading, as on p. 200 l. 14; here he has *βρέτας τοῖς θεοῖς ποιῶντες* instead of *σέλας τοῖς κ.τ.λ.*, where there is an evident confusion with *σέβας* in the line above. On p. 218 l. 18 he supplies an additional sentence, when Blondel does not note a lacuna. On p. 214 l. 10 he reads *δεσμῶν χωριζόμενοι* instead of *χαριζόμενοι*, and here it can be no mistake of the collator, for he notes 'in marg. *χωριζόμενοι ἴσως sec. manus*'. But there are cases where both are wrong, as where they read *ὁ* for *ὅς* . . . *κυριεύει φύσεως* on p. 212 l. 5. And in some readings our MS is to be preferred, as in the reading of p. 214 l. 19, where, for *θηρῶν τὸ ἀθήρατον*, Nicephorus has *ἀθέατον*. Another authority is to be found in *Codex Vaticanus Pii II*, no. 22, a tenth-century MS, which quotes part of *Apocr.* iii 13. Here again, several mistakes in the Athens MS are revealed, as on p. 89 l. 12, where, in the explanation of the inner allegorical meaning of Elijah's visions, the awkward phrase *ἀκουσον . . . τῶν ὁπτασιῶν τὸν καιρὸν* is greatly improved by the substitution of *τὸ κύριον*. And yet in l. 15, in speaking of the 'earthquake' as meaning the Mosaic law, *πραγμάτων* is a poor substitute for *προσταγμάτων* in the sentence *τὴν οἰκουμένην ἀπὸ τῶν προσταγμάτων φημιζόμενος ἔσεισε*.

And even when there is no authority by which to test the text of our MS, there are many indications that it is corrupt, as indeed we should expect in the case of so late a MS. Blondel has had to alter obvious blunders on nearly every page, or to note that they have been corrected by a later hand. In many cases he has left the unusual spelling of the MS, e. g. *ἀποκτένοντας* on p. 69 l. 3, although he gives the same quotation from St Matt. x 28 in the question as *ἀποκτείνοντας* (p. 53 l. 3), with the footnote *Cod. pr. l. ἀποκταίνοντες; alt. ἀποκταίνοντας*. But many places remain which still need emendation. On the subject of Synoptic discrepancies concerning the Crucifixion, the opponent complains that *πολλοὺς σταυρουμένους ἐμφαίνει ἢ ἓνα δυσθανοῦντα*. Here Duchesne's convincing suggestion is *δὺς θανατοῦντα* (p. 21 l. 4). Whether the fault lies with the MS or with the collation of it, cannot be decided without having it before us. The readings of Turrianus are not to be trusted, as his habit is to quote loosely, but in places where our present text seems unsatisfactory, even he may give some

help. For example, in *Apocr.* iv 2, p. 177 l. 10, where it is shewn to be partly due to St Paul's affection that he identifies himself with the dead in 1 Thess. iv, we read οὕτω γάρ τις φιλέταιρος ποιεῖ καὶ ποιεῖ τῶν ὁμοστοιχείων ἀγαπῶν τὴν συγγένειαν. Turrianus (*adv. Magd.* ii 13, p. 208) quotes this as οὕτω γάρ τις φιλέτερος, καὶ τῶν ὁμοστοιχείων ἀγαπῶν τὴν συγγένειαν δοκεῖ. May we not take the suggestion from δοκεῖ, and instead of the clumsy ποιεῖ καὶ ποιεῖ, emend to some such phrase as ποιεῖν δοκεῖ? I can make no attempt to discuss here the question of emendation in passages where there is no authority to suggest it.

T. W. CRAFER.

I. THE DIATESSARON IN THE SYRIAC ACTS OF JOHN.

IN the January number of the JOURNAL I attempted to shew that the Syriac *Acts of John* is no translation from Greek but an original Syriac document, and that the writer of the Acts made use of Tatian's *Harmony*. I venture to hope that the evidence adduced in support of these opinions will have proved convincing to Syriac scholars.

Two passages were reserved for separate consideration, as involving an arrangement of the Gospel narratives markedly different from that found in the late Arabic version of the Diatessaron which we possess. The first of these which I shall consider comes on pp. 38-39 of the Syriac text, 34-35 of Dr Wright's translation. It describes the first miracle of feeding the multitudes and that of the walking on the water. The corresponding matter in *Diat. Arab.* comes in xviii 22-xix 13. It will be well to exhibit our passage with reference to the account as given in the Arabic.¹

Diat. Arab.	Gosp.	<i>Acts of John.</i>
xviii 22 ^a	Mk. vi 33	And when He was teaching in the desert (cf. Mk. vi 31 = Mt. xiv 31; but also Lk. ix 10 in C ^a), and
22 ^b -25 ^a	Jn. vi 2 ^b -5 ^a	
25 ^b	Mk. vi 34 ^b	
26	Lk. ix 11 ^b	
27	Mt. xiv 15 ^a	

¹ I avail myself of the Gospel references given by Mr. Hamlyn Hill in *The Earliest Life of Christ*. I shall refer to the Curetonian and Sinaitic MSS of syr. vt. as C and S respectively. When Prof. Burkitt is quoted the reference will be to his *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* unless otherwise indicated.

² 'Ciasca's Arabic Diatessaron xviii 21 is equally silent as to Bethsaida, so that we may conjecture that C here reproduces the text of Tatian' (Burkitt ii p. 292).

Dist. Arab.	Grec.	Act. of John.
		the day had inclined to <i>slip</i> (Lk. ix 12), ¹ after the sick had been healed and the lepers cleansed, and the lame walked, and (the eyes of) the blind were opened (cf. Mt. xv 30-31, which introduce the miracle of feeding the four thousand), and the day was short (cf. Mt. xiv 25, Mt. vi 25 ²).
28	Mt. vi 36	
29-30 ³	Mt. xiv 16-17 ⁴	
30 ⁵ -34	Jn. vi 2-9	and there was no bread but three ² (sic) loaves of barleymeal (Jn. vi 9).
35	Lk. ix 13 ⁶	
36	Jn. vi 10	
37	Mt. vi 42	
38	Mt. xiv 18	And He commanded the multitude to sit down (Mt. xiv 19);
39	—	and He gave orders (cf. Mt. xiv 18),
		and they brought Him these loaves [Dist. Arab. similarly inserts after Mt. xiv 18, 'and when they had brought them'];
39-40 ⁷	Mt. xiv 19 / = Mt. vi 42	and He looked up to heaven, and blessed, and brake (Mt. xiv 19),
40 ⁸	Mt. xiv 20 ⁸	and gave to them (cf. Jn. vi 11),
40-42	Jn. vi 12-13	and they ate, and left over, and were satisfied.
43	Mt. xiv 21	—
		And those that ate and were satisfied, and carried away, and went to their homes, were four ² thousand (Mt. xv 38; Mt. viii 9, besides women and children (Mt. xiv 21; xv 38)).
44	Mt. xiv 22 / = Mt. vi 45	And He sent us away, that we might go into a ship,
		and He stayed behind on the dry land (cf. Mt. vi 47).
45-49	Jn. vi 14-18	And when the sun had set (cf. Mt. xiv 23, Mt. vi 47, Jn. vi 16)
		and it was dark (Jn. vi 17), the sea rose against us (Jn. vi 18),
50	Mt. xiv 24	and we were tossed about (cf. Mt. xiv 24) all night.
xix 1	25	And in the fourth watch of the night, this Jesus . . . came unto us, walking on the sea (Mt. xiv 25).
2	Jn. vi 19 ⁹	—
3	Mt. xiv 26	and we were afraid (Jn. vi 19 ⁹);
		and when one of the disciples, my companion, saw (this) (Mt. xiv 26),
4	27	—
5	28	he said to Him: Lord, if it be Thou, command us to come unto Thee upon the water (Mt. xiv 26).

¹ The Syriac is ܡܕܝܢܐ ܕܡܕܝܢܐ. The verb 'to dip' is uncommon in the sense it bears here, but quite idiomatic; it is actually the word used in Lk. ix 12.

² On p. 17 (15) of these Acts there is a shorter passage which deals with the same miracle: there it is said that there were *five* loaves of barleymeal.

³ So in the other passage (p. 17). In both places the later MS. B, has corrected the number to 'five thousand'.

⁴ Compare St Ephraim's Commentary (Moes. p. 137): 'Quoniam igitur in mari sederent et vento in ea agitantur et mare contra eos commotum insurgens, venit Dominus,' etc.

Diat. Arab.	Gosp.	<i>Acts of John.</i>
6	29	And Jesus said unto him : Come. And he walked and was coming (<i>B</i> , went) unto Him (Mt. xiv 29). ¹
7-8	30-31	—
9	32	And our Lord Jesus came and entered into the ship (Mt. xiv 32). ²
i 35	Mk. iv 39 ^a	And there was a great quiet (ܡܠܚܬܐ). ³
36	40	—
37	Lk. viii 25	And these multitudes were astonished and said : Who is this, pray, that the winds and the sea He commandeth and they obey Him ⁴ (Lk. viii 25). And when Jesus had come to the land of the Gadarenes (cf. Mt. viii 28 ; Lk. viii 26)
i 38	Lk. viii 26	
i 10	Mt. iv 24	they brought to Him all those that were ill with divers ⁵ infirmities, and demoniacs and the paralysed, and lunatics and the lame, and He healed them all (Mt. iv 24).

In this passage the words 'and there was a great quiet' to 'and they obey Him' have evidently been brought in through confusion from the earlier miracle of stilling the storm ; but the verses (Mk. iv 39 and Lk. viii 25-26) which make up the passage appear also in close connexion in the Arabic Harmony (xi 35-38). That the stilling of the storm is in its right place in Diat. Arab. is attested by Ephraïm Levesque (pp. 74-75). The concluding words from Mt. iv belong to yet another context.

We turn back to the account of feeding the multitudes. Most of the circumstances are collected from the different accounts of the feeding of the *five* thousand, much as we find them in Diat. Arab., though in a condensed form. But the healings which precede the miracle are from St Matthew's account of the *four* thousand (Mt. xv 30 f), and in two separate contexts the older MS of the *Acts of John* gives *four* thousand as the number fed. The reading '*five* thousand', which the later MS has in both passages, must be rejected as a palpable emendation. It is wholly improbable that a scribe should twice have made the unnatural mistake of connecting the four thousand with the five loaves in an account where almost all the details so clearly belong to the miracle of feeding the five thousand. It is equally improbable that the author himself twice wrote 'four' by mistake. The question

¹ For the reading see *J. T. S.* viii 259.

² For the reading see *J. T. S.* loc. cit.

³ This is the reading of Pesh. in Mk. iv 39. syr. vt. is wanting here ; but in Lk. viii 26 and Lk. viii 24 all authorities have 'calm', ܡܠܚܬܐ.

⁴ For the reading, which agrees in a striking manner with syr. vt. against Pesh., see *J. T. S.* loc. cit.

⁵ *B*, 'stubborn,' which is the reading of syr. vt. : Pesh. has 'divers'. See *J. T. S.* p. 260.

arises: Did Tatian describe both miracles of feeding the multitudes, or were the two reduced to one?

The silence of Ephraim's Commentary on the subject of the second miracle and of the subsequent discourse on the leaven of the Pharisees, in which our Lord alludes to both miracles (Diat. Arab. xxiii 1-25), forced Zahn to omit these passages from his reconstruction of the Diatessaron text.¹ Having finished with Jn. v 46 [the passage which in Diat. Arab. (xxii 54) immediately precedes the second miracle and the discourse on the leaven], Ephraim goes on with the healing of the blind man at Bethsaida (Mk. viii 22 = Diat. Arab. xxiii 26), which in the Arabic comes just after the discourse on the leaven.² We might have expected from Ephraim some comment on the latter discourse even though he had thought it unnecessary to speak of the second miracle.

If we turn now to Aphraates, we find in *Hom.* xxi 5 the following: 'Elisha satisfied a hundred men from a little bread; and Jesus satisfied four thousand from five loaves, besides women and children.' This surely is a significant statement in view of the fact of its double occurrence in the *Acts of John*.³

We turn next to Solomon of Baṣra. He is a rather late writer (saec. xiii); but in a work entitled *The Book of the Bee*⁴ he has culled information from a variety of Syriac sources, some of which go back ultimately to the fourth century, and even to the Old Syriac and the Diatessaron itself. Thus his first chapter is clearly based upon Aphraates (*Hom.* xvii 7). On p. 91 he gives us an Encratite explanation of the locusts eaten by St John the Baptist which probably took its rise from a reading in the Diatessaron.⁵ On p. 94 we are told that

¹ See *Forschungen zur Gesch. d. N. T. Kanons* i. pp. 161-162, 358.

² In the transition from Jn. v 46 to Mk. viii 22 there is no indication of any gap in the text under comment. One passage is dovetailed into the other quite naturally. 'Si autem propter miracula crediderunt (sc. Moysi), licet ignorantes, Moyses responsum dedit pro Christo, quod oporteat ei fidem habere propter ipsius signa et miracula (Jn.). Iuxta gradum fidei caeco sanatio contigit, ut Dominus oculos invisibiles et visibiles ei daret' (Mk.) &c. (Moes. p. 152). There would be perhaps a certain temptation for the harmonist to bring together the two cures, of the sick man at Bethsaida (Jn. v), and of the blind man at Bethsaida (Mk. viii).

³ I do not consider that the evidence from Ephraim's Commentary and this passage of Aphraates is put out of court by the circumstance that elsewhere both these writers shew themselves acquainted with the fact that there were two miracles, for they were both familiar with the 'Separate' Gospels as well as with the Diatessaron.

⁴ Ed. Budge. References will be to the pages of Dr. Budge's English translation.

⁵ See Rendel Harris *Fragments of the Commentary of Ephrem Syrus upon the Diatessaron* p. 17. According to Isho'dad the Diat. said: 'His meat was honey and milk of the mountains.' Dr. Rendel Harris emends this to 'milk and honey of the mountains'. Isho'dad goes on to give various explanations which he has read. One of these changes 'locusts' into a like-sounding word meaning a sort of root,

'Bar-Abba was called Jesus'. This comes from the 'Evangelion da-Mepharreshe', or Old Syriac, as Bar Ṣalibi (possibly Solomon's immediate authority) had observed a century earlier. On p. 94 again, the purple robe put upon our Lord is said to have been a present to the Maccabees 'from the emperors of the Greeks'. This is also found in Bar Ṣalibi, who may have got it from St Ephraim.¹

Now on p. 92 (*Book of the Bee*) we find, in the course of a short notice of our Lord's miracles, the following passage: 'He wrought miracles, healed the sick . . . He satisfied five thousand with five loaves and there remained twelve basketfuls; and with seven loaves and two fishes He satisfied four thousand (men), besides women and children, and there remained seven basketfuls. And some writers say that our Lord satisfied *forty* thousand men and women and children with *five* loaves.'

The coupling of the *two* fishes with the seven loaves may be a mere slip; but what were the *data* that enabled 'some writers' to compute that the women and children, if counted in, would swell the number of those fed with *five* loaves to *forty* thousand? There is no obvious reason why the five thousand should have been multiplied by eight. But suppose that some writer has found it stated somewhere (perhaps in a copy of the Diatessaron itself) that *four* thousand were fed with five loaves, and the explanation is obvious. He is perplexed, looks about for a means of reconciling the statement with the narrative in Mt. xiv and Mk. vi, and hits upon the emendation 'forty' for 'four' (*arḏ'in* for *arḏā*), accounting for the odd thirty-five thousand by the inclusion of the women and children.

Ephraim in his comments on the (first) miracle (Moes. pp. 132-135) has a further point of agreement with the other authorities just quoted: like them he omits all reference to the fishes.² This may be a mere coincidence; but when we know that Tatian for Encratite reasons changed the locusts which John ate into milk, it does not appear incredible that he should have got rid of the fishes upon similar grounds.

thus effecting a compromise between the Encratite reading of Tatian and the text of the separate Gospels. This is the explanation given by Solomon. It may be remarked that Aphraates seems to have preferred the orthodox reading, for in one place he says rather pointedly, 'John was eating the locusts that fly' (vi. 13).

¹ Lamy i 589.

² Cf. Moes. p. 133: 'Sed considera vim eius creatricem omnia penetrantem. Dominus paululum panis sumpsit et in ictu oculi multiplicavit. Quod homines per decem menses operoso labore faciunt et convertunt, decem digiti eius subito fecerunt.' Lower down: 'panes isti azymi quasi feminae steriles et filiis orbac per benedictiones eius creverunt et duodecim cophinorum fragmentis, quae ex eis nascebantur, multiplicati sunt.'

In the other passage in the *Acts of John* (p. 17) where the feeding of four thousand is mentioned there is a somewhat vague reference to a second miracle of feeding the multitudes. Perhaps the author has the separate Gospels in mind; but on the other hand it is quite possible that Tatian himself, after describing one miracle fully, made some such passing allusion to the fact that there had been another.

The second passage that we have to consider comes on pp. 18-19 (transl. 15-16). It deals with events from the Passion to the Ascension of our Lord. As no very useful purpose would be served by attempting to exhibit the account here given by the side of that in *Diat. Arab.*, I will simply give the story as told in our Acts, together with the principal Gospel references, and then try to compare it with what may be gathered from the extant authorities for the original *Diatessaron* account.

'And after thirty-two years, after the thirty-third had commenced... they delivered Him to the hegemon, and scourged Him and stripped Him of His garments, and mocked Him, and spat in His face, and wove a crown of thorns and placed it on His head (cf. Mt. xxvii 26 ff), and crucified Him on the wood, and gave Him vinegar and gall to drink, and smote Him with a spear in His side¹ [Jn. xix 34; cf. Mt. xxvii 49 c (?)], and He cried out with His mighty voice (cf. Mt. xxvii 50, Mk. xv 37, Lk. xxiii 34^a) on the cross.² And when the preaching of the prophets was accomplished (cf. Jn. xix 28) the sun was darkened (Lk. xxiii 44) from the sixth hour to the ninth, and there was darkness over the whole earth on the Friday (*'arubhtā*); and the veil of the temple was rent (Mt. xxvii 51): and the boulders³ and rocks, which blocked up the entrances to the tombs around Jerusalem, were split, and the dead came forth and entered into the city (Mt. xxvii 52, 53), crying out with their voices; and they came and

¹ *B* adds 'and there flowed from it blood and water'. These words may have been inserted by a scribe from Jn. xix 34; but the reading differs from Pesh., which has 'and immediately there came forth' for 'and there flowed from it', while the latter reading is that given by Jacob of Serug in a Homily in which he is plainly using the *Diatessaron* (see below, 'Jacob of Serug and the *Diatessaron*'); and so the words in *B* probably belong to the original text of the Acts.

² *B* adds: 'My Father forgive them' (Lk. xxiii 34^b). The genuineness of these words will be discussed presently. On the reading 'His mighty voice' see *J.T.S.* viii 259.

³ Lit. 'wheels' (𐤒𐤍𐤏). The meaning which the word has here may be illustrated by its use in Eccl. xii 6, where in the singular it renders 𐤒𐤍𐤏, 'a wheel' (for raising water). The Syriac translator evidently missed the meaning of the passage in the Heb.—'or ever... the wheel *be broken* at the well'—and rendered 'or ever... the wheel *run* over the well', taking 'the wheel' to be a circular stone for blocking the well's mouth.

worshipped Him as He hung on the wood; and many of them are still alive. And they took Him down from the wood, and a certain man full of truth, Joseph the councillor (Lk. xxiii 50), wrapped Him in a swathe of linen, and laid Him in the tomb; and on the third day He rose from the dead; and we saw Him, and felt Him (cf. Lk. xxiv 39) and believed (cf. Jn. xx 29) and affirmed that He is the Word which became flesh and dwelt amongst us. And He ascended into heaven and sat at the right hand of His Father (cf. Mk. xvi 19); and He has given us power to give life and blessings to every one who believes in His name. And He said to us: Go forth, make disciples, and baptize them in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit (Mt. xxviii 19); every one that believes and is baptized shall live' (Mk. xvi 16).

In view of the evidence already produced for the use of the Diatessaron in the *Acts of John* this passage cannot fail to raise some fresh speculation as to the original Diatessaron account of the Passion. Unfortunately in the case of most of the points which arise there is not sufficient independent evidence to justify a definite view; and in what follows I wish for the most part to suggest possibilities only and not to advocate theories.

1. In the words 'My Father forgive them', *B* must, it appears to me, preserve the original reading of the Acts. It is highly improbable that a scribe, or annotator, acquainted only with the text of the separate Gospels, would have inserted this saying here, out of the Gospel order, instead of the cry from Mt. and Mk., or the other cry from Lk. (xxiii 46). But for a writer familiar with the Diatessaron it would obviously have been quite natural to do so. Diat. Arab. (lii 6) puts the saying immediately before the cry in Lk. xxiii 46, thus: 'And Jesus said, My Father forgive them . . . And Jesus, crying again with a loud voice, said, My Father, into Thy hands,' &c. In Ephraim's Commentary the words are cited three times (Moes. pp. 117, 256, 265), in no case in the Gospel order. The first citation comes long before the Passion; the second in the course of a comment on the other cry ('into Thy hands', &c.); the third later still.

2. The piercing of the side is placed before our Lord's death. This is also the case in some of our best Greek MSS (including *ℵ*, *B* and *L*), *ℵ*. xix 34 being interpolated after Mt. xxvii 49 in the form, 'but another took a spear and pierced His side, and there came out water and blood.' Now, as Prof. Burkitt has pointed out, 'there is no [known] Syriac evidence' for this.¹ But in a Greek MS of the eleventh century there is, as is well known, a gloss opposite to Mt. xxvii 49 which says that the words 'but another took a spear', &c., followed here in 'the historical

¹ *Op. cit.* i 169.

Gospel of Diodorus and Tatian'. On this Mr Hamlyn Hill observes: 'As no such person or Gospel is known, Diodorus may be a mistake for Diatessaron.'¹ The MS in question is cod. 72 of the Gospels (Brit. Mus. 5647). That it came from the East, having belonged at one time to a certain Michael, Metropolitan of Basra, may perhaps count in favour of the view that the gloss contains an element of truth. On the other hand, Ephraim certainly places the incident after the death (Moes. p. 259). But his reference to it is followed by the remark: 'This was done that they might know that He was alive after death,' which seems to show that the other alternative was present to his mind.² This inference may be strengthened by another consideration. In Jn. xix 34 the order 'blood and water' has overwhelming Greek and other MS testimony;³ but in the interpolation in Mt. the order appears to be always 'water and blood'. Now Ephraim uses both orders. In Moes. p. 260 we find 'exiit sanguis et aqua'; but on p. 245, 'mysterium aquae et sanguinis ex latere Christi'; and in *Carm. Nisib.* xxxix 7, 'there came out from Him water and blood.' It is possible, therefore, that some copies of the Diatessaron had the interpolation, while in others it was corrected into agreement with the 'Separate' Gospel. We shall see later on that Jacob of Serug, in a Homily in which he makes considerable use of the Diatessaron, evidently quotes from a text (whether of Diat. or of the separate Gospels) in which the order was 'water and blood'. We have already seen that he read 'and there flowed from it' with MS *B* of *Acts of John* against Pesh., which has 'and immediately there came forth'.

3. The precise statement that 'the sun was darkened from the sixth hour to the ninth, and there was darkness over the whole earth on the Friday'⁴ is somewhat striking. Nor does it stand alone: Ephraim (Moes. p. 215), in a comment on Lk. xxi 36, writes: 'Alii dicunt ad solos apostolos haec dicta esse, ut si feria sexta sol defectura sit, confortarentur.'

Now Dr James has incidentally pointed out (*J.T.S.* vii 566 f) two other passages in which the 'arūbhtā' is mentioned in connexion with the darkness. The first of these is in the very ancient Greek (Leucian)

¹ *Earliest Life of Christ* p. 249.

² Cf. Rendel Harris *The Diatessaron of Tatian* p. 51.

³ So Pesh. Unfortunately syr. vt. is not extant at this place.

⁴ 'Arūbhtā': this is the regular Syriac word for 'Friday', *pace* Dr James (in *J.T.S.* vii 567); cf. Mk. xv 42, where Pesh. renders παρασκευή, ὃ ἔστιν προπαρασκευή by 'the evening of the arūbhtā, which is before the Sabbath'. *S* has no equivalent of παρασκευή, but says simply, 'and it was on the Sabbath.' 'Arūbhtā' has nothing to do with the idea of 'preparation', and hence Prof. Burkitt rightly renders 'Friday' when the word occurs in syr. vt. as a translation of παρασκευή.

⁵ No doubt the word in the original Syriac was 'arūbhtā.

ts of John (Bonnet *Act. Apost. Apocr.* II i 199): And when on the day (ܐܡܝܢ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܡܝܢ) He was hung (on the cross), at the sixth hour the day there came darkness over all the earth . . . And (He) said, ohn, unto the multitudes down below in Jerusalem I am being crucified, and pierced with lances and reeds, and vinegar and gall is given to drink.'

In translating ܐܡܝܢ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܡܝܢ by 'Friday' I have adopted Hilgenfeld's conjecture—which Dr James seems to accept,¹ and which I feel sure correct—that the word is simply a transliteration of ܐܪܒܝܬܐ ('*arabhtā*). Hilgenfeld further suggested that the word was taken from a Hebrew Gospel; and certainly its juxtaposition with the mention of the darkness renders it highly probable that the writer of the Leucian Acts is borrowing from a Semitic original. '*Arabhtā*' means primarily 'evening', 'sunset', being derived from ܐܪܒ 'to grow dark', 'set' (of the sun). The play upon the double meaning of the word ('sunset' and 'Friday') is met with more than once in Syriac writers, as we shall see; but the pun is not actually made in every case: it is sometimes hinted at or referred to (cf. the passage in the Syriac *Acts of John* above, and the remark of Ephraim), if the writer had in mind some well-known context in which it stood. Let us examine the passage in the Leucian Acts more closely.

It has two other coincidences with the Syriac Acts: (1) the piercing of the side is apparently placed before the death—if indeed this is done intentionally in either set of Acts; and (2) it is said that our Lord was given 'vinegar and gall' to drink. It might be supposed that the author of the Syriac Acts is here copying from the Leucian. But I do not think that this is the case, for an orthodox writer—as our author undoubtedly was—who had the Gospel narrative before him would scarcely go out of his way to copy such a meagre account of the Passion as that in the Greek Acts, one, moreover, in which the events described are mentioned with the sole purpose of saying that they did not happen to the real but only to the docetic Christ. Further, the peculiarities of the Syriac account are not confined to the matter which has in common with the Greek.

Can we find any connecting link which will account for these coincidences? In the first place, it now seems probable that the writer of the Syriac Acts was familiar with the Diatessaron. And we know that in the Diatessaron it was said that the drink, or one of the drinks, offered to Christ on the cross was 'vinegar and gall'.² We have seen also that Ephraim speaks in his Commentary of the failing of the sun as having taken place on Friday (*feria sexta*); that there is some reason

¹ *J.T.S.* loc. cit.

² Cp. Ephraim's Commentary (Moes. p. 245): 'And they gave Him to drink vinegar and gall.'

to suppose that he was acquainted with the interpolation which placed the piercing of the side before our Lord's death; and that this addition may have found a place in some copies of the Diatessaron. This suggests the possibility that Tatian and the author of the Leucian Acts may have used a common source. Here then comes in Hilgenfeld's suggestion that the passage in the Greek Acts is based upon the Hebrew Gospel. We know for a fact that the Diatessaron contained matter drawn from apocryphal Gospels. There are two clear coincidences with the *Gospel of Peter*, viz. the cry of woe uttered by the people as they returned from Calvary,¹ and the words spoken by the young man to the women at the tomb (*Peter* c. 13): 'He is risen and gone away thither, whence He was sent.' Compare Aphraates (xx 11; Wright, p. 385)—'And those angels said to Mary, He is risen and gone away to Him that sent Him'—where he is probably quoting from the Diatessaron.² In common with the Hebrew Gospel, the Harmony had an account of a light on Jordan at our Lord's baptism. The employment of this Gospel by the author of the Leucian Acts as well as by Tatian would well account for at least two of the coincidences in the Greek and Syriac *Acts of John*.

The other writer quoted by Dr James who couples the darkness with Friday is Solomon of Baṣra, who, as we have seen, sometimes preserves very early traditions. He writes: 'As regards the name *'arūbhtā*, it was not known until this time [i. e. the time of the Passion], but that day was called the sixth day. And when the sun became dark, and the divine care also set (*'erbath*) and abandoned the Israelitish people, that day was called *'arūbhtā*.' This explanation is probably a pure fancy; but it may have been a very early one. It evidently rose out of the pun on the double meaning of *'arūbhtā*; but it does seem further to imply that the inventor of the etymology was acquainted with a Gospel text in which the mention of Friday came in connexion with the three hours of darkness.³

4. What was our author's authority for the statement that the dead came to worship Christ on the cross? He is on the whole a sober writer, and seems here to be telling the Gospel story as it was known to him. It is not obvious what motive could have prompted an orthodox

¹ See Burkitt i 413, note on Lk. xxiii 48; and *Gosp. of Pet.* c. 7.

² See Robinson *The Gosp. acc. to Peter* p. 29. It is probable that the Diat. had other features in common with *Peter*: see the next Note.

³ Compare Ephraim (Lamy i 695): 'Three days are counted to Christ, as to Jonah. Lo, there is the *'arūbhtā* whose light set (*'arabh*) from the people', &c. The same statement will meet us in Jacob of Serug in a Homily in which it is certain that he is using the Diatessaron (see the next Note, on 'Jacob of Serug and the Diatessaron').

writer to set down in prose such a glaring perversion of St Matthew's Gospel,—unless indeed he had found it in some authorized text.¹

5. The words 'and we felt Him and believed' may be a confused reminiscence of Lk. xxiv 39 (Diat. Arab. liv 4) and Jn. xx 29 (Diat. Arab. liv 22); but as they stand they forcibly remind us of the well-known passage in Ignatius of Antioch (Smyrn. 3), which, as St Jerome informs us, was found in the 'Nazarene' Gospel: 'When the Lord came to Peter and those with him, He said: 'Take hold, feel Me, and see that I am not an incorporeal demon. And straightway *they touched Him and believed*, being convinced by His flesh and by His Spirit.'² I see no objection to supposing that this passage was used by Tatian; it would have furnished him with a plausible pretext for omitting the mention of the broiled fish in Lk. xxiv 42.³

6. The account of the Ascension with which the passage closes has already been discussed (see *J. T. S.* viii 257) in connexion with a similar account on p. 4 of these Acts. It was seen that the command to baptize (Mt. xxviii 19) is brought into close connexion with the Ascension, which is described in the language of Mk. and Lk. combined, the arrangement being in close agreement with that found in the Arabic Harmony.

II. JACOB OF SERUG AND THE DIATESSARON.

JACOB of Serug died in 521. In the first volume of his *Homilies*, published by Bedjan in 1905,⁴ there are three on Baptism. The second of these treats of the baptism of our Lord; and it seems clear that Jacob either has the Diatessaron before him as he writes or is very familiar with its contents. On p. 174, and again on p. 179, he alludes to a fire between the banks of the Jordan. Pp. 183–185 are taken up

¹ We shall presently find something very similar in Jacob of Serug's account of the crucifixion.

² Westcott *Introduction to the Study of the Gospels* eighth ed. p. 467.

³ 'The use of ܕܝܡܝܢ "devil" [in S and C at Mt. xiv 26, and in S at Mt. vi 49] as an equivalent for φάντασμα', writes Prof. Burkitt, 'has a curious echo of the famous saying of our Lord quoted by Ignatius and taken according to Jerome from the "Nazarene" Gospel. . . . It is obvious that the saying goes back to a Semitic origin and that the original word corresponding to δαίμονιον was ܕܝܡܝܢ. The same may be said of πνεῦμα in Lk. xxiv 39' (*op. cit.* ii 281). But, since it is probable on independent grounds that Tatian used the Hebrew Gospel, is it not a legitimate conjecture that 'devil' was the reading of the Diat. in the same passages as in syr. vt., and that Tatian was influenced in his choice of the word by the passage which Ignatius quotes?

⁴ A second volume appeared in 1906.

with a description of this event, which includes references to all the details which Isho'dad tells us were contained in the Diatessaron account. The fire (*nûrâ*: Isho'dad speaks of a 'light', *nûhrâ*) is constantly mentioned; thus on p. 183: 'The waters were ablaze (ܐܬܠܥܝܬܐ) with lightnings of flame, for the living Fire had come to baptism that in them He might bathe.' On pp. 184 and 188 the attendant angels are spoken of. On p. 184 it is said that clouds of light flew and stood by, and that the waves of Jordan were fixed from flowing.¹

I have further collected a number of Gospel readings from Jacob's *Homilies* which agree more or less strikingly with syr. vt., or with known Diatessaron readings, against Pesh. It must suffice here to quote only a few of these and refer the reader to the pages of Prof. Burkitt's *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* for an estimate of their significance.

- (1) Mt. vi 11 = Bedj. i 218 (see Burkitt ii 104 ff, 268 f)

ܐܬܬܢ ܠܗܒܢ ܠܬܝܢܐ ܠܚܝܬܐ ܕܝܡܝܢܐ.

Give us the constant bread of the day.

- (2) Mt. xvi 18 = Bedj. i 476, 477, 488 (see Burkitt ii 119, 156, 170)

ܡܥܬܠܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܠܐ ܫܦܝܥܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ.

And the gate-bars of Sheol do not conquer it.

- (3) Mt. xviii 22 = Bedj. ii 404, 405 (see Burkitt ii 121)

ܡܥܬ ܕܐܬܬܢ ܡܥܬܐ.

Seven for seventy times (i. e. seventy times seven).

- (4) Lk. vii 14 = Bedj. ii 341 (see Burkitt ii 131, 194)

ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ.

Youth, youth, to thee I say, arise.

- (5) Jn. xiii 5 = Bedj. ii 458, 461, 465 (see Burkitt ii 142)

ܐܬܬܢ ܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ.

And He cast water into a dish.

Any one who has studied Prof. Burkitt's book will see at a glance that Jacob has a Gospel text before him other than that of Pesh. One or two more readings characteristic of syr. vt. and Diat. will meet us in the course of the following pages.

We are not now surprised when in a series of Homilies on Holy Week we find Jacob unmistakably following the Diatessaron in his treatment of the Passion. The order of events from the trial to the Resurrection² is, generally speaking, that of the Arabic Harmony; but

¹ For Isho'dad's account see Rendel Harris *Fragments of the Commentary of Ephrem Syrus upon the Diatessaron* p. 43.

² I choose this section for discussion because just here Jacob gives definite information relative to the Gospel arrangement in the text before him which can be checked from other sources. Up to this point it is more difficult to test his adherence to the Diatessaron, though he is evidently using a harmonized account, and exhibits readings which differ from Pesh. in favour of syr. vt.

Jacob enables us, with the help of Ephraim's commentary and, in part, of Victor of Capua's Latin Harmony (*Codex Fuldensis*), to make some interesting corrections in the Arabic order. Jacob's order, checked as far as may be by the existing authorities, is as follows:—

(1) p. 566. Judas's repentance is placed after the trial: 'And He went forth to die with evil-doers, Himself having done no evil. Then Judas, that lamp which went out in the midst of its fellows, repented and was ashamed of the wickedness he had done.' This arrangement is supported by Ephraim (Moes. p. 239) and Diat. Arab.

(2) p. 569. Lamentations of the women on the way to Calvary.

(3) p. 570. Christ is nailed to the cross. The robbers are not mentioned here; but it is implied later on that they were crucified simultaneously with our Lord.

(4) p. 571. Enumeration of instruments prepared on Calvary: nails for the hands and feet; a lance; gall, or wormwood (Jacob says it was to be eaten; but he is influenced by Ps. lxix 21, which he quotes), and vinegar.' The word 'lance' (لance) is that used by St Ephraim to describe the weapon with which our Lord's side was pierced (Lamy i 621). The Peshitta has 'spear' (سpear). The only drink given to Christ of which St Ephraim makes mention in his commentary is 'vinegar and gall' (Moes. p. 245). It is probable that in the Diatessaron this was the only drink offered on the cross, for in a Homily on the Good Thief (Bedj. ii p. 442) Jacob says that the 'gall and vinegar' were held out on a reed. On pp. 571 and 572 Jacob says that 'they had given Him wine to drink as He was setting forth', but that He would not drink it (cf. Mt. xxvii 34, Mk. xv 23) because it was not prophesied of Him that He should drink wine. The gall and vinegar, however, He took in accordance with Ps. lxix 21. Neither in Diat. Arab. nor in Ephraim's commentary is there mention of any drink offered before the actual crucifixion.

(5) p. 572. The parting of the garments and casting lots.

(6) p. 574. The inscription: given variously as 'This is the King of the Jews' and 'This Jesus is the King of the Jews'. It was written in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. It is called a 'tablet', *lafa* (i. e. *πίττακιον*), the Diat. and syr. vt. word for *ἐπιγραφή* in Lk. xxiii 38: Pesh. has 'writing', *lafa* (see Burkitt *op. cit.* i 411, ii 138).

(7) p. 580. The 'robbers'. Christ was bound to the cross with robbers [see no. (3), above].

(8) One of the 'robbers' repents.

p. 581. The penitent 'robber' reads on the 'tablet' (here spelt

Cf. vol. i p. 500: 'Unless they give me vinegar and gall to drink the prophecy is devoid of meaning.'

١٥٨٥) 'This is the King': 'but with or without the writing He would have been confessed as Master and Lord of the *Garden of Eden*'.¹ Jacob uses the word 'robber' (سارق) throughout. The two criminals are called 'evil-doers' in *S* at Mt. xxvii 38 (Gr. *λῃσταί*), and by *S*, *C*, and *Pesh.* at Lk. xxiii 32, 39 (Gr. *κακούργους*). At Mt. xxvii 38 and Mk. xv 27 *Pesh.* has 'bandits' (سارقين, i.e. *λῃσταί*); but at Mk. xv 27 *S* has 'robbers', and we may infer from Jacob's repeated use of this word that it was that employed in the Diatessaron.

p. 582. 'He hangs on the wood and gives the *Garden* to Faith; and because it believed that He was able to give, straightway He gave.'

The darkness, which follows here in Diat. Arab. and Ephraim's commentary, is not mentioned by Jacob till after the death; but it is said then that it took place from the sixth to the ninth hour, and that the death was at the ninth hour.²

The order of events thus far agrees with Diat. Arab. Ephraim in his commentary speaks of the repentance of the thief on the right hand before the offering of the vinegar and gall. But we need not conclude that Diat. had that order. It is quite natural that, having said that the two men were crucified with Christ, he should go straight on to speak of the repentance of one of them.

(9) p. 584. The death: 'He cried out with the voice, and left His Spirit in the hand of His Father' (cf. Lk. xxiii 46; Diat. Arab. lii 7; Moes. p. 254).

(10) p. 584. Splitting of the rocks, trembling of the mountains (cf. Ephr. Moes. 257), earthquake. Here the darkness is mentioned; and Jacob seems to imply a reading in Diat. to the effect that the sun was darkened and again shone forth³; cf. Ephr. (Moes. 257): 'Tres horas sol obtenebratus est, et postea denuo luxit.'⁴ The same reading is implied in Lamy i 695 and 697. Also Jacob says repeatedly that the darkness took place 'at noon' (p. 584), or 'in the middle of the day' (pp. 591-

¹ Paradise is constantly referred to in this Homily as 'the Garden', and two or three times as 'the Garden of Eden'. In Bedj. vol. ii, beginning on p. 428, there is a Homily on *The Robber on the Right Hand*. At the end (p. 446) we read as follows: 'Amen, O man, He was saying to him, Believe and affirm that with me thou shalt be in the *Garden of Eden*.' This is a well-established Diatessaron reading (see Burkitt ii 138, 304) at Lk. xxiii 43: *Pesh.* has 'Paradise'.

² So also Aphraates xii 6-7.

³ In another Homily (vol. i p. 500) Jacob quotes the O. T. in support of this idea: 'Unless the sun be darkened and (again) shine at the crucifixion, why was it said "there shall be light at the time of evening"?' (Zech. xiv 7).

⁴ From this point it seems clear that Jacob has Ephraim's commentary before him. There are several coincidences of thought and language; but he is not merely dependent on the commentary, for he presently gives us information about the Diat. which cannot be gathered directly from Ephraim's work.

(11) p. 586. 'The dead came forth that they might chant praises Him with Hosannas.' Compare with this the striking passage in the *riac Acts of John* p. 18 (transl. 16): 'and the dead came forth and itered into the city crying out with their voices; and they came, and orshipped Him as He hung on the wood.' Was there not some undation for this in the Diatessaron?

Jacob : **וַיִּפְּצוּ אֶת צִדְּוֹ וְיָצְאוּ מִן הָאֵם מַיִם וְדָם׃**
And they pierced His side, and there flowed from it water and blood.

۵۹۵۵ مصدق و معتمد محترم. B+

Pesh. : لا ب مع اهلها محسوب حرقه
محسوب يوم واحد.

The evidence of syr. vt. is lost. Ephr. (Moes. p. 260) has: 'exiit sanguis et aqua.' Elsewhere Ephraim has the order 'water and blood'. In p. 589 Jacob repeats the order 'water and blood', and also the word 'flowed': 'Water and blood, for the forming of spiritual bones, flowed from the side of the Living One who died to quicken man . . . water flowed that He might declare that He was even dead, and blood flowed that again He might teach that He was alive when dead' (cf. Ephraim's comment on the words 'exiit sanguis et aqua': 'hoc factum est, ut scirent Christum post mortem vivere'). The agreement between the *Acts of John* and Jacob in reading 'and there flowed from it' is curious; while the order 'water and blood', found also in Ephraim, suggests the influence of the interpolation in Mt. xxvii 49, in which it is all but invariable.

The same order is twice given in vol. i p. 162, and in vol. ii p. 227 we read: 'The Son of God put on a body, and *made to flow from it water and blood.*'

(14) p. 593. Joseph (of Arimathaea) begs the Body and lays it in a tomb in a garden. There is no mention of Nicodemus, who in Diat. Arab. is coupled with Joseph (cf. Jn. xix 39), nor is he referred to in Ephraim's commentary. In *Cod. Fuld.* Nicodemus helps to take the Body from the cross, but Joseph alone lays it in the tomb.

(15) p. 600. The Jews ask for a guard. *They (or the soldiers) roll the stone to the tomb's mouth and seal it.*¹ There can be little doubt that this was so in the Diatessaron. Ephraim (Moes. 266) puts the rolling and sealing of the stone together, and implies that both alike were precautionary measures to prevent the Body from being stolen: 'Lapis sigillo firmatus appositus est, ut custodiret illud lapidem, cuius sigillo fideles custodiuntur.' His point is that this was a futile proceeding.

This may help to account for an otherwise perplexing reading in Pesh. at Mt. xxvii 60: 'and *they rolled* a great stone and *cast* it over the door of the sepulchre and *departed*.' The italicized verbs are plural, though those preceding are all singular, and the only possible subject is 'Joseph'.² Evidently we have here another example of the use of apocryphal material by Tatian: he doubtless got the idea that the stone was placed by the Jews, or soldiers, from the *Gospel of Peter* c. 8.

We now get some further light on the Diatessaron—Tatian's method of dealing with the angels at the tomb. In Diat. Arab. all the Gospel accounts are represented. First we have St Matthew's 'angel' sitting on the stone; then St Mark's 'young man' inside the tomb; then St Luke's 'two men' suddenly appearing inside the tomb; and lastly St John's 'two angels' appearing to Magdalene. But *Cod. Fuld.* omits St Mark's 'young man', and apparently makes only *one angel* speak to Magdalene. Tatian, if we may trust Jacob of Serug, seems to have concluded from the Gospel accounts that there were in all three angels at the tomb, one outside and two inside (cf. Ephraim [Lamy i 683] who says that 'three angels at the tomb' witnessed the resurrection). He identified St Mark's 'young man' with St Matthew's 'angel', and St John's 'two

¹ This statement is repeated on pp. 616, 633.

² In the Arabic account of the burial the above words from Mt. xxvii 60 are placed after Jn. xix 42, which is given thus: 'And they *left* Jesus there because the sabbath had entered in, and because the tomb was nigh at hand.' The word تركوا, 'they left,' presupposes the use of the verb جحد in the Syriac copy before the Arabic translator. If هم ('laid': Gr. ἔθηκεν) had stood there, as in S and Pesh., we should have expected وضعوا in the Arabic. The use of جحد instead of هم suggests that the person, or persons, who buried the Lord departed at once, and fits in perfectly with the view that Tatian made the Jews, and not Joseph, place the stone over the tomb.

ment to and the arrival of Peter and John, but this is told in the next Homily. On p. 609 we have the words: 'In the Garden of Joseph' He shewed Himself to the Blessed (woman): no doubt the B.V.M. is meant.

(19) p. 617 (next Homily). Mary comes on Sunday to the tomb (Jn. xx 1). Jn. xx 1 is omitted by Diat. Arab. and *Cod. Fuld.*,¹ but Ephraim has it (Moes. p. 267). Mary relates to Peter and John: 'they have taken away my Lord and I know not where they have laid Him' (Jn. xx 2).

Ephraim's (and, apparently, Jacob's) identification of this Mary with the Mother of our Lord makes it certain that in the Diatessaron she was not called Magdalene. The reason for this may be gathered from Diat. Arab. Magdalene was one of the women who went first to the tomb; and Diat. Arab. concludes the account of the visit with Mk. xvi 8: 'and they said nothing to any one; for they were afraid.' We may feel fairly confident that this verse stood in the Diatessaron also rather than Mt. xxviii 8 or Lk. xxiv 9. Tatian would have felt the difficulty of reconciling either of the latter verses with Jn. xx 2. It would obviously be preferable to follow Mk. xvi 8, which says that the women did not tell any one, and to regard the announcement spoken of in Jn. xx 2 as the first intimation the disciples received of the resurrection. But since Mary Magdalene was one of the women who did not tell the news, it became necessary to change her identity in the Jn. narrative. This was probably done by merely omitting 'Magdalene'.

(20) p. 618 ff. Peter and John came to the tomb (as in Jn. xx 3 ff.).

(21) p. 623. Departure of Peter and John. Mary's conversation with the angel is not given here, probably because it was spoken of in the preceding Homily.

Jacob of Serug's use of the Diatessaron bears out the suspicion raised by the *Acts of John* that a considerable amount of re-editing had taken place before the copy was produced from which our Arabic version was made. Both Jacob and the Acts leave the further impression that

¹ Here we have another striking coincidence with the *Gospel of Peter*: cf. *Peter* c. 6: 'And he took the Lord, . . . and brought Him into his own tomb which was called the Garden of Joseph.' St. John, who alone mentions the garden, gives no hint that it belonged to Joseph.

² At this point *Cod. Fuld.* shews plainly that the text of the underlying Harmony has been clumsily altered. The departure of the women is given in the words of Mt. xxviii 8: 'currentes nuntiare discipulis eius.' Then, without any mention of Magdalene, follows immediately Jn. xx 2: 'currit ergo et uenit ad Simonem Petrum,' &c. If for Mt. xxviii 8 we substitute (with Diat. Arab. liii 8) Mk. xvi 8b—'and they said nothing to any one; for they were afraid'—and then (with Ephraim and Jacob of Serug) introduce Jn. xx 1, we get the well-connected and very attractive arrangement which I believe was that of the Diatessaron.

Tatian incorporated into his Harmony traditions drawn from non-canonical sources rather more freely than is generally supposed. I have spoken for convenience of his copying from the *Gospel of Peter*. This presupposes a somewhat earlier date for that work than some scholars are ready to allow. But I have no wish to exclude the view that there may have been an early Pilate document which was the source of matter common to Justin Martyr and *Peter*,¹ and that this may also have been used by Tatian. The following list of probable coincidences between the Diatessaron and *Peter* may prove useful:—

(1) *Peter* c. 5. 'And it was noon, and darkness covered all Judaea.' Cf. Jac. Serug. Bedj. ii 584: 'day fled and night entered in and stood in the midst of the noonday.' P. 591: 'in the middle of the day darkness descended and covered the earth.' Cf. pp. 592, 603.

(2) *Peter* c. 6. 'Then [i.e. after Christ was taken down from the cross] the sun shone, and it was found the ninth hour.' Cf. Ephraim's Com. on Diat. (Moes. 257): 'tres horas sol obtenebratus est, et postea denuo luxit.' Cf. Lamy i 695, 697 (Ephr.); Jac. Ser. ii 584 (continuing the sentence quoted above—'and night entered in and stood in the midst of the noonday'): 'that it might fill the place thereof (i.e. of the day) until it revived and came to its place'; and i 500: 'unless the sun be darkened and (again) shine at the crucifixion, why was it said "there shall be light at the time of evening"?'

(3) *Peter* c. 6. 'His own tomb which was called the *Garden of Joseph*.' Cf. Jac. Ser. ii 617: 'in the Garden of Joseph He shewed Himself to the Blessed (woman).'

(4) *Peter* c. 7. 'Woe for our sins: for the judgement and the end of Jerusalem hath drawn nigh.' Cf. Aphraates p. 271; Addai p. 27; Ephr. (Moes.) 245, 246. For full texts see Burkitt i 413.

(5) *Peter* c. 8. The Jews and soldiers *roll the stone to the tomb's mouth* and seal it. Jac. Ser. ii 600, and compare Ephr. (Moes.) p. 266. See under no. (15), above.

(6) *Peter* c. 13. 'For He is risen *and gone away thither, whence He was sent*.' Aphr. p. 384; Jac. Ser. ii 607. See notes to nos. (15) and (18), above; and Burkitt i 527.

The free use of the Diatessaron by a writer so late as Jacob of Serug is very instructive as shewing that the efforts of Rabbula (died 435) and Theodoret to get rid of the Harmony were attended with only partial success. There can be little doubt that Tatian's work continued to be employed by scholars as an aid to the comparative study of the Gospels long after its public use in Church had been interdicted. A careful examination of the numerous Gospel quotations in Jacob's writings will be a necessary undertaking on the part of those

¹ So Stanton *The Gospels as Historical Documents* Part I p. 103.

engaged in research on the subject of the Diatessaron. Mr Burkitt, in his edition of the old Syriac Gospels has set us a model of the method to be followed in such investigations, and has supplied us with a number of clues which make it comparatively easy to detect whether a Syriac writer who quotes to any extent from the Gospels is using the Peshitta, syr. vt., or the Diatessaron. With the help of his book I think it can easily be shewn that Jacob of Serug used both Pesh. and Diat. very freely, in the way no doubt that fourth-century writers used syr. vt. and Diat. It is improbable that syr. vt. survived in use so long after Rabula's revision; so that, when Jacob gives us a reading which differs from Pesh. and yet appears not to be due merely to metrical considerations or to paraphrase, we may generally conclude that it is drawn from a copy of the Diatessaron, whether or no it agrees with the Old Syriac.

R. H. CONNOLLY.

ON AN APOSTOLIC TRADITION THAT CHRIST WAS BAPTIZED IN 46 AND CRUCIFIED UNDER NERO.

1. *Victorinus, Alexander of Jerusalem and the 'exemplaria apostolorum'.*

THERE is a well-known puzzle in St Irenaeus, where that Father declares that our Lord reached an age between 40 and 50, resting his statement on an appeal to 'the Presbyters who had seen John face to face'. It cannot be doubted that it is to the book of Papias that St Irenaeus is referring, and I hope to shew in a second article that it is not impossible to discover what Papias really said upon the subject, and how St Irenaeus's mistake arose.

But before directly approaching this point, it is necessary to deal with the support which St Irenaeus's view may be supposed to obtain from certain consular dates reported in a fragment published by Muratori, by which the birth of Christ is placed in A.D. 9, His baptism in 46, His death in 58, thus implying an age of 49 years. The authority for these dates is given as the *exemplaria apostolorum*, which might well stand for the *Exegeses* of Papias. Von Dobschütz has preferred rather to refer their tradition to the first century, and to represent it as a rival in antiquity and authority to the chronology given by St Luke. I hope the present article will establish that it belongs rather to the opening

of the third century. If this be admitted, the way will be cleared for a consideration of St Irenaeus's blunder and its probable explanation.

In the April number of this JOURNAL (1906) Dom Morin published a study of the fragment to which I have referred.¹ A comparison of the Muratorian text with that of Muratori (as corrected by von Dobschütz) shows that my confrère's discovery is of great interest. I place them side by side. The italicized letters are rubricated in the Milanese MS.

DOM MORIN'S FRAGMENT.

Hieronymus.

In commentariis Victorini inter
caetera etiam scripta reperi quod in
his Alexandri episcopi qui
in Ierusalem. quod transcripsit manu
sua de exemplaribus apostolorum
itaque natus est dominus iesus *χρσ*
et cromatio consulibus.
tunc viii. id. ian. valerio
maximo consulibus. Passus vero
sub Nerone tercio. et
in mensula consulibus. Surrexit
sub Nerone consulibus superscriptis.

Itaque quippe eodem die dominum
conceptum quo et resurrexit.
anunciatus. fer. i. natus
baptizatus. fer. vi. passus
in activitatis domini usque
in finem ipsius anni. xxxii.
iii. dies .xi.

The additions in the Muratorian version do not commend themselves as ancient. It was easy to calculate the date of the Ascension and add it in. The feast of St John Baptist and its octave were

MURATORI'S FRAGMENT.

In commentariis uictorini inter
plurima haec etiam scripta reperimus
invenimus in membranis alexandi *ēpi* qui
fuit in iherusalem quod transcripsit manu
sua de exemplaribus apostolorum ita
viii kl ian̄r natus est dñs nrt̄ ihs *χρσ*
sulpitio et camerino consulis
et baptizatus est viii id̄ ian̄r valeriano
et asiatico cōñs. passus est
x. kl ap̄l nerone iii et
valerio. mesala cōñs̄ resurrexit.
viii kl' ap̄l cōñss̄ supra scriptis.
ascendit in celos v noñ maias post
dies xl. cōñss̄ supra scriptis.
iohannis baptista nascitur viii kl. iul
et circumciditur kl. iul ad mariam uero
locutus est angelos viii k ap̄l sexto
iam conceptionis mense~ elisabeth
habere dicens
ex quo supputatur eodem die dominum
fuisse conceptum quo et resurrexit.
Amen.

The fragment was originally published by Muratori at the end of an anonymous *Computo*, where it occurs in a Bobbio MS (Ambros. H 150 inf. olim 70 S), *nalecta* vol. iii (reprinted in *P. L.* 129, col. 1369). It was inserted by Routh in *Reliquiae*. An exact transcript from the MS is given by Von Dobschütz in the appendix to his study of the *Kerygma Petri* (*T. U.* xi, 1, 1893) p. 137. The study he has devoted to it is very valuable, and I am greatly indebted to it. Dom Morin's fragment is from Cod. 1473 of the University of Padua (*J. T. S.* April 459).

somewhat obvious.¹ The Annunciation on March 25 is presupposed in the shorter version, and in the longer version is out of its place; it should have come first or not at all.

The remaining dates may well be of early origin. March 25th was apparently given for the Annunciation in the Chronicle of Hippolytus,² and December 25th for the Nativity is found in our present text of his commentary on Daniel (iv 23, Bonwetsch, p. 242). January 6th was celebrated as a feast of the Baptism by certain Basilidians in the second century.³

As for the dates of the Passion and Resurrection, it is obvious that the Milan MS is right in setting the Resurrection on March 25th, the same day as the Conception. The correction made in the Paduan MS was a natural one, for the Passion on March 25th is found in Tertullian, Hippolytus on Daniel, in the Philocalian Calendar of 336, the Acts of Pilate, &c. It became later so common that in the fifth and sixth centuries feasts of the Passion and Resurrection were kept in Gaul on March 25th and 27th, as we find in the Hieronymian Martyrology. Lactantius, a contemporary of Victorinus, gives the 23rd for the date of the Passion, as in the true reading of the fragment.⁴

Further down, *quippe* is evidently the right version, *ex quo* being substituted when the date of the Annunciation was no longer presupposed, but actually stated.

The commencement is more puzzling. The untranslatable version of Dom Morin's Codex is perhaps a mere blunder. If the other form is the original, then we have a verbal citation of what Alexander of Jerusalem wrote. This will extend, doubtless, to the days of the week of Dom Morin's version, but will not include the last sentence of all, for the months and days there given are obviously inconsistent with the calculations which have preceded. There are four sources to be considered, the excerptor, Victorinus of Pettau, Alexander of Jerusalem, and the *exemplaria apostolorum*. How much comes from the last source we cannot tell as yet; I distinguish the other three in the following conjectural restoration of the fragment :

¹ The feast of St John Baptist is first found in St Augustine's sermons, and it is not in the Philocalian Calendar nor in that of Polemaeus Silvius (Duchesne, *Origines du Culte Chrétien* 3rd ed. 1903, p. 271). Duchesne points out that June 24 is a Latin calculation (according to Luke i 36) of exactly six months before December 25, i.e. viii kl. Jul.—viii kl. Jan.; a Greek would have made it June 25.

² March 28 is given for the Nativity in the pseudo-Cyprianic *De Pascha computus* of A. D. 243. December 25 is given in the Philocalian Calendar.

³ Clem. Al. *Strom.* i 21, pp. 407, 408 (Potter).

⁴ Tiberius XV, consulship of the two Gemini, x kal. Apr. (*Divin. Inst.* iv 10, and *De Mort. Persecut.* 2).

In commentariis Victorini inter plurima haec etiam scripta reperimus :

* Invenimus in membranis Alexandri episcopi qui fuit in Hierusalem quod transcripsit manu sua de exemplaribus apostolorum :

“viij kal. ian. natus est dominus noster Iesus Christus, Sulpitio et Camerino coss.

et baptizatus est viij id. ian., Valeriano et Asiatico coss.,
passus est x kal. Apr., Nerone III et Valerio Messala coss.,
surrexit viij kal. Apr., coss. supra scriptis

(supputatur quippe eodem die dominum fuisse conceptum quo et resurrexit).

Feria vi annuntiatus, feria i natus, feria v baptizatus, feria vi passus.”

A die nativitatis domini usque ad passionem ipsius anni xxxij, menses iij, dies xj.

2. The Evidence of St Epiphanius.

Of the strange consular dates Herr von Dobschütz has shewn that One is also given by St Epiphanius and that two are repeated by George the Syncellus.

We will first take St Epiphanius, *Haer.* 51. 29. It is universally recognized that his arguments against the 51st heresy are founded on the lost book of Hippolytus in defence of the fourth Gospel and the Apocalypse.¹

Epiph. *Haer.* 51. 29: Εὗρηκαμεν γὰρ καὶ ἐμφερόμενόν σου τοῖς λόγοις τούτοις γεγραμμένον.

² (Petavius)

(Dindorf)

ὅτι ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀγέννητος Λόγος ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ περὶ τὸ τεσσαρακοστὸν ἔτος Αὐτοῦ γούστου

ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐγεννήθη περὶ τὸ τεσσαρακοστὸν ἔτος Αὐτοῦστου,

ὅπερ ἀλήθεια τὸν γράψαντα, ἡ τῆς διὰ τοῦ βήτα ψήφου ἀπαλειφθείσης, καὶ τοῦ μὴ μόνον παραμεινέμενος, μ' ἐποίησε (-σαν *Pei.*) μόνα ἔτη. τῇ γὰρ τεσσαρακοστῇ δευτέρῃ ἔτει Αὐτοῦστου ἐγεννήθη. φάσκει δὲ ὅτι πρὸ δεκαδύο καλανδῶν Ἰουλίου ἢ Ἰουνίου—οὐκ ἔχω λέγειν—ἐν ὑπατείᾳ Σουλπίκιου [καὶ] Καμμερίνου Βεττίου Πομπηϊανῶ ὑπάτοις. τοῦτο δὲ ἐπέσκησα, ὅτι οἱ εἰπόντες τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς συλλήψεως καὶ ὡς εὐαγγελίστατο ὁ Γαβριὴλ τὴν παρθένον εἶπαν τὴν ὑπόνοιαν τῶν τινῶν λεγόντων ἐν παραδόσει, ὡς ὅτι διὰ ἑπτὰ μηνῶν ἐγεννήθη. εὗρηκαμεν γὰρ ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ προπόσαν [προπόσαντος, *Pei.*] ἔως ἐνδεκάτης Τυβι καὶ πρὸ ὀκτὼ εἰδῶν Ἰαννουαρίαν, ὅτε ἀληθῶς τὰ Θεοφάνια ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐγεννήθη, ἑπτὰ μηνῶν χρόνον κατὰ τὸν σεληνιακὸν δρόμον παρὰ ἡμέρας τέσσαρας. ὥστε οὖν εἰ εὗροις ἐν παρασημειώσεσι σου γεγραμμένα, μὴ σφάλλου περὶ τὴν εἰδησιν· τῇ γὰρ ὄντι ἡ γέννησις τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἡ βαβαία Τυβι ἐνδεκάτῃ ἐστὶ. τινὲς δὲ φασί[ν ὡς] δέκα μῆνας ἐνεκυμονήθη παρὰ ἡμέρας ιδ' καὶ ὥρας ὀκτώ, ὡς εἶναι ἐννέα μῆνας καὶ ἡμέρας δεκαπέντε καὶ ὥρας τέσσαρας· αἰνιττόμενοι τὸ παρὰ Σαλομῶντι εἰρημένον· δεκαμηνίῳ χρόνῳ παγείς ἐν αἵματι (*Wisd.* vii 2).

¹ Zahn *G.K.* i 227 and ii 970, note 8; Harnack *Chronol.* ii 227. The last chapter Heresy 51 shews an unmistakeable connexion with Hippolytus's *Heads against Gaius* in defence of the Apocalypse.

² In Dindorf's text the want of the article with Λόγος is unbearable. In that of Petavius the verb is wanting. Further down we find it assumed that the date is meant rather for conception than for birth, so that Petavius conjectured *συνελήφθη*. But the following clause anyhow gives *ἐγεννήθη*.

Epiphanius has a way of quoting his authorities word for word, regardless of sense. A well-known instance of such carelessness is found in *Haer.* 27. 6, where we are told that 'a certain Marcellina came to us (!) in the days of Pope Anicetus', a sentence which was evidently written at Rome in the second century. It is probable that we have an instance here, and that τοῦτο δὲ ἐσκόπησα is a statement by Hippolytus. It is evident that neither June 20th to January 6th (200 days) nor May 21st to January 6th (230 days) make seven lunar months *minus* 4 days ($29\frac{1}{2} \times 7 - 4 = 202\frac{1}{2}$).¹ But Hippolytus placed the Nativity on December 25th. Now from May 21st to December 25th. is exactly seven calendar months *plus* 4 days. If Epiphanius found this in Hippolytus, but understood January 6th to be meant and not December 25th (i.e. viii *kl. Ian.* for viii *id. Ian.*), it would be natural for him to reduce the 230 days by suggesting xii *kl. Iul.* for xii *kl. Iun.*; and then to get the calculation right all but $2\frac{1}{2}$ days by taking the months to be lunar months, and by subtracting instead of adding the 'all but four days'.

We are further told that others said that Christ was 10 months less 14 days and 8 hours in the womb. As this is said to be 9 months 15 days and 4 hours, a lunar month of $29\frac{1}{2}$ days is assumed. But the calculation is evidently based on a rough calculation by calendar months, and comes not from Hippolytus but from the authority from whom St Epiphanius has borrowed his own system. For from March 21st (St Epiphanius's date for the Resurrection) to Jan. 6th is just 10 months *minus* $14\frac{1}{2}$ days. We gather that here again the Resurrection is placed on the same day as the Annunciation, in order to give an exact number of years for the abiding of the Word among men.

In fine, it appears that Epiphanius attributes to Hippolytus (for we have no reason to assume that he is using a different source here from the source he uses throughout the section on the Alogi) the statement that Christ was conceived in the 40th year of Augustus, on 21st May, in the consulship of Sulpicius [and] Camerinus and Vettius Pompeianus, and that he was, according to a tradition, born seven months and four days later on the 25th December. This does not at all accord with the dates given by Hippolytus in his Chronicle and in his Commentary on Daniel. We shall presently have to consider how to explain this divergence.

3. *The Evidence of George Syncellus.*

We have now to discuss the witness of George the Syncellus. It is particularly important, because this Byzantine writer, a contemporary of

¹ What *ὑπολόγισεν* may mean I have no idea. Dobschütz suggests a corruption of *propositio* or some such word.

he seventh council, had before him the chronological systems of Eusebius and of Panodorus, but preferred to them that of Annianus, as resting on better authority. He explains (ed. Dindorf p. 596) that the angel Gabriel came to Mary as the 24th of March (the last day of the year of the world 5500) was passing into the 25th of March, 5501. The conception lasted 275 days, up to the 24th of December completed, and on the 25th Jesus Christ was born.

P. 597: τῇ ἐπισύσῃ καὶ ἐγεννήθη ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν καὶ θεὸς Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστός, ὁ μονογενὴς τοῦ θεοῦ υἱός, ἐν Βηθλεὲμ πόλει τῆς Ἰουδαίας, κατὰ τὸ μγ' ἔτος τῆς ἀγγούστου Ῥωμαίων Καίσαρος βασιλείας, ἐν ὑπατείᾳ Σουλπικίου καὶ Μαρίνου καὶ Γαίου Πομπηίου, [so the MSS, it seems] ὡς ἐν ἀκριβείᾳ καὶ παλαιοῖς ἀντιγράφοις φέρεται. ταῦτα οὐκ ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν συντετάχσαμεν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν παραδόσεων τοῦ μακαρίου ἀποστόλου καὶ ἀρχιεπισκόπου Ῥώμης Ἰππολύτου καὶ ἱερομάρτυρος, Ἀννιανοῦ τε τοῦ ὁσιωτάτου μοναχοῦ τοῦ συντάξαντος ἐκκλόν ἰα' πασχάλια φλβ' ἐτῶν ἅμα σχολίαις ἀκριβείᾳ, καὶ Μαξίμου τοῦ ἡγιατάτου μοναχοῦ καὶ φιλοσόφου μάρτυρος καὶ ὁμολογητοῦ καὶ μεγάλου διδασκάλου τῆς ἐκκλησίας.

Here we find again the impossible consulship for the Nativity, with the dates March 25 and December 25. The source is Annianus, whose chronology went up to the year 412. Annianus rested upon Hippolytus, whom he calls an 'apostle'. St Maximus Confessor appears simply to have used Annianus. Von Dobschütz¹ cites the *Vita Euthymii* and *Vita Sabbæ* by Cyril of Scythopolis as declaring that the sources of Annianus were Ἰππολύτος τε ὁ παλαιὸς καὶ γνώριμος τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ Ἐπιφάνιος ὁ τῆς Κυπρίων ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ Ἡρῶ ὁ φιλόσοφος καὶ ὁμολογητής. Who the last personage may be is uncertain. 'Philosopher and confessor' is like what is said of St Maximus.² The most curious fact is the appeal to Hippolytus, who was apparently the source used by Epiphanius.

A little further on Syncellus has the Passion in the year 5533, Tiberius 19:

p. 607: καὶ σταυροῦται ὁ ἀναμάρτητος τῇ κζ' τοῦ Φαμενώθ μηνός, ἡμέρᾳ παρασκευῇ ἦτοι ε' σαββάτου, Μαρτίου κγ', ὥρᾳ ἡμερῆς ε', ἐν ὑπατείᾳ Νέρωνος τὸ τρίτον καὶ Βαλερίου Μενσάλα, καὶ ταφῆς ἀνίσταται τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, Φαμενώθ κθ' ἦτοι Μαρτίου κε', ἐπιφωσκούσης κυριακῆς μᾶς σαββάτων, πρῶτῃ καλανδῶν Ἀπριλλίαν, α' τοῦ πρωτοκτίστου μηνός Νισάν παρ' Ἑβραίοις καὶ Χριστιανοῖς, περὶ ἧς εἶρηται· ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν, κτλ.

Here we find the consulship for the Passion, the dates March 23 and 25, Sunday, with the addition of the statement that the creation of the world began on March 25. This was from Annianus, and Syncellus is very fond of repeating the statement.³

pp. 1-2: . . . ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ πρωτόκτιστος ἡμέρα τοῦ πρώτου μηνός Νισάν λεγομένου παρ' Ἑβραίοις καὶ ταῖς θεοπνεύστοις γραφαῖς, εἰσάδει πέμπτη τοῦ παρὰ Ῥωμαίους Μαρτίου μηνός οὕσα, τοῦ δὲ παρ' Αἰγυπτίους ἐβδόμου μηνός κθ', τοῦτο πᾶσιν ὁμολογούμενον ἔστι τοῖς

¹ I. c. p. 146.

² See von Dobschütz's note, p. 146.

³ See Gelzer *Julius Africanus* ii 248.

ἀγίοις ἡμῶν πατράσι καὶ διδασκάλοις καὶ τῇ ἁγίᾳ καθολικῇ καὶ ἀποστολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ. On this day were also the Annunciation and the Resurrection.

Again, p. 590, he repeats that he had said at the beginning of his work that it was most important—ἀναγκαϊότατον πάντων—to shew that the Annunciation and the Resurrection took place on March 25 like the Creation, οὕτω γὰρ καὶ ἡ τῆς ζωοποιου ἀναστάσεως αὐτοῦ ἡμέρα κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν πρωτόκτιστον ἡμέραν συναντήσῃ κατὰ τὰς ἀποστολικὰς παραδόσεις, ὡς δειχθήσεται.

Yet again, p. 592, he finds fault with Panodorus for having put the Incarnation in the year 5493; whereas Syncellus himself has adhered to the Divine Scriptures and the traditions of the Apostles: ἡμεῖς δὲ τῷ ποιητῇ τῶν χρόνων ἀχρόνως Θεῷ τῇ παντούργῳ καὶ ὁμοουσίου Τριᾷδι παθόμενοι, ταῖς παρ' αὐτῆς δοθείσαις ἡμῖν θεοπνεύστοις γραφαῖς διὰ τε παλαιᾶς καὶ νέας διαθήκης ἐξηκολουθήσαμεν. Sometimes, like Panodorus, he has agreed with non-Christian writers, but sometimes has found ἀναπίπτουσαν ταῖς ἀποστολικαῖς παραδόσεσιν τὴν ἐκείνοις ἄλλοθεν εἰλημμένην ἀρχὴν καὶ οὐκ ἐκ τῆς κοινῆς τοῦ κόσμου γενέσεως. Again, on p. 609, after relating that the Ascension took place on a Thursday, May 3, he resumes:

ἔστιν οὖν, ὡς ἐν κεφαλᾷ εἰπεῖν, ἐφλδ' ἔτος τοῦ κόσμου, καὶ τοῦτο πρῶτον ἄγον ἡμέραν ἔτος κυριακὴν, τὸ πρῶτον κυριακὸν πάσχα Μαρτίου μηνὸς κέ' κατὰ Ῥωμαίους, κατὰ δὲ Αἰγυπτίους Φαμενῶθ κθ', κατὰ δὲ τὰς θεοπνεύστους παλαιὰς καὶ νέας γραφαὶς Νισὰν πρῶτος πρωτόκτιστος ἡμέρα τοῦ πρωτοκτίστου μηνὸς ὑπάρχουσα, καθ' ἣν ἡ ἐν Χριστῷ καινὴ κτίσις ἀρξαμένη, πάντας εἰς ζωὴν ἐκ θανάτου μετήγαγε τοὺς ὁρθῶς εἰς αὐτὴν πιστεύοντας.

4. The Origin of the Consular Dates.

It was remarked by Mommsen (ap. von Dobschütz, p. 143) that the double names of the consuls are given, whereas in late writers one name for each consul is deemed sufficient (e. g. in Epiphanius, 51. 22, the *Excerpta Barbari*, the *Consularia Ravennatiae*, &c.). The corruptions in the names are evidently due to transcribers.

- A. 1. Syncellus: Σουλπικίου καὶ Μαρίνου καὶ Γαίου Πομπηίου.
2. Epiphanius: Σουλπικίου καὶ Καμμερίνου Βεττίου Πομπηιανῶ.
3. Morin's frag.: Sulpicio et Cromatio.
4. Murat.'s frag.: Sulpitio et Camerino.
5. Correctly: Q. Sulpicio Camerino et C. Poppaeo Sabino.

Evidently *C. Pompeius* was the easy error of a copyist for *C. Poppaeus*. It was also easy to write καὶ Μαρίνου for Καμμερίνου, and to correct into καὶ Καμμερίνου. The calculator had before him the correct version Sulpicio Camerino et C. Poppaeo, the consuls for A. D. 9. But it is important to notice how clearly the identity of source for all our authorities is proved by the common error of *et* after *Sulpitius*.

B. *Valerio (Valeriano) et Asiatico consulibus* is the datum of the Latin fragments. It was owing to the *et* interpolated between the

former consuls' names in A that the second consul's name was left out in the Latin. We may presume that the source gave both consuls in B also, viz. Valerius Asiaticus II, Marcus Junius Silanus = A. D. 46.

C. 1. Syncellus: *ἐν ἑκ. Νέρωνος τὸ τρίτον καὶ Βαλερίου Μεσσάλα.*

2. Latin frag.: Nerone III et Valerio Messala coss.

Here there is no corruption worth mentioning, and von Dobschütz has pointed out that the correct double name is otherwise only known from Tacitus *Ann.* xiii 34, since Idatius and all others give *Messala Corvinus* or simply *Messala* for A. D. 58.

We must conclude that the calculator of the consulships had before him a perfectly accurate and trustworthy list.

How did he arrive at choosing these particular consulships? Did he really believe that Christ was born as late as A. D. 9, was baptized at the age of 37, and crucified at 49? If he actually supposed this, it is surely remarkable that there is no sign of such a view in the authors who copied and preserved for us his consular dates.

We naturally presume that a person who was anxious to determine the consulships was a Western, and that one who gave the days of the month by kalends and ides was a Western, for in the East it was more usual to speak of the 25th of March than of *viii kal. April.* He will have written in Greek, however, as he was used by the Greek writers, Alexander, Annianus, and Epiphanius. One naturally infers a Roman writer, who wrote in Greek and whose writings were read in the East. These hypotheses tally extremely well with the repeated testimonies that Hippolytus was the man. Again, the accuracy of the list of consuls which he employed suits a Roman source. We shall presently consider whether Hippolytus could have perpetrated these dates. At present let us assume that the calculator was really a Roman writer of the beginning of the third century. On what chronology will he base his calculations? We are supposing him to be earlier than Africanus (222) and later than Tertullian's *Adversus Iudaeos* (c. 197).¹ The chronology of the careless African was much admired at a far later date. St Jerome copied it out, without noticing its absurdities, and Ambrosiaster thought it admirable.² Our Roman author would use it without hesitation.

Tertullian is obliged to compress the period between the birth of Christ (Augustus XLI) and the siege of Jerusalem (Vespasian I) into $7\frac{1}{2}$ weeks of years, i. e. $52\frac{1}{2}$ years, for he is bent upon proving to the Jews the fulfilment of the prophecy of Daniel, and he makes the 62 weeks end at the birth of Christ, while the midst of the 70th week coincides

¹ On the date of *Adv. Iudaeos* see Harnack *Chronol.* ii 288-92, whose conclusion seems to be sound.

² Jerome *Comm. in Daniel cap. ix*, Vallarsi v p. 691, Ambrst. *Quaest. in Vet. Test.* 44.

with the commencement of the Jewish war. For this purpose he omits the whole reign of Claudius, and shortens that of Nero, curtailing the whole period by $17\frac{1}{2}$ years! From the accession of Tiberius, August 19, A. D. 14, to that of Vespasian, July 1, A. D. 69, is nearly 55 years; Tertullian allows only $37\frac{1}{2}$.¹

1. Let us suppose our chronologist to have before him an accurate list of consulships and Tertullian's treatise against the Jews. He wishes to calculate the date of the baptism of Christ, which took place (he knew from St Luke) when he was 30 years old. He could count 30 years forward from the Nativity, if he had already determined the consuls for that event. But it was simpler to count back $22\frac{1}{2}$ consulships from the first year of Vespasian, for 30 from $52\frac{1}{2}$ leaves $22\frac{1}{2}$. Now the twenty-third consulship back from Vespasian I (= A. D. 69) is that of Valerius Asiaticus II (= A. D. 46).

¹ Tertullian's chronology, *Adv. Iud.* 8, is as follows (I give the true periods in brackets, and to the total of these I have added in the 13 years 8 months 19 days of Claudius):

Augustus XLI-LVI = 15. 0. 0			
Tiberius	22. 7. 20 (12. 6. 5)	Galba	0. 7. 6 (0. 7. 6)
Gaius	3. 8. 13 (3. 10. 8)	Otho	0. 3. 5 (0. 3. 0)
Nero	9. 9. 13 (13. 7. 27)	Vitellius	0. 8. 10 (0. 1. 6)
		Total	c. 52. 8. 5 (69. 10. 12)

There is no reason for doubting the authenticity of this chapter of *Adv. Iud.* On the genuineness of even the later part see Harnack *Chronol.* ii p. 289. I have spoken elsewhere (*Revue Bénédict.* April 1902, pp. 156-163) of Tertullian's utter want of the historical sense. With regard to the above list, it is not difficult to conjecture how Claudius may have fallen out. Tertullian seems, from certain coincidences, to have used a list carelessly extracted from Clement's discussion of the 70 weeks. The text of Clement (*Strom.* i 21, Potter i p. 406) is corrupt, but it is certain that he used an exceedingly good catalogue of Emperors, for some of his numbers are still surprisingly exact, e.g. Vespasian 11. 11. 22 (really 9. 11. 22); Gaius 3. 10. 8 (right); M. Aurelius 19. 0. 11 (19. 0. 10); Commodus 12. 9. 14 (12. 9. 15). In Potter's text we find the same figures—13. 8. 28—both for Claudius and for Nero, so that a careless scribe might easily omit one of the names by accident. Again, 28 days are practically a month, so that 13. 9. 0 would be substituted for 13. 8. 28. The iota for the 10 months of Gaius might easily be overlooked. If, then, the scribe copied the names first (omitting Claudius by mistake, on account of the same figures being repeated for Nero), he would have the following figures to fill in: 3. 0. 8; 13. 9; 13. 9. So we get:

Clement	corruption	Tertullian
Gaius 3. 10. 8	3. 8.	Gaius 3. 8. 13
Claudius 3. 8. 28	13. 9.	Nero 9. 9. 13
Nero 3. 8. 28	13. 9.	

For Nero 9. 13. 9 was of course impossible, as a year has only 12 months, so that 9. 9. 13 was an obvious emendation. If this conjectural explanation is true, we can acquit Tertullian of intentionally manipulating the statistics, and the resultant $52\frac{1}{2}$ years were a piece of good fortune and not a trick!

Our hypothesis has so far justified itself.

2. To find the consuls for the Nativity he would have to count back $52\frac{1}{2}$ consulships. This would be too much trouble. We have learnt from St Epiphanius that he dated this event in the 40th year of Augustus (and not, as Tertullian did, in the 41st). Now Tertullian joins on his Roman imperial chronology to that of the Ptolemies, thus :

Ptolemaeus annis xxxviii, Cleopatra annis xx, mensibus vi. Item adhuc Cleopatra coregnavit Augusto annis xiii, post Cleopatram Augustus aliis annis xliii, nam omnes anni imperii Augusti fuerunt lvi. *Videmus autem quoniam quadragesimo et primo anno imperii Augusti, quo post mortem Cleopatrae imperavit, nascitur Christus.* Et supervixit idem Augustus, ex quo nascitur Christus, annis xv.

The last sentence gives Tertullian's real meaning, as developed afterwards. The 30 years of Christ at His baptism were made up of 15 years of Augustus and 15 of Tiberius: consequently it was in the 41st of the 56 years of Augustus that Christ was born, i. e. B. C. 2 or 3. But the words I have italicized distinctly state (by a slip of the pen, no doubt) that the 41 years are to be counted from the death of Cleopatra. Consequently our calculator counts the consulships forward from B. C. 31¹ (death of Cleopatra), and the 40th year is A. D. 9, the consulship of Sulpitius Camerinus and C. Poppaeus!

Again we have a perfectly simple explanation of a ridiculous date.

3. To get the date of the Passion our ingenious calculator will have said: There are 43 years of Augustus: from his 40th year to the accession of Tiberius are 4 years; from thence to Vespasian are $37\frac{1}{2}$ years; $37\frac{1}{2} + 4$ are $41\frac{1}{2}$; if I count back $10\frac{1}{2}$ years from Vespasian, I shall allow 31 years of life, i. e. one year of ministry. Eleven years back from Vespasian bring us to A. D. 58, the consulship of Nero III and Valerius Messala. This was shorter than counting forward 31 consulships from that of Camerinus and Poppaeus.

It seems, then, that our chronologist always made his calculations by counting his consulships in the shortest direction. It is therefore the less surprising that he did not trouble to verify his results by counting the intermediate consulships which intervened between his three consular dates. He believed that he had placed our Lord's baptism in the 15th year of Tiberius at the age of 30. In reality he had placed it in the 6th year of Claudius at the age of 37; the Passion, which should have been in the following year, has got into the reign of Nero, 12 years later, giving the age of 49! We shall see presently that he attempted to correct this last result.

¹ No date would be better known to a Western writer than this of the battle of Actium, the real line between the Republic and the Empire.

4. It is plain, I think, that the calculator was using Tertullian, and not Tertullian's source (if indeed he had a source for the completed form of his chronology), for the slip about the death of Cleopatra would hardly have been copied even by a writer so careless as Tertullian. But there is yet one more apparent coincidence about which I am uncertain. Dom Morin's fragment alone concludes with the statement that the whole life of Christ was of 32 years, 3 months, and 11 days. Obviously this is incompatible with any of the dates which have come before us. Three months and eleven days from December 25 or January 6 land us in April instead of March, and if counted back from March 25 or 21 would bring us to December 14 or 10.

But let us suppose a later corrector, who remarks that 46 or 58 A.D. are impossible dates. He himself follows the Dionysian era, and also notices that the whole reign of Claudius has been omitted. He takes the earlier date, which gives 46 years, and subtracts from these 46 years the reign of Claudius, viz. 13. 8. 19. and the result is 32. 3. 11! Is this merely a most remarkable coincidence? or is there some other way of explaining it?

5. *Hippolytus and the Consular Dates.*

It was pointed out above that the calculator of the consular dates was most likely a Western, a Roman who wrote in Greek, whose writings were honoured in the East, who used an early work of Tertullian. On the other hand Epiphanius seems to be quoting Hippolytus where he cites one of these consular dates, and Annianus definitely refers them to that writer.

And yet at first sight it would seem to be impossible to refer these dates to Hippolytus. It is well known that he placed the Passion on March 25, not 23, in the consulship of the two Gemini. He placed the birth of Christ in the 42nd year of Augustus, and could not have given for it the consuls of A.D. 9. He did, however, agree in placing the Annunciation on March 25 and the Nativity on December 25.

But the chronicle of Hippolytus seems to have been about his latest work, as it ended in the 13th year of Alexander Severus, 234, whereas the heads against Gaius, and the defence of the fourth Gospel and of the Apocalypse were perhaps written 30 years earlier. There was therefore plenty of time for Hippolytus to change his mind.¹

¹ For these dates see Harnack *Chron.* ii 228. Compare this writer's words on p. 230: 'Ein Vergleich der Refutatio mit dem Syntagma lehrt, in welchem Masse Hippolyt seine früheren Darstellungen der Häresien modifiziert hat, und kann als Warnung gegen die beliebte Methode dienen, einem Autor deshalb eine Schrift abzusprechen, weil sie von einer anderen Schrift desselben Autors in derselben Materie stark abweicht.'

It is, however, true that we know the system of Hippolytus also from his Commentary on Daniel, an early work of about the same date as the writings against the Alogi, c. 203-205.¹ But this crucial passage itself testifies to more than one form of chronology.

The MSS (A B P and the Slavonic version) give the following text (iv 23, Bonwetsch, p. 242):

Ἡ γὰρ πρώτη παρουσία τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν ἡ ἑνσαρκος, [ἐν ᾗ] γεγέννηται ἐν Βηθλεὲμ, ἐγένετο πρὸ δευτέρου καλανδῶν Ἰανουαρίου ἡμέρᾳ τετράδι, βασιλεύοντος Αὐγούστου [τεσσαρακοστὸν καὶ δεύτερον ἔτος, ἀπὸ δὲ Ἀδὰμ] πεντακισχilioστῷ καὶ πεντακοσιοστῷ ἔτει· ἔπαθεν δὲ τριακοστῷ τρίτῳ ἔτει [πρὸ δευτέρου καλανδῶν ἀπριλίου, ἡμέρᾳ παρασκευῆς, δεκάτῃ ἔτει Τιβερίου Καίσαρος, ὑπατεύοντος Ρούφου καὶ Ρουβελλιανος].

Some disturbance is evidenced by the addition in A of πρὸ τεσσάρων ἀπριλίων after ἐν Βηθλεὲμ, and in A Slav. of καὶ Γαίου Καίσαρος τὸ τέταρτον καὶ Γαίου Κεστίου Σατορνίνου at the end (the second καὶ is omitted by A).

The Chigi MS (J) on the other hand omits all that I have bracketed, and is supported by Bishop George, the Arabian (died c. 723), who adds at the end 'after his birth'. This simple form runs thus:

Ἡ γὰρ πρώτη παρουσία τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν ἡ ἑνσαρκος ἐν Βηθλεὲμ ἐπὶ Αὐγούστου γεγέννηται πεντακισχilioστῷ καὶ πεντακοσιοστῷ ἔτει· ἔπαθε δὲ ἔτει τριακοστῷ τρίτῳ.

The citation is introduced by George with the words 'The holy Hippolytus, Bishop and martyr, also has said in his fourth lecture on Daniel the Prophet'. It would seem that he found no more in his copy. Consequently Bonwetsch (l. c.) has judged: 'Die mitgeteilte von A B P S (vgl. auch Synkellus T X Chronograph) gemeinsam repräsentierte Textgestalt entspricht, abgesehen von ἡμέρᾳ τετράδι, wahrscheinlich der Anschauung Hippolyts (vgl. Salmon, *Hermathena*, 1892, S. 178), doch dürften J und Georg die ursprüngliche Lesart darbieten.'

But Harnack seems to be right in pointing out (*Chronol.* ii 251) that Hippolytus's later view allowed only one year to the Public Ministry of Christ, and therefore that the thirty-three years in this passage, and also the absurdity of making the consulship of Rufus and Rubellio (i. e. the two Gemini) the eighteenth year of Tiberius, are interpolated; for it is hardly conceivable that an early chronologist who had once held the two or three years' ministry should change back to the traditional but less reasonable one year. But then it follows that the shorter form is not authentic, and that we have but two mangled versions of what Hippolytus originally wrote.

Consequently we conclude that the original reading is lost. It was corrected; it presumably needed correction, and it was, at all events, different from the later system of Hippolytus.

¹ Bardenhewer *Gesch.* ii 533; Harnack *Chron.* ii 250.

Can we venture to conjecture that the original reading was closely related to the absurd dates attributed to Hippolytus by later writers, dates which were probably given in that writer's defence of the Johannine writings? The Commentary on Daniel seems to have been written about the year 205. The defence of the Johannine writings was but a few years earlier or later.¹

There is actually some evidence that the conjecture may be safely hazarded. It has been already remarked that the MS A and the Slavonic version of the passage we are discussing give an impossible addition at the end of the paragraph; to the consuls for the Passion *ἱερειάρχης Ποίππος καὶ Περβόλλιος* they add καὶ Γάιος Καίσαρ καὶ Κερρίν (καὶ) Γάιος Κερρίν Σατυρίν.

Now in the first place we notice that this is clearly the remains of a rival reading, and (since it is absurd) of an early reading.

Secondly, we notice that while 'Rufus and Rubellio' are given with single names, the earlier reading has just that rare accuracy in giving the double names which we found in the names of the consuls for A. D. 9, 46 and 58. Does it belong to the same calculator? Does it hail from the same accurate list of consuls? Can it be a trace of the original reading as set down by Hippolytus?

Thirdly, we answer all these questions in the affirmative, because this date is calculated on the same system as the others.

The consuls for A. D. 41 were Caius Caesar (Germanicus) IV and Cnaeus Sertius Saturninus. Obviously, this date for the Passion is counted from A. D. 9, i.e. 32 years, or rather $31\frac{1}{2}$ years. We saw that the date 58 was obtained by counting back, and by an egregious error. We presume that the calculator discovered this, and actually took the trouble to count the consulships forward on his list. Thus we get a correction: 41 for 58. It is certainly an improvement.

It would seem probable, therefore, that the original reading in Hippolytus on Daniel gave the birth of Christ in A. D. 9 (either giving the consulship of Sulp. Camerinus, or simply the date *Augustus 40*) and His Passion in A. D. 41. Later on Augustus 42 and Rufus and Rubellio were substituted, but fortunately the stupidity of some copyist has preserved for us a part of the original reading.

If this be true, it will appear that the Commentary on Daniel was

¹ Harnack thinks the Daniel and the *De Antichristo* may be placed before the defence of the Apocalypse, since in those works the Apocalypse is freely used, and no suggestion is made that it was rejected by any Christians. But this is not conclusive. It does not seem that the Allogi had a strong following, and there was no reason why Hippolytus should mention their views, especially if he had but merely refuted them in a special work.

published shortly after the Defence of the Johannine writings, and not before; for were it earlier, we should have to assume a yet more primitive text giving the consuls for 58, and to suppose that the consuls for 41 were already a correction—an unnecessarily cumbrous hypothesis.

The argument has been somewhat involved, but I think we have found solid grounds for believing that Hippolytus, in his Defence of the Fourth Gospel and of the Apocalypse, actually gave the dates attributed to him by Annianus and George the Syncellus, and gave a corrected version of one of them in the first edition of his Commentary on Daniel.

But confirmation is not wanting. Harnack seems to be certainly right in pointing to Epiphanius *Haer.* 51. 33, as giving the date of the work of Hippolytus in defence of St John (*Chronol.* i 376 foll.; ii 228). According to that passage the destruction of Thyatira was prophesied by John, 'but now after 112 years that Church exists and grows'. Presently we hear that 'the time of the Apostles, John and the rest was 93 years after the Saviour's Ascension', *ὅς ἦν χρόνος μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἀνάληψιν ἐπὶ ἐνενήκοντα καὶ τρισὶν ἔτεσιν*. Harnack agrees with Dindorf that *ἀνάληψιν* is wrong, and accepts Petavius's suggestion, *γέννησιν*. But later Christian chronologists regularly dated from the Incarnation and not from the Nativity, and it is not likely that Hippolytus would have done otherwise. It seems to me therefore that we ought to read *σύλληψιν* for *ἀνάληψιν*, a much easier correction. Harnack adds 93 + 112 and gets the date of 204–205 for the date of the writer.

But Hippolytus did not use the Christian era. We must look further to understand his system. A few pages back, c. 12, Epiphanius has told us that John wrote his Gospel *μετὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς Πάτμου ἐπαύροdon, τὴν ἐπὶ Κλαυδίου γενομένην Καίσαρος*. This astonishing date has never yet been explained. But it offers no difficulty after our former calculations. Hippolytus followed Tertullian in counting only 52½ years from the birth of Christ till Vespasian I, and he omitted the reign of Claudius. But he can hardly have altogether ignored so famous an emperor. Where did he insert him? He cannot well have divided Vespasian from his own sons, Titus and Domitian; the earliest place, therefore, for Claudius, is after the Flavian family. Vespasian reigned 9 years, 11 months, 22 days; Titus 2. 2. 21; Domitian 15. 0. 5; in all 27 years. Add these to 52½, and we see that the accession of Claudius would probably be placed in the 80th year after the birth of Christ. Claudius would have 14 years, and the 93rd year (that is, the writing of the Apocalypse, presumably) would be the 13th year of Claudius! Thus we at once clear up a hitherto unexplained blunder of Epiphanius, and we confirm our former result, that Hippolytus based his calculations on Tertullian.

It is clear that in the case of so wild a chronologist as Hippolytus was in his youth we cannot expect to arrive with certainty at the date at which he wrote. From the 13th year of Claudius there would be two years to the accession of Nerva in 96. The 112 years from 94 would bring us to 206, if we can suppose that Hippolytus was perfectly correct in his chronology from Nerva onwards. But this is quite an unwarrantable assumption, so that Harnack's date of 204-205 is just as probable, and an even larger error is not impossible.

Thus Epiphanius has Hippolytus behind him, and Annianus appealed to him by name. But then, how about Alexander? Here are the words of Eusebius about that bishop's famous library:

H. E. vi 20: Ἡμαῖον δὲ κατὰ τοῦτο πλείους λόγιοι καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικοὶ ἄνδρες, ὡς καὶ ἐπιστολάς, ἃς πρὸς ἀλλήλους διεχάραντο, ἔτι νῦν σωζομένας εὖρεῖν εὐπορον οἱ καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐφυλάχθησαν ἐν τῇ κατ' Αἰλίαν βιβλιοθήκῃ πρὸς τοῦ τηλικαύτου τὴν αὐτὴν διέποντος ἐκκλησίαν Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπισκευασθείσης, ἀφ' ἧς καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰς ὕλας τῆς μετὰ χεῖρας ὑποθέσεως ἐπὶ ταῦτ' συναγαγεῖν δεδυνήμεθα. Τούτων Βήρυλλος . . . Ἐπίστανται δ' οὗτος ἦν τῶν κατὰ Βόστραν Ἀράβων ὡσαύτως δὲ Ἰππόλυτος, ἐτέρας ποὺ καὶ αὐτὸν προεστῶς ἐκκλησίας. Ἦλθε δὲ εἰς ἡμᾶς καὶ Γαίου λογιωτάτου ἄνδρος διόλογος, ἐν ᾧ Ῥώμης κατὰ Ζεφυρίνον πρὸς Πρόκλον τῆς κατὰ Φρύγας αἰρέσεως ὑπερμαχοῦντα καιροῦ μένος κτέ.

Here we find, side by side, writings of Hippolytus and the Dialogue of Gaius. In chapter 22 Eusebius mentions many writings of Hippolytus, and adds: Πλείωτά τε ἄλλα καὶ παρὰ πολλοῖς εὖροις ἂν σωζόμενα. These writings were not historical, and therefore did not much interest Eusebius. But Alexander had evidently made a collection of many of Hippolytus's works. If, therefore, he did not actually possess the whole Defence of the fourth Gospel and Apocalypse, there is nothing astonishing in his having made an extract therefrom in his own hand, and having deposited it in his library.

But it is pretty evident that the subject is not yet exhausted. Hippolytus certainly seems to have appealed to a tradition from the Apostles.

6. The *'exemplaria apostolorum'*.

Alexander described his authority as *exemplaria apostolorum*. We have seen that he was using Hippolytus. We must infer that Hippolytus had referred to certain *exemplaria apostolorum* as his authority.

Now Hippolytus clearly used the Gospels, a list of consuls, and Tertullian *Adversus Iudaeos*. St Luke told him that Christ was baptized in the 15th year of Tiberius at the age of 30. Tertullian and the list account for the rest of his dates, so far as the years are concerned.

What days of the month did Hippolytus give? The Latin fragments and Syncellus are at one in giving March 25 for the Annunciation and for the Resurrection, and in declaring that these events were on the same day. But from Epiphanius it would rather seem that Hippolytus had named May 21 for the Annunciation and December 25 for the Nativity, as I shewed above. In this case he cannot have said that the Annunciation and the Resurrection were on the same day of the month, for he cannot possibly have put the Resurrection in May!

But he may well have stated that the Annunciation and the Resurrection took place *on the same day of the week*. It would be quite natural for Alexander and Annianus to misunderstand this, and to give March 25 for both events, though that was more generally considered to be the date of the Crucifixion.

This conjecture harmonizes well with the witness of Syncellus, who told us repeatedly that the Creation also began on March 25. Now it is clear that the Creation began on a Sunday and that the Resurrection was on Sunday. What more natural than that it should have been said that the Incarnation was also on Sunday—that the true Light came into the world on the day on which the material light had been created?

This is all conjecture. Let us look at Dom Morin's fragment. We find:

Supputatur quippe eodem die dominum fuisse conceptum quo et resurrexit.

As it stands at present, this refers to the preceding statement that the Resurrection took place on March 25. But if Hippolytus really placed the Annunciation on May 21, it must refer to what follows, and the *day of the week* will be meant:

*Feria vi annuntiatus, feria i natus,
feria v baptizatus, feria vi passus.*

In this case we have to alter the text into:

Feria i annuntiatus, feria vi natus.

And this is certainly more natural. Christ comes into the world on Sunday as the Light of the world, and on the same day rises again. He is born into the world of pain on the same day on which He dies on the Cross.

Let us pursue this hypothesis somewhat further. This identity of the day (of the month) for Creation, Annunciation and Resurrection is the point which is most definitely referred by Syncellus to the tradition of the Apostles; twice he has referred us to ἀποστολικάι παραδόσεις in this connexion. Epiphanius refers to the seven months of conception as ἐν παραδόσει. Further, Syncellus rests his whole

complexus of dates on the παραδόσεις of 'the blessed Apostle and Archbishop of Rome Hippolytus'. We have gathered from the lives of Euthymius and Sabbas that this is an inaccurate reproduction of the words of Annianus, who had called Hippolytus not an Apostle, but γνώριμος τῶν ἀποστόλων. This again must be an inaccurate reproduction of something which Hippolytus said; perhaps he quoted one who had known the apostles; if so, one thinks at once of Clement of Rome (so Irenaeus iii 3 and Epiphanius 27, 6), or of Papias, the 'hearer of John'. Again, Syncellus says his chronology is ὡς ἐν ἀκριβείᾳ καὶ παλαιοῖς ἀντιγράφοις φέρεται, where ἀντίγραφα cannot but recall Victorinus's *exemplaria*.

In sum; Epiphanius and Annianus speak of παραδόσεις; Victorinus and Annianus speak of *exemplaria*, ἀντίγραφα; all three speak of apostles, and Annianus in particular supplies the expression γνώριμος τῶν ἀποστόλων.

I think we may at least conclude from this muddle-headed medley that Hippolytus appealed for some part of his chronology to *apostolic tradition*, from one who had known the apostles. (One might conjecture that the 'accurate and ancient copies' merely referred to his excellent list of consulships.) Now the important point left, beyond what Tertullian and the list of consuls supplied, is the statement that the Annunciation and the Resurrection were on the same day.

I propose, therefore, to assume as a likely hypothesis, that Hippolytus appealed to Papias for the statement that the Annunciation took place on a Sunday, like the creation of light and the Resurrection.

Secondly, it is possible that the days of the week preserved in Dom Morin's fragment were also borrowed from Papias by Hippolytus, if the correction I have suggested is right.

Thirdly, the seven months of conception which Epiphanius calls traditional will perhaps go back to the same source. All the rest of the dates are the invention of Hippolytus himself and have no claim to be 'apostolic'.

Now it so happens that these three points are found together in a short sentence of another fragment of Victorinus. Long before I noticed this, I had made up my mind on other grounds that this other fragment, and this part of it in particular, was largely based on Papias. I hope to examine this point in another paper, in which we may perhaps recover what Papias really said about the age reached by our Lord.

JOHN CHAPMAN.

NOTES ON THE MSS OF COSMAS INDICOPLEUSTES.

THE Christian Topography of Cosmas, though carelessly edited by Montfaucon from a single inferior MS, is preserved in three fairly complete MSS.

V = *Vat. Gr.* 699, an uncial MS of the eighth or ninth century, contains only ten books, not eleven as Montfaucon states; and the ending of the tenth is different to that of *L*, *S*, and the edition. The beginning of the work too is different; f. 1^r contains a summary of contents much like *M*¹ p. 49, except that it ends with the title of Book X; on the verso begins the text with the words *τινὲς χριστιανίζειν νομιζόμενοι* under the title *ὑπόθεσις*. The introductory prayer, the first prologue, and part of the second prologue, are omitted. There are several gaps due to the loss of leaves.

L = *Laur. Plut.* ix 28 (s. xi) is the MS which Montfaucon copied for his edition, using *V* on three occasions to fill a gap. But in each of the three instances (after *Ἀαρών* 217 C, *ἀντιφώνως* 249 A, *ληρωδίαν* 405 C), with extraordinary carelessness he only inserted part of the missing text. Two other gaps (after *τέκνα* 200 D, and *χαρισσαμένου* 393 C) which may be filled from *V* or *S* passed unnoticed. *L* has been corrected throughout by a later hand; and in such cases the first hand almost always agreed with *V* and *S*.

S = *Sinai* 1186 (s. xi) contains twelve books, like *L*, to which it is closely akin; but the end of the twelfth book is deficient as in *L*. The beginning differs both from *L* and *V*. On f. 1 is the prologue; on f. 2 *πίναξ σὺν θεῷ ταύτης τῆς δέλτου*, an index like that in *M* p. 49; then it continues as *V* *ὑπόθεσις. τινὲς χριστιανίζειν νομιζόμενοι*. Like the others it has several gaps.

The other fragmentary MSS at Vienna and Smyrna, and the biblical MSS which use sections of the fifth book as catenae, add nothing of any value, and may be neglected.

In this short description of the MSS there are several points which call for special notice.

- (1) *L* and *S* contain twelve books, *V* only 10.
- (2) The end of Book X is different in *V* and *L S*.
- (3) All three MSS begin differently.

To these may be added a fourth equally important point, that *V* has the paragraphs on the Prophets in Book V in the Septuagint order, whereas *L* and *S* have the minor Prophets in the order of the Vulgate, the Major being inserted among them in a more or less chronological position. I have endeavoured to shew elsewhere² that *V* indubitably

¹ The references are to *Migne Patr. Gr.* 88.

² *J.T.S.* Oct. 1906.

preserves the correct order, and that the change in L and S is due to some later editor. That in itself, combined with the incongruity of an entire book devoted to Ceylon and its beasts and birds in an argument about the squareness of the world, is sufficient to cast suspicion on the two additional books found in L and S. Fortunately the hitherto uncollated MS S verifies that suspicion by openly confessing in the summary of contents that the eleventh book is *ἔξωθεν τῆς βίβλου*, while both L and S call Book XII *ἔτι ἕτερος (λόγος L)*, not simply *λόγος* as the other books. One would be sorry, however, to rob Cosmas of the honour of the book on Ceylon, and indeed to my mind it bears too obviously the stamp of Cosmas's methods and personality for its authenticity to be seriously questioned. The most probable explanation is that after Cosmas's death some one acting as his literary executor re-edited the Topography, adding two other books from Cosmas's papers, and making, for reasons best known to himself, the transposition already mentioned. Of this later edition L and S are apparently copies, while V is a less pretentious but more faithful copy of the original simple text.

Whether the editor who was responsible for that transposition and the addition of the two books had the boldness to add anything to the text on his own account is, perhaps, more doubtful: but there are several passages where it seems the most reasonable explanation. For example, the tenth book ends in V with the words *ἀλλὰ πάντες μαρτυροῦσι τῷ ἡμετέρῳ λόγῳ* (428 c) followed by *ὅτι οὐ ξένην οὔτε ἄγνωστον τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὁδὸν ἐβαδίσσαμεν (-ήσαμεν V) ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν ἐννοίαν τῆς θείας γραφῆς εἰρήκαμεν πάντα καὶ κατεγράψαμεν. οὐ μόνον δὲ ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἔξωθεν παλαιῶν τεθείκαμεν μαρτυρίας συμφωνούσας τῷ ἡμετέρῳ λόγῳ ὡς παραδόσεως γέννημα θεὸς μάρτυς, εἰτα ἁπόστολοι, προφήται, ἁγίων πατέρων πολυώνυμος χορὸς, ἀποσχιστῶν ἐνιοὶ καὶ τῶν ἔξωθεν οὐκ ἄσημοι ἄρχαιοι ἄνθρωποι, αὐτὴ ἡ φύσις τῶν πραγμάτων τὴν ἀλήθειαν προδήλως κηρύττουσα. ἀλλὰ τούτων ἅλις. λοιπόν, ὡ προσφιλέστατε, ἀσφαλῶς ἀποδείξας πάντας τοὺς προειρημένους μάρτυρας τῆς ἡμετέρας συγγραφῆς, τῷ πάντων σωτῆρι θεῷ τὴν εὐχαριστίαν ἀναπέμφωμεν, δόξαν τε καὶ τιμὴν καὶ κράτος τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ μονογενεῖ (-τῇ V¹) αὐτοῦ νῦν καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι εἰς τοὺς σύμπαντας καὶ ἀτελευτήτους (-τιους V¹) αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν.* Part of this is similar to the end of the book as it is found in L and S (M p. 428) but fuller; and with the preceding paragraph it forms a perfectly reasonable ending. If the quotations from the Fathers which follow in M pp. 428-441 actually existed in Cosmas's copy, there seems no conceivable explanation for their omission in V—it could hardly be due to loss of leaves in archetype, as the passage runs consecutively: but on the other hand there is every reason for their insertion by an editor who thought that he was thereby strengthening the argument.

It is possible that we find instances of his knowledge of patristic

erature in other places, though the instances are not very certain. The παραγραφή (161 C), πρώτος συγγραφεύς—ὁ Μωυσῆς, is in L and S placed in the margin under the title σχόλιον with the addition *ἔτι δὲ καὶ μέγας Ἀθανάσιος ἐν τῇ τριακοστῇ ἐννάτῃ αὐτοῦ ἐορταστικῇ ἔνθα κανονίζει τὴν γραφὴν καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ ὅμοια λέγει ὅτι πρὸ Μωυσέος οὐκ ἦσαν γράμματα*.¹ Possibly the title σχόλιον should apply not to the whole παραγραφή but to the latter part, which was a subsequent addition. It is noticeable that in the section on the Catholic Epistles (372 D) the reference to Athanasius (καὶ Ἀθανάσιος ὁ Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπίσκοπος) is also absent from V. Probably we should add to the same editor's sins of commission the addition of the paragraphs on Zachariah, Elizabeth, Mary, Anna, Simeon, and Christ (277 C–280 C).

There is a puzzling passage at the end of the eighth and beginning of the ninth book which may also be due to his meddling; but I am not at all sure of the true explanation. One thing is certain, that after the word ληρωδίαν (405 C) the text should continue κατεγράψαμεν. ἐλλὰ τορείας (αι V) ἄστρον κυκλοφερεῖς ἀερίας, διὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων ἐκτελουμένας, ἔλόντες σημᾶναι ('-αναι V) τοὺτους κατεγράψαμεν ἵν' εὐσύννοπα τοῖς θεωμένοις γένωνται, as these words are found in V and S, and a page is here missing in L. That, however, is not the difficulty: it is the preceding passage which is in confusion in the MSS: V ends the eighth book quite appropriately at the words τὰ πάντα φιλόχριστε (401 B); but in L and S there follows, as in the edition, a picture of the mountain round which Cosmas supposed the sun to make its nightly revolution, and a paragraph dealing with the subject of the next picture, with which Book IX begins. The picture is so out of place here that Montfaucon has thought it necessary to add a note accounting for its existence, and the paragraph is equally inappropriate as it refers in the past tense (κατεγράφη) to the book which follows. V has none of this paragraph, but fills the page after the end of Book VIII with a double picture of Hezekiah. Then follows the text of Book IX as far as ἀμήν (405 A). The next thirty-one lines are omitted, τοὺς κύκλους κ.τ.λ. (405 C) following immediately after ἀμήν. After ληρωδίαν is the additional passage quoted above, and at the end of it a circular picture like that in M. p. 470 except that figures holding globes take the place of the fruits and herbs, while the centre is occupied by a mountain with the sun setting and rising around it (cf. Migne p. 402). In L and S Book IX begins with a picture like that in Migne p. 470, followed by the text as in the edition, except that S still has the passage after ληρωδίαν and the picture precisely as V; in L a page is missing.

¹ This phrase does not occur in the part of the 39th letter which is preserved in Greek, but it is found in the Coptic version published by Schmidt from a Paris MS. (i. ροζ) *ἐμπνεύσας τὴν γραφὴν ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν ἔμπνευστος*.

The debateable point is the picture and paragraph found in L and S at the end of Book VIII. There, as I have said, they are unnecessary and inappropriate; and though they would be appropriate enough in Book IX, the words *κατεγράφη ἐν τῷ ἐννάτῳ λόγῳ* preclude the possibility of its being a loose sheet escaped from that book. It is probable, then, that it is a later addition; and an examination of the pictures supplies a plausible reason for the addition. The picture in V, which I have already described, is composed of two parts, a representation of the months and seasons and of the nightly revolutions of the sun. The two additional pictures in L and S represent these two things separately, and that is probably the only reason for their existence and for the insertion of the explanatory paragraph.

The omission of *καὶ ταύτας τοὺς εἰργάσατο* in V need not detain us: the passage is closely connected with the picture which follows, and as such passages are frequently compressed and written in a smaller hand to make room for the illustration, they are easily liable to omission as mere scholia. For the same reason they are occasionally omitted or transferred to the margin. For example, the short paragraph *οὐρανός . . . σχῆμα τοῦ κόσμου* (337 B) is omitted by V, and *εἰς τὰ ἄκρα τῆς γῆς . . . χῶροι δύο* (184 A) transposed to after *πλάτος τοιόνδε* (185 A) below a picture to which they are not applicable. On the contrary V preserves in the text, after an illustration between 188 D and 189 A, the words *καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὅσον ἐδέχετο (ὡς ἐνεδέχετο L) διαγραφῆναι πεποιήκαμεν ἀκολουθοῦντες τῇ θείᾳ γραφῇ. διαγράψωμεν τοίνυν καὶ κατὰ τοὺς ἔξω τὴν σφαῖραν καὶ ἴδωμεν εἰ δυνατόν κατὰ φάσιν κινεῖσθαι*. In L the same words are relegated to the margin as a scholium; while in S a page is missing.

Again, before a picture of the Tabernacle (212 D), both V and S have *ἐνταῦθα τὴν αὐλὴν καὶ μέσσην τὴν σκηνὴν διεγράψαμεν ἐσκεπασμένην καὶ ἀποτεταμένιν (sic) τοῖς κάλοις εἰς τοὺς πασάλους (sic), καὶ τὴν εἰσοδὸν τῆς αὐλῆς κατὰ ἀνατολὰς ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων χρωμάτων ἔχουσιν τὰ ἱστία, τῆς δὲ ὅλης αὐλῆς ἀπὸ βύσσου καὶ μύνης*. These and many similar instances are due, no doubt, to the connexion of the paragraph with an illustration; but even when there is no picture in the case, the presence of the overwhelming number of notes, for which Cosmas himself apologizes (57 v), has naturally caused considerable confusion. The larger number of these notes would appear from phrases like *ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸ προκείμενον λοιπὸν ἐπανέλθωμεν* (124 D), *παραγραφὴ κατὰ παρένθεσιν κειμένη* (after *πατέρα* 257 B in V), and *ἐπανάληψις τῶν προτέρων* (so V 257 D instead of *τὸ κείμενον*) to have been written in the text, only marked off by the title *παραγραφὴ*; but it is quite clear from the occurrence of some of them as *σχόλια* in one MS and *παραγραφαί* in the text in another (e.g. *ἐνταῦθα πρῶτον . . . τοῖς ἔθνεσιν* 160 C is in L and S a scholium, and so too is the *παραγραφὴ. τινὲς ἐφασαν . . . Ἐξεκίου* 165 A) that many of them were added

in the margin, even some of the longest, if we may draw such an inference from the transposition of *μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν* (136 c) . . . *πιστοὶ ἀναφέρονται* (137 b) in V to after the word *Αἰγυπτον* (140 b).

Naturally this system of marginal notes has led to the omission of many of them in one or more of the MSS; for example, in the passage last referred to V omits the second short *παραγραφή* (137 c). In such a text the collation of several MSS is absolutely necessary; and, as Montfaucon used only one, the other two, V and S, contributed a number of hitherto unprinted notes. At times, of course, it is difficult to determine whether they are genuine notes or mere scholia; but the probability is always in favour of their authenticity,¹ as Cosmas was so profuse in adding notes as to leave little opening to any one else. Some of these additional passages are of considerable length, but for shortness' sake I will give only two.

Both V and S preserve at the end of Book V—the end, that is to say, of the original Topography—a passage which is lost in L. In S it is separated from the rest of the text by the heading ΕΥΧΗ in gold letters. It runs as follows:—Θεὲ ἀγαθέ, εὖσπλαγχνε, μακρόθυμε, πολυέλεε, ἐλέησόν με τὸν ἀνάξιον δοῦλόν σου καὶ μὴ με κατακρίνης ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις μου ὅτι σοι μέλει περὶ πάντων καὶ ἐπίστασαι ἑκάστου τὰ κρυπτὰ τῶν διανοιῶν ὅτι πόθῳ τῷ εἰς σε τῶν σῶν οἰκτιρμῶν. αἰτηθεὶς οὐκ ἀπέκρυψα τὴν παραδεδομένην μοί σου εὖσπλαγχνίαν καὶ ἀγαθότητα καὶ οἰκτιρμοὺς πρὸς ὠφελείαν τῶν ἀναγινωσκόντων ἐκ τῶν σῶν ὧν ἔχαρίσω μοι διδασκάλων πρόνοια τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Χριστοῦ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. ἀμήν. S alone preserves after ταύτην (217 c) the words *παραγραφή εἰς τὴν κιβωτὸν τοῦ ἱλαστηρίου*

Αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ κιβωτὸς τοῦ ἱλαστηρίου ἔσωθεν τοῦ καταπετάσματος οὖσα ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ σκηνῇ, εἰς ἣν ἔσωθεν ἔκειτο ἡ στάμνος ἡ χρυσὴ τοῦ μάννα, καὶ ἡ ῥαβδὸς Ἀαρὼν ἡ βλαστήσασα καὶ αἱ πλάκες τῆς διαθήκης, καὶ ὁ ὄψις ὁ χαλκοῦς, καὶ ἐπάνω αὐτῆς πέταλον χρυσοῦν λεγόμενον ἱλαστήριον, ἐξ οὗ καὶ ἐχρησμοδοῦντο οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς εἰσὼν ἕκαστος κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἅπαξ λαμβάνων ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν τῷ λαῷ τῶν ἀγνοημάτων αὐτῶν, ἐπάνω δὲ αὐτοῦ δυο

¹ For example, a passage occurring actually within the rim of one of the illustrations of L has every appearance of genuineness. Unfortunately V and S are both lacking for this passage at the end of the fourth book (192 B) in the open spaces of a picture like M p. 465 no. 2:—

οἱ παρὰ τοῖς ἔξω λεγόμενοι ἀντίποδες as title, followed by ὁρθίου ὄντος τοῦ σχήματος τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατὰ ταύτην οἱ τέσσαρες ἰστάμενοι πῶς οὐκ εἰσὶν ὀρθιοί, ἀλλ' ὅπου δ' ἂν στρέψῃς αὐτοὺς οἱ τέσσαρες οὐκ εἰσὶν ὀρθιοί· πῶς οὖν δυνατόν δέξασθαι τὰς τοιαύτας ψευδεῖς ὑποθέσεις; πῶς δὲ πάλιν ἐπὶ τοὺς τέσσαρας κατὰ ταύτην δυνατός ἕτερος γένεσθαι; ὅπερ οὖν ἡ φύσις καὶ ὁ νοῦς οὐ παραδέχεται τί μάρτην ὑποτίθεσθαι.

Several passages in Montfaucon's text are in a similar position: for example, *μαρτυρεῖ...δρόμον* (328 A) is in V written on the left side of the picture, which is represented on the previous page of the edition; and the words which follow (*εὐδελον...δείκνυσιν* 328 A) are on the right side. The *παραγραφή* 185 D is also under a diagram, without any heading.

χερουβιμ δόξης κατασκιάζοντα τὸ ἱλαστήριον. αὐτὸ οὖν τὸ ἱλαστήριον τίπτε εἶναι λέγει τοῦ Δεσπότης Χριστοῦ κατὰ σάρκα ὁ ἀπόστολος, ὃν προέθετο ὁ Θεὸς ἱλαστήριον ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ αἵματι. ἵνα εἴπῃ ἐκεῖνος μὲν τὸ ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ ἐν αἵματι ἁλλοτριῷ παρέειχε τὴν ἄφεσιν, οὗτος δὲ ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ αἵματι ἐποιήσατο τὴν ἄφεσιν τῷ κόσμῳ. In L there is a page missing here. Fol. 109 ends at Ἀαρὼν, f. 110 begins at οὕτως οὖν. We know from the other two MSS that a picture is also missing, but that picture and three and a half lines of text would not fill both sides of a page. So L must have had this paragraph too.

Such marginal additions were naturally liable to be inserted in the wrong place: and in that case V is invaluable, as belonging to a different edition to L and S. It shews, for example, that 125 D-128 B the παραγραφὴ really only consists of ἐν τῇ αἰ ἡμέρᾳ—καὶ πάνν βέβλαπται (128 B) and should be transposed to follow τούτων μὴ ἐλπίζοντες 128 C (V omits ποτε γενέσθαι). Again the παραγραφὴ. ἐνταῦθα Μωυσῆς—τῇ θείᾳ γραφῇ (205 C) should precede the passage entitled τὸ κείμενον (204 D), while the section which follows (ἔτι ἴσως πάλιν κ.τ.λ. 208 C) is another παραγραφὴ so entitled in V. It may be noticed that here too there is an illustration in the case. Equally frequently the notes are not separated from the text. For instance V rightly marks a παραγραφὴ before Σημῶναι (117 B), and before καὶ οὕτως (224 A); and παραγραφὴ κατὰ παρένθεσιν κειμένη before ὅτε μετεμορφώθη (257 B). Before the words οὗτος ἐστὶ Νῶα (232 C) a division should be made, and the heading Νῶε inserted. Such misdivisions are especially frequent in the case of small additional notes tacked on to another note by ἔτι or ἔτι παραγραφὴ. In such cases they are invariably in red ink in V, and should be given a separate line in an edition (e. g. at 204 A, ll. 6 and 9, 189 B, 229 C, 232 B, 240 D, 244 D, &c.).

A similar instance of transposition is the clause ὁ στήσας, εἶπεν—οὐ δύναται 77 B, which in the MSS precedes the quotation on which it is a comment (καὶ πάλιν ὁ κατέχων κ.τ.λ.). V shows the reason, as it reads Παραγραφὴ. καὶ πάλιν ὁ στήσας, L also has καὶ πάλιν at the beginning of both clauses.

At 76 D the clause ἐπισημαντέον . . . τὸν οὐρανόν in the MSS absurdly precedes the word Ἡσαίας. Here L comes to the rescue with a marginal note σχολίον. ἐπισημείωσις ἐνταῦθα. At 132 C τὸ εἰσθίκει . . . περιγραπτῶν εἰσιν is misplaced in L and the edition: it should follow καὶ φύλακα nine lines below as it does in V, reading τὸ οὖν εἰσ—. Though perhaps it can hardly be counted as a transposed note, V is undoubtedly right in transferring the sentence εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἔλαβον . . . ἔπιπτον (125 C) to between Σατανῶν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ πεσόντα ὡς ἀστραπὴν (so V) and χωρὶς γάρ five lines lower.

Again at 165 C-D in V the explanatory sentence ὅπερ καὶ τοῦτο . . . ἐκλειψίς ἡλίου is placed before τὴν γενομένην ἐκλειψιν and headed παραγραφὴ. The ἔτι παραγραφὴ which is printed on the next page is in

1 L and V placed after *δ Δεσπότης Χριστός*. Probably both notes are in the margin and should be printed together, the second being only a note on the words *ἐκλευψις ἡλίου*. A stranger case is that on 89c. There V reads *δι' ἐκατέρων γὰρ ἐδιδάχθη ἐταζόμενος μὴ εἶναι σωστός, ὥς ὑπώπτευσαν ἑαυτόν. εἴτα συνίεις κ.τ.λ.* omitting the passage eleven lines (*ἀλλὰ καὶ σφόδρα . . . βασιλείας σου*) which is inserted in S, and the edition between *Χριστός* and *ὥς*. As the insertion *ὥς ὑπώπτευσαν ἑαυτόν* untranslateable there is little doubt it is a marginal note wrongly inserted.

Now one might at first sight be inclined to imagine that this theory of marginal additions supports Montfaucon's view that L and V represent two different recensions by the author. But, if one examines instances more closely, I think one will find that they are rather opposed to than in favour of that theory; because on his assumption one would expect to find the additional passages in L and not in V, whereas in fact there are just as many in V as in L. Nor can they be regarded as later additions in V because in cases where they appear in the MS in the text, in the other in the margin, it is almost invariably the latter which has them in the text and L in the margin. Still more conclusive evidence against it are the instances given above of marginal notes wrongly inserted by both MSS in the same place in the text, because they imply at least one common ancestor later than Cosmas's archetype copy for all the MSS. On the other hand all these objections rest on the ground if we assume V to be a tolerably careful copy of the archetype as left by Cosmas, L and S representatives of an edition made after his death.

There remains, however, a serious difficulty—that all three MSS begin the first book in a different way. V's beginning is the simplest, an index of the ten books followed by *ὑπόθεσις. τινὲς χριστιανίζειν νομιζόμενοι*. S differs from V only in extending the index to the twelve books, and in prefixing to it the first prologue, which is printed in Migne p. 53. L omits the index and begins as the edition begins, with a prefatory letter, a first prologue, and a second prologue. There is, however, one important variant from the text of the edition which I will notice later, regarding the points in order: the introductory prayer preserved only in V need not detain us, as it is not of the smallest interest whether it is genuine or not; and it is just such a thing as might have been added by any monkish copyist. The genuineness of the first prologue I do not think any one will impugn, in spite of the fact that it is omitted by V. If in V's archetype as in S it preceded the index, the leaf containing it may have well been torn off or become illegible or may simply have been overlooked. The real crux is the second prologue of L, which ultimately joins with the *ὑπόθεσις* of the other MSS, though that

title and the first few lines of the *ὑπόθεσις* as it is found in the V and S do not exist in L at all: so that Montfaucon's reading is a composite reading made up from L and V. L's reading is the same as the edition as far as πολλῶν γὰρ βολίδων καὶ κρανῶν καὶ ἀσπίδων, καὶ πολέμων κινήσεων κατὰ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας (V, 6 A); then, after an erasure of four or five letters, it continues καὶ πρόσθεν δηλωθήσεται ἀκριβεστέρως ἐκ τῆς θεῆς γραφῆς ὑποτιθεμένης, which obviously cannot be correct, as the two parts of the sentence do not fit at all. Montfaucon, finding the *ὑπόθεσις* of V beginning τινὲς Χριστιανίζον νομιζόμενοι καὶ τὴν θεῖαν Γραφὴν μὴδὲ λογιζόμενοι, ἀλλὰ περιφρονοῦντες καὶ ὑπερφρονοῦντες, κατὰ τοὺς ἔξωθεν φιλοσόφους, σφαιρικὸν εἶναι τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὑπολαμβάνουσιν ἐκ τῶν ἡλιακῶν καὶ σεληνιακῶν ἐκλείψεων πλανώμενοι. Πᾶσαν τοίνυν τῆς βίβλου τὴν ὑπόθεσιν εἰς πέντε μέρη ἀρμοδίως διελόμην. πρῶτον πάντων πρὸς τοὺς εἰρημένους καὶ πλανωμένους ὁ πρῶτος λόγος ἐγένετο, ὡς οὐ δυνατὸν τὸν χριστιανίζον ἐθέλοντα ἀπάγεσθαι τῇ πιθανῇ τῶν ἔξωθεν πλάνῃ ἕτερα τῆς θεῆς γραφῆς ὑποτιθεμένης, contrived to patch up an intelligible sentence by placing this immediately after ἐκκλησίας and excising the words καὶ πρόσθεν δηλωθήσεται ἀκριβεστέρως ἐκ from L's reading.

Now since V and S, which, as I have shewn above, are representatives of the two different recensions here, for once agree in omitting that dedication to Pamphilus which forms the opening part of the second prologue in L, one cannot help suspecting its genuineness, and the impossible manner in which it is made to join on to the *ὑπόθεσις* rather confirms one's suspicions. It may at first seem strange that, if we refuse to accept the present suspicious passage, the work is not formally dedicated to Pamphilus until the beginning of the second book; but if one reads more carefully one will find that that is quite appropriate. The first book is an address to all right-minded Christians, while in the second book he begins to deal with the subject which Pamphilus had requested him to treat (τελέσαντες τοίνυν, ὦ θεόφιλε, τὸν πρῶτον λόγον περὶ τῶν πεπλασμένων Χριστιανῶν . . . ἐφαπτόμεθα νυνὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας κλήσεως (73 D)). That being so I think there is little doubt that the beginning of the second prologue in L is due to a misconception on the part of some scribe or editor who thought a special dedication to Pamphilus was indispensable at the beginning of the work, and who therefore concocted one by paraphrasing the genuine dedication at the beginning of the second book. The difficulty is that one can hardly refer it to the same editor who transposed the prophets and added the last two books, because in that case it should be found in S as well as L—unless indeed we assume that he added it in the margin, an assumption which would easily account for its omission by S and for the bungling manner in which it is inserted in L.

E. O. WINSTEDT.

REVIEWS

THE ASSUAN PAPYRI.¹

THE publication of these texts is an event as important in its way as the discovery of the Moabite stone and the Zenjirli inscriptions. It brings into the light a remote corner of the ancient Semitic world, and reveals the internal life and the written language of a community the existence of which was entirely unsuspected until within the last three or four years. Hitherto we have depended upon a fairly considerable amount of papyri and ostraka, and a few inscriptions, for our knowledge of the Aramaic spoken in Egypt; of the life and history of those who spoke it the material told us practically nothing; only fragments of the papyri have survived, the ostraka are barely intelligible. All this is now changed. We have before us a series of documents, complete, easy to read and dated, which not only add immensely to our knowledge of the dialect, but possess a human interest and a historical value of no ordinary kind. Through the liberality of Mr Robert Mond these papyri, with two exceptions, have found a home in the Cairo Museum, and are now published in splendid facsimile, with introductions, translations and notes by Prof. Sayce and Mr Cowley. The way in which these scholars have done their work is beyond all praise; a difficult task has been accomplished with remarkable success.

The papyri reached the museum in a wonderful state of preservation, some of them tied up with string and sealed exactly as they were left by the fifth-century scribe; when they were unrolled the writing was found to be almost as brilliant as on the day when the ink dried. Not only have the leaves escaped damage, but fortunately ten of them are dated by the year of the reigning monarch and by the Babylonian and the Egyptian month. Only three documents of Egyptian Aramaic with dates upon them were known to us before: the Memphis tablet of the fourth year of Xerxes, B. C. 482,² the broken stele from Assuan of the

¹ *Aramaic Papyri discovered at Assuan*. Edited by A. H. Sayce, with the assistance of A. E. Cowley; and with appendices by W. Spiegelberg and Seymour de Ricci. London: Moring, 1906. Folio; 79 pp., 27 facsimiles.

² *CIS*. ii 122 = *NSI*. 71; I venture for convenience to refer to the texts as given in *North-Semitic Inscriptions*. A small fragment of papyrus found at Sakkara in 1902 is conjecturally read 'Year 29 of Art[axerxe]s', i.e. 437-436 B.C. Clermont-Ganneau *Recueil* vi 257 f.

seventh year of Artaxerxes, B. C. 458, published by De Vogüé in 1903 (*Rép. d'épigr. séém.* no. 438), and the Strassburg papyrus published by Euting in 1903 (*RÉS.* no. 361), dated the fourteenth year of Darius, 411-410 B. C., if 'Darius' be Darius Nothus. Hitherto we have been able only to guess the general date of the Aramaic papyri; it is satisfactory to find that our guesses are now shewn to be correct. The present documents all belong to the time when Egypt formed a province of the Persian Empire; the earliest is dated 471 B. C., the latest 411 B. C.; twelve years later Egypt recovered its independence.

But the peculiar interest of the new texts is this: though written in Aramaic, they are one and all of Jewish origin, and deal with the affairs of a Jewish community. The existence of such a community in the fifth century B. C., living on the island of Elephantinê at the First Cataract, was first made known when Mr Cowley published in 1903 a papyrus (*NSI.* p. 404 ff) of the same provenance as those before us. We knew indeed that after the destruction of Jerusalem in 586 a certain number of Jews made their way into Egypt, for Jeremiah addressed a prophecy to them; among the settlers whom he mentions are those 'in the country of Pathros', i. e. Upper Egypt (xliv 1, 15); it is the subsequent fortunes of these last which have unexpectedly come to light. The Jews for whom the present deeds were drawn, the witnesses who subscribe their signatures, may well have been the descendants of those who received and rejected the warnings of Jeremiah a century earlier. The settlers had established themselves at Yeb (יב; Egypt. *abu*, 'Iyβ) and Syênê (סן, i. e. Sēwēn or Sēwān, Ezek. xxix 10, xxx 6, Copt. *Sun*, Σνήνη). The latter is Assuan on the right bank of the Nile; the former is the island opposite, known to later history as Elephantinê—an identification due to the brilliant insight of M. Clermont-Ganneau.¹ Both places were of considerable importance to the country; they had been fortified to check the inroads of Sudanese tribes from the south.² It is rather curious that a member of the colony in Elephantinê is described as 'a Jew' (יהודי B 3. C 2. D 2. H 2), while a Jew resident in Syênê is called 'an Aramaean' (ארמי A 2. E 2 f. F 3. G 2. K 2); the same person, Maḥseiah b. Yedoniah, appears three times as 'an Aramaean of Syênê' (A 2. E 1 f. G 2) and three times as 'a Jew of Yeb the fortress' (B 3. C 1 f. D 1 f.); on the other hand, Hoshaiiah b. Uriah is 'an Aramaean of Yeb' (J 2). The explanation may be, as Prof. Sayce suggests, that the colony at Yeb was specifically Jewish, while in Syênê the Jews were merged in the general body of Western Semites. As coming from S. Palestine the settlers are called 'Jews', as belonging to the western half of the Persian Empire they are called 'Aramaean',

¹ In his examination of the Strassb. papyrus, *Recueil* vi 222.

² Herod. ii 30 καὶ γὰρ ἐν Ἐλεφαντίνῃ Πέρσαι φρουροῦνται.

and since they hailed from the southern side of the Euphrates they receive, along with other nationalities, the name of 'Hebrews' (F 3).¹

The papyri are all legal documents concerned with house-property, ownership of land, marriage-settlements, quittance for payment, money-lending. Limited as the subject-matter is, it furnishes abundant illustrations of the manner in which the Jew adapted himself to circumstances and at the same time kept himself racially distinct; indeed we have here the earliest direct evidence of qualities which have characterized the Jews ever since the Dispersion began. In Upper Egypt we find them conforming to the use of the Aramaic tongue; they have learned to live a settled life under the laws of the Persian government, which were in fact the laws of ancient Babylonia, and therefore not strange or uncongenial to them;² hence they hold and bequeath property and apparently prosper in trade and business. A Jew was not excluded from office under the government (E 4). Mibtahyah must have gone some distance in the way of adapting herself to circumstances when she took an oath by the Egyptian goddess Sati (F 5). Further, it was the custom for a foreign resident to place himself under the protection of a Persian official who seems to have presided over a certain quarter of the town, much as the *shékḥ* does in modern Cairo. In this sense the editors understand an expression which occurs on all the papyri except J; so-and-so (one of the principal parties) is described as belonging to the *regel* of Warzath, or Athropadan, or Haumadāta. The word *regel* might be read *degel*, for there is practically no distinction between *r* and *d* in this script; *degel*, usually translated 'banner', 'standard', might be taken to mean 'a company'; but *regel*, 'foot', suggests a more promising interpretation, and we may render *לרגל וריות* lit. *at the foot of*, i.e. *following Warzath*, so *client of W.*, or more generally, *belonging to the quarter of W.* This sense is borne out by the distinction which is sometimes drawn between the *ba'al qiryah*,

¹ Prof. Bacher in *The Jewish Quarterly* for April 1907 suggests that the colonists were descendants partly of N. Israelites or Ephraimites and partly of Judaeans. The former may have come to Egypt from Assyria or Media with the Persian army under Cambyzes, and would be called 'Aramaeans'; the latter would naturally be 'Jews', for N. Israelites were not called 'Jews' so early as the time of the first Persian kings. Living side by side at Syêné both Ephraimites and Judahites would be classed as 'Aramaeans'. Bacher argues that Hosea and Menahem, of frequent occurrence in the papyri, are both Ephraimite names. It may be doubted, however, whether much can be made of this argument; for Hosea = Hoshaiāh (J 5. 17 cf. 2), and the latter is a Judaeans name, Jer. xlii 1, xliii 2, Neh. xii 32.

² The following features of Babylonian law appear in these documents: the careful dating, the oath before a deity, the money fines for an infringement of legal obligation, the signing of a deed by witnesses. The expressions *suit or process* *לבי ליב*, *my heart is content* *לבי ליב* are Babylonian formulae. Cf. Stevenson *Assyr. and Bab. Contracts* nos. 31-34, &c.

i. e. the full citizen, and the *ba'al regel*, i. e. the protected foreigner (Aq. E 10), and by the phrase 'of the self-same regel' (בִּזְכֵּם רֵגֶל C 2. H 4).

But while we learn how readily the Jewish colonists adapted themselves to live prosperously under alien skies, we also discover that they kept themselves separate from the native population. The genealogies and proper names imply this. Inter-marriage with Egyptians was avoided; though the lady Mibṭahyah, to whom most of the deeds refer, married an Egyptian named As-hor son of Teos, 'a builder to the king' (אֲדִיכָל) מִלְכָּא G 2. H 3. 8), as her second husband. After the marriage, however, As-hor seems to have become a Jewish proselyte; at any rate this may be the reason why his name is changed to Nathan in J 3. K 2. His sons by Mibṭahyah are called Jews (H 3) or Aramaeans (K 2); their legal status was that of Jewish clients, not that of Egyptian citizens. A change of faith may be implied in the case of 'Hosea son of Peti-khnûm' B 17; was Peti-khnûm an Egyptian who became a Jew and so called his son 'Hosea', or was he a lax Jew who felt no scruple about being named 'whom the god Khnûm gives'?¹ The policy of the government towards the foreign settlers must have been remarkably liberal, for they were allowed to maintain their customs and, what is more, to practise their national religion. Thus the Jews could summon the congregation (עדה G 22. 26) to dispose of a petition for divorce. Whether the court of the Hebrews (רֵינָא וִי עֵבְרִין F 3) was a distinctively Jewish institution may be doubted, for its jurisdiction was certainly not confined to litigants of Jewish race. Thus the Egyptian builder Pī son of Palī makes, in this court, an agreement with the Jewess Mibṭahyah; she swears by the goddess Sati; and not one of the witnesses bears a Jewish name. On the other hand, Jews bring an action in the Persian or Egyptian court of Naphâ (H 4), and not, as we might have expected, in the court of the Hebrews. Hence it is likely, as the editors suggest, that *Hebrews* is to be understood not in the biblical but in the Persian sense,² and to mean 'those beyond the River', 'the inhabitants of the countries south of Euphrates'; the term will then cover all western Semites. Though the Jews probably had not a court of their own, they were allowed a more valuable privilege; they had an altar of Yahweh in Elephantinê. It is mentioned twice incidentally; in E 14 the house which Maḥseiah gives to his daughter has its lower boundary by 'the altar of the god Yahu' (אֲמִרָא וִי יִהָא אֱלֹהִי); in J 6

¹ An instance of a foreigner bearing an Egyptian name occurs in F 11, 'Petia son of Nebo-nathan'; a Babylonian father gives his son an Egyptian name: the brother has the Babylonian name Nebo-re'i (F 12). Cf. 'Uqban son of Shemesh-nuri, L 12; the son's name may be Jewish (cf. Jacob), the father's is not.

² The expression itself is much older and has this significance in Assyrian; e. g. the gods of Tyre are called 'the gods of i-bir nân' = עֵבֶר הַנָּהָר in an inscr. temp. Esar-haddon, circ. 674 B.C. Winckler *Altor. Forsch.* ii 12. Cf. *NSI*. p. 346 f.

other house is bounded on the east by 'the altar of the god Yahu (אֱלֹהֵי יָהוּ) with the king's road running between them'. The word *agōra*, lit. 'a stone heap', in the Targums means always a heathen altar; here it is used of the altar of Yahu; and as an unenclosed altar could hardly have stood by the road side, the word must include both the altar and the court or building in which it was placed, so we may render *chapel* or *shrine*. This was clearly not a synagogue, but a temple in which sacrifice was offered. Here is an unexpected commentary on Isaiah xix 19, 'in that day there shall be an altar of Yahweh in the midst of the land of Egypt'! To bring our new and surprising information into proper relation with the prophecy we ought to know when the latter was written, but unfortunately that is just what we cannot determine. Dr Cheyne assigns the prophecy to the end of the reign of Ptolemy I (323-285 B. C.), i. e. to a date some 160 years later than the deeds. Supposing that Dr Cheyne's date is approximately correct and his view may be taken as representative of current opinion—we understand that the prophet had good reason to declare, from the experience of two centuries, that the worship of Israel's God was destined to be established in the land of Egypt. If there was an altar of Yahweh at Yeb, probably there were similar altars in other Jewish settlements. It is generally taken for granted that post-exilic Judaism knew of only one legitimate altar, that in the restored temple at Jerusalem; our papyri show that when Onias IV founded the temple at Leontopolis in 160 B. C. (*Ant.* xiii 3) he was not introducing such an innovation as is commonly supposed. In connexion with the worship of Yahweh at Yeb we notice that most of the Jewish names in the deeds are compounded with the suffixed *yah*; there is one instance of the divine name prefixed, Yeho-'adar (K 16). The preference for compounds with *yah* rather than *el* (which does not occur) marks a relatively early period; the general type of the proper names is that of the exilic or early post-exilic age. Clearly the Jews of the fifth century B. C. had no objection to pronouncing the *nomen ineffabile* in ordinary speech (E 14. J 6), or in solemn oath (B 4. 6. 11, cf. Is. xix 18), or as an element in proper names. The God of Israel is called Yāhû (יָהוּ B 4. 6. 11. J 6) or Yēhāh (E 14) in the papyri, intermediate forms between the full Yahweh and the contracted Yah; used in this way as separate forms, neither has been known before.¹ We may conclude that in ordinary speech, and as distinct from religious writings, the full form Yahweh was employed.

The internal life of the Jewish community is disclosed by the papyri

¹ A coin found near Gaza contains the name יָהוּ; it is not certain, however, whether we are to regard this as a form of the Tetragrammaton. Driver *Stud. Bibl.* 5, 19.

in several interesting ways. Thus we find that women occupy a position of considerable independence. A woman can hold and bequeath property, appear in court and take an oath, and make a contract in her own right.¹ From papyrus G we learn something about marriage customs. The bridegroom, for example, came to the bride's house and demanded her hand from her father; the words 'she is my wife and I am her husband (*ba'al*) from this day and for ever' may be the formula which sealed the marriage. The husband gave a present (*mohar*) to the bride's father, and a present both in money (*kesef tekūnah*, ? = 'outfit money') and in goods to the bride; the bride also gave a present to the bridegroom.² In the matter of divorce the rights of the woman are recognized as equal to those of the man; an advance upon the Deuteronomic law, which gives the right of divorce only to the husband. To be valid the act of divorce must be public; it takes place 'in the congregation' (G 22. 26); the Jewish law of later times was not nearly so humane or just. The word for divorce means literally *to hate* (שנא C 8. G 23. 27; cf. Deut. xxii 13, xxiv 3). Another reference to domestic life is given by papyrus K. After the death of the head of the family, the slaves, whose names are Egyptian, were divided among the heirs. Each slave was tattooed (שני, ? exact sense) afresh upon the right hand with a letter of the Aramaic alphabet (ארמית K 4. 6 in Aramaic) as a mark of ownership. The practice recalls at once Is. xlv 5 *ἐν δεξιᾷ αὐτοῦ* *Toῦ θεοῦ ἐμὲ* LXX and Gal. vi 17. In the ostrakon M the writing is said to be on the right arm (דרע, prob. = זרע). The letter used for this purpose was Yod; but why this letter more than another is not clear; in Ezek. ix 4, 6 the letter is Taw.

Outside the two Jewish communities various persons are mentioned whose titles or descriptions help us to picture the situation. Thus we hear of 'the ferryman of the cataract' (מלח די מים קשיא), lit. 'sailor of the rough waters', A 13. B 11. D 8)³; one lived in Syênê, another in Yeb. The 'river-bailiff' (הנרדו Persian, lit. *measurer*, i. e. of water, E 4, Strassb. pap. B 2) must have been an important government official. The garrison at Syênê was commanded by a *chef d'armée* (רב חילא), who had under him an officer deputed to hear cases in the local court (H 4 f. J 4). There is the 'architect to Syênê' or 'to the king' (ארדיכל F 2. G 2); a workman, evidently a Persian, and a silversmith called the Berber (*Barbari*), who had something to do with the Fire-temple (אתרה, Pers. *athra*, B 2. E 19).

¹ The Code of Hammurabi, § 150, allows a woman to dispose of the property made over to her by her husband. See Johns *Bab. and Assy. Laws* ch. xxi.

² Cf. Gen. xxxiv 12, Josh. xv 18 ff.

³ Cf. מֵשֶׁא (šip) in an ostrakon from Elephantine, Lidzbarski *Ephemera* ii p. 236.

A few notes on the language of the papyri may be added with the object of drawing attention to points of special interest and indicating the relation of the dialect to other types of Aramaic.

(2) *Vowels*. As a rule the long vowels *o*, *u*, *i* are written with a vowel letter, e.g. לבוש, מלכותא, יום, כתיב, בירתא, and the pr. nn. גדול, זכור, &c. The diphthongal *au*=*o* or *u* is always plene, e.g. מחטא *weighing-machine*, מוטא *oath*, מוצא *sunrise*; similarly *ai*=*e*, בית, בן, מין אחית (pf. 1 sing.), חני; and long *a* in לחאן *whithersoever*. In the plur. mas. the yod is always dropped, שכלן, חלרן, כבשן, עברן, אחרנן, בני, thus differing from B.Ar. and agreeing with the dialects of Zenj. (Bar-

¹ Lidzbarski, l. c. p. 240.

rekûb) and Têma, *NSI*. 63 10. 13. 69 18. 20, cf. 62 3 n. The yod is written only when the suffix or the third radical or the gentilic ending is present, *יהודין*, *ארמין*, *our sons*, *בנין* ptc. plur., *יהודין*.

(3) *Formations. Personal Pronouns*: *אנה* agrees with the form found in the Bar-*rekûb* inscr. (63 1), the dialects of Nêrab and Cilicia (65 5. 68 1. 6), BAr. and Nabataean, as against the more archaic *אנכי*, *אנכי* at Zenjirli 61 1. 62 19. The pronoun of the second person is *אתה* m., *אתי* f. as in Palmyrene, Targum Jon. and Syr.; Nêrab and Targum Onk. *אתה*, BAr. *אתה*. The pronoun of the third person is *הוא* m., *היא* f., as in Nab., Palm., Syr.; in Old Ar. *הוא*, in BAr. *הוא* and *היא*. The plur. *המו* is used for both nom. and accus., as in the Aram. of Ezra; contrast *המון* (Daniel), Nab. *המו*, Targ. *המו*, Syr. *המו*. Noticeable are the forms of the suffixed pronouns *כִּם* and *הם*, agreeing with Old Aram., Nab. (61 29. 63 18. 85 2. 89 2), Ezra, Jer. x 11, Targ. Ps.-J (also *הון*), but not with the usual Aram. forms *כִּן*, *כִּן*, BAr., Palm. The forms of the demonstrative pronoun, *זה* m., *זאת* fem. (*RES.* no. 247, 6), plur. *אלה*, correspond with the Old Aram. of Zenjirli, Nêrab, Têma, as against the Palestinian and Bibl. Aram., Nab., Palm. *דנה*, *דא*, *אלן*, *אלן*, though in Jer. x 11, Ezr. v 15 *אלה* occurs. The other demonstrative *זך*, *זך* (not known elsewhere) contrasts with the BAr. *זך*, *זך*; the plur. *אלה* is the same in both dialects. The stronger form *זכם* C 2, H 4 *ill.*, written before its noun, has its equivalent in *זכין* Dan. ii 31, vii 20. In one papyrus, F, the forms *דכא* (a variety of *זך*), with the fem. *דכי* for addressing a woman, begin to appear; and in the same papyrus occurs the interesting form *אלכי*, plur. fem., used in addressing a woman. These forms receive an exact illustration from the Arabic *ذالك*, in speaking to a woman *ذالك*, plur. *ذالك*, fem. *ذالك*; the suffixed *ال*, which is really a demonstrative particle, was regarded as the pronoun of the 2nd pers. and hence declined.¹ The feminine ending is *ה*, not *ה* or *ה* as in BAr., or *ת* as in Targ.; the emphatic form is not common, except in *בירתא* fortress, cf. *מלכותא*, *עבירתא*. The perfect 2nd pers. fem. sing. ends in *י*, which probably was pronounced as well as written, *רחמתי* D 10, *עברתי* F 6, *ימאתי* F 5; in Syr. the *י* is written but not pronounced; in BAr. the form does not occur; in Hebr. it is fairly common, though the Massorites have usually altered *קטלתני* to *קטלתני*; in Pal. Aram. the *י* is found only with suffixes, *קטלתני*. The imperfect 3rd pers. plur. always ends in *ון*, the usual Aramaic termination; contrast the Old Ar. *י* 61 4. 7. 12. 64 9 and 65 9 (both jussive), 73 B 3, Dan. v 10 (jussive); in Ezra iv 12, Jer. x 11 the forms are exceptional and perhaps incorrect—they end in *י* but are not jussive. The imperf. of *הוה* is *יהוה*, *יהוה*, never *להוה* or *נהוה*.

(4) *Syntax*. The genitive relation is expressed as a rule by the

¹ Wright *Comp. Gram.* p. 110.

relative ך, with the first noun in the emphatic, sometimes in the absolute, state, e. g. מִלַּח זֵי מִיָּא קִשִּׂיא *the shrine of Yahu*, מִלַּח זֵי מִיָּא קִשִּׂיא *the sailor of the rough waters*. Less frequently we meet with the periphrasis which became common in the later language, e. g. בֵּיתָה זֵי אִסְחֹר G 18 f. With common words the construct state is usual, e. g. בֵּית זְכִרְיָה. The accusative is sometimes indicated by ל with the direct object, e. g. יִהְיֶה לִּכִּי לְבֵיתָה E 2. 5, לִמְכַנָּה . . . יִכְלָא לְמַחְסִיָּה A 9; cf. Dan. iv 3, v 2, 7, 1 Chr. xvi 37, xviii 6 &c.

This brief examination of the dialect leads to the conclusion that it occupies a middle position in linguistic development between the Old Aramaic of N. Syria, Babylonia, and Cilicia, so far as we know it from inscriptions, and the later Aramaic of the O.T. and the Nabataean, Palmyrene, and Targum dialects. The older features of the language are still in existence, but they are gradually giving way to the forms which become familiar at a later period; probably the process had gone further in the spoken than in the written language. An exotic from the first, the Aramaic of Egypt did not long survive the foreign influences to which it owed its existence in the country. After the fall of the Persian Empire, it soon gave way before the rising tide of Hellenism, and Greek took the place of what had been the official language of the previous government. During the Greek period Aramaic texts are very rare, and in Egypt none are known during the 800 years between 400 B. C. and 400 A. D.¹

To illustrate the extraordinary interest of the new texts the following details of vocabulary are appended. A good many Hebraisms occur, as we should expect, e. g. לִאֲמַר . . . אֲמַר, the form אִישׁ = BA., Palm. אִישׁ, Nab. אִישׁ; the Nif. ptc. נִשְׁחַט G 10; the verb לָקַח (also in the Zenjirli dialect, 61 10. 12. 62 17 and on the Carpentras stele 75 3), which in the Ethpe. = *be taken* D 17 and not *be married* as usually in Aramaic; the words בָּעַל (also in 62 10. 11. 63 10 f.), מִרְבִּית, בהמטה, = Aram. רִבְיָתָא, עֵרָה; especially in Papyrus G several expressions have a distinctly Hebrew ring, דְּכַר וְנִקְבָּה *male and female*, עַל אֲנָפִי אֶרְעָא *on the face of the earth*, מִן חֹם עַד חוֹם *from a ? to a thread*, בְּכַף חֲדָה *at one time* (cf. שְׂכָם אֶחָד, פִּי אֶחָד). The mixed character of the civilization of Upper Egypt is shewn by the presence of Assyrian words, אֲנִירָא *brick wall*, אֲפֵל *exchange*, אֲרִידִיכֵל *architect*, וְדִבְבֵי *suit and process*, מִיבִי לְבָבִי *dish*; and Persian words, אֲבִינִדְנָא *compensation*, אֲתִירָה *fire-temple*, הַנְדֻז *lit. measurer*, גִּשְׁבִּינָא (RÉS. no. 361) *חִיפְתָּיָא*—the last four being titles of officials; thirteen Egyptian proper names occur, and six names of Egyptian months. The lexicon receives considerable enrichment; thus we have the legal terms:—גִּרָה Pa. *raise a suit* (Syr. Ethpa.), חֲסֵן Ha. *hold property* (cf. Daniel vii 18), טָעֵן Pe., Pa. *take, impose an*

¹ Lidzbarski, l.c. p. 243 f.

them on the pages opposite. The results of this enterprise are published (in the form of loose plates, interleaved) by Mr Lake, and give us photographs of sixteen pages of the MS, with transcripts, and the text, more or less imperfect, of five additional pages from the offsets.

With this publication we now possess the full recoverable contents of this MS, unless further fragments should be found, as those already extant have been found, imbedded in the bindings of MSS at, or removed from, Mt. Athos. The net result stands as follows:—Forty-one leaves are in existence (twenty-two at Paris, eight at Mt. Athos, three at St Petersburg, three at Moscow, three at Kieff, and two at Turin); and in addition the text of twenty-two pages (fifteen at Paris, five at Mt. Athos, one at St Petersburg, and one at Turin) has been recovered from the offsets. It is possible that an examination of the Russian and Italian leaves might yield a little further fruit of this kind. The text of all the extant leaves, and of the St Petersburg offset, has been published by M. Omont (*Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibl. Nat.* xxxiii pt. i p. 141 ff), that of the Paris and Turin offsets by Dr Armitage Robinson (*Euthaliana* p. 48 ff), and that of the Athos offsets by Prof. Lake. It may be worth while to give a table of the full contents of these publications, since neither Gregory, nor even von Soden, includes the results of the two last-named works. Ignoring small lacunae, we now possess the text of the following portions of the Pauline Epistles: 1 Cor. x 19–32, xi 6–20; 2 Cor. iv 2–7, x 5–xi 8, xi 12–xii 4; Gal. capitula 9–12, and i 1–10, ii 9–17, iv 27–v 10; Col. i 23–ii 11, ii 17–iii 11; 1 Thess. ii 9–13, iv 4–11; Heb. capitula 6–11, and i 3–8, ii 9–18, iii 13–18, iv 12–15, x 1–7, 32–38; xii 10–18, xiii 21–25 and title; 1 Tim. capitula 1–18, and i 4–iii 2, iii 7–14, vi 9–13; 2 Tim. i 17–ii 9; Tit. capitula 2–6, and i 1–3, i 15–ii 5, iii 13–15 and title, with the colophon to the entire volume, stating that it is written *στιχηδόν*, and was collated with the copy in the library of Caesarea written by the hand of Pamphilus. Indifferent facsimiles of three of the Paris pages were given by Montfaucon and Silvestre; better ones of three Moscow pages by Sabas, of three of the Paris pages by Omont (two in the *Notices et Extraits* and one in his *Facsimilés des plus anciens manuscrits grecs dans la Bibl. Nat.*), and now of the sixteen Athos pages by Lake. It may be estimated that the whole MS of the Pauline Epistles, when complete, consisted of about 450 leaves; of these we now possess only forty-one, with the equivalent of eleven more—in all, about one-ninth of the entire text.

A comparison of Mr Lake's text with that of Duchesne (reprinted by Omont) shews only three variants, which relate to letters (2 Cor. xi 12 *ἐκκόψω* for *ἐνκόψω*, xii 1 *ὀπτασείας* for *ὀπτασίας*, Gal. ii 15 *ἡμῖς* for *ἡμεῖς*), and in all these cases the photographs justify Mr Lake.

Other variations relate only to stops and accents, and here again Mr Lake is generally (but not always) in the right, if the photographs may be trusted. Only on one point a slight qualm makes itself felt, and this affects the photographs, not the text. The characters in most of Mr Lake's photographs appear slightly larger than in M. Omont's, and the column of writing occupies slightly more space. Moreover, the height of the column of writing varies in the different plates, which may of course be correct, but in a MS with ruled lines is not *a priori* probable. If both photographers had given the full size of the page, it would be easy to determine which is correct; but Mr Lake, who had to economise space, does not give the whole of the margins. A consideration of probabilities suggests that Mr Lake would not have been able to transport to Mt. Athos a camera capable of taking the photographs full size, but has had to enlarge his published plates from smaller negatives. In that case, perfect accuracy in recovering the original dimensions is very difficult to secure, and, when all is said, the deviation is not very material.

With regard to the palaeography of the MS, it does not appear that there is anything new to be said. If the MS, as now reproduced, were in its original condition, it would be difficult to claim for it so high a date as the sixth century, to which it is usually assigned, since the writing is very rough, and several of the letters (such as Δ and Υ) have features which suggest the beginnings of the Slavonic type of uncial. But these indications cannot be accepted as trustworthy, since the writing has been throughout retouched by a later hand. The photographs do not enable one to discern properly the *ducler* of the original writing, and there are unfortunately no passages (such as the Codex Vaticanus has) which the hand of the renovator has passed over untouched. Under these circumstances it would be rash to question the judgement of so skilled a palaeographer as M. Omont, who writes with a full knowledge of the original MS, and who assigns it to the last half of the fifth century or to the sixth.

Into the more important questions of the text of the MS, and of the Euthalian edition of the Pauline Epistles in general, I am not qualified by any special study of the subject to enter; and I will, therefore, imitate the reticence of Mr Lake, who expressly refrains from discussing critical questions in the introduction to a photographic reproduction. Mr Lake has rendered substantial service to the cause of textual criticism by thus securing to posterity the evidence of part, at least, of an important MS, and has placed one more MS above the danger of total loss by anything less than a cataclysm of modern civilisation. For this service the gratitude of scholars is due to him.

F. G. KENYON.

THE REFORMATION

The History of the Reformation: vol. i, In Germany; vol. ii, In lands beyond Germany, by T. M. LINDSAY, D.D. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1906 & 1907.)

It is quite time that we had a full, clear, and sympathetic account of the foreign Reformation in English. Full it may easily be, for the historian of the Reformation has this advantage over the specialist in other periods—that ample materials are accessible in print. Indeed his difficulty is not so much to discover as to select and use his sources. The clearness and sympathy, however, depend on himself. Dr Lindsay's *History of the German Reformation* may therefore be welcomed with sincere pleasure. It is clear and sympathetic, and as full as the complexity of the subject combined with the limits imposed on contributors to the *International Theological Library* will allow it to be. Dr Lindsay had already raised expectations of good work to come on a larger scale by his excellent little sketch of *Luther and the German Reformation*. As a Scotsman he may be expected to be still more at home with the work of the Swiss Reformers and their disciples, and we may look forward with pleasant anticipation to the second volume of this present work dealing with the Reformation in lands beyond Germany. Then, as no ecclesiastical history is more intricate than that of Scotland, it may be hoped that he will give special prominence to the Reformation in his own country. We must not now say it is foreign, but he will take it in good part if we say that it too is Swiss.

The first instalment opens with nearly two hundred pages, intended to serve, no doubt, as introduction to the completed work. For the moment it seems overweighted: for there remain but three hundred more to devote to the course of events in Germany. But the Lutheran story has been often told; nor, in a general sketch, can much be said that is new. With the prefatory matter it is different, and there is ample scope here for selection and illustration. Of this opportunity Dr Lindsay makes the most. His sketch of 'the Eve of the Reformation' is full of detail, and yet light in touch as a sketch should be. So there is a freshness about these opening chapters which enlists the reader's interest; and his attention is secured beforehand for the facts of the story when it begins.

But there are some blemishes to be regretted—'Franciscan monk' for 'Franciscan friar', 'pled' for 'pleaded', and such a dark saying as 'when the marches began to be redd'. There is a slip, too, about the dates of the Colloquy of Marburg, not 'October 30 to November 5', but, as in the 'Chronological Summary', October 1-4. And it is scarcely fair, historically, to give what is called a 'Mariolatrous' turn to the title

'Mother of God'. Again, there is, it is true, a saving recognition that in reformation 'England went her own peculiar way': but it argues more of the German than of the native point of view to class the Thirty-nine Articles as (along with 'the Scots Confession') 'one of the Reformed Confessions inspired by Calvin'. For, to quote Mr Beard, 'when a laborious German compiler [Niemeyer] enumerates the English among the Reformed Churches which own a Genevan origin, and puts the Thirty-nine Articles under the name of the *Confessio Anglicana*, side by side with the Helvetic and Belgic Confessions, an Anglican churchman, who is not angry, can only be amused' (*Hibbert Lectures* p. 301).

It is only rarely that Dr Lindsay's sympathies run away with him. When he writes of Charles V walking in the Corpus Christi 'procession through the streets of Augsburg on a blazing hot day, stooping under a heavy purple mantle, with a superfluous candle sputtering in his hand', he is only slightly embellishing a contemporary Lutheran account, and inverted commas would have saved his credit. But it is misleading to state, roundly and without qualification or explanation, that 'the Danish Church is at once episcopal and Lutheran to this day', and specially in a context where 'an apostolic succession of bishops' has just been dismissed with some signs of impatience. Dr Lindsay must know how the hierarchy of Denmark runs back only to Bugenhagen, and how he was himself no more than a presbyter when he was had in to 'consecrate' seven 'bishops' on Sept. 2, 1537. Indeed it might be said of him, as it was said of Colluthus, that 'he died a presbyter, and every ordination of his was invalid'; for as to the meaning of an 'episcopal' Church, history from the fourth to the sixteenth century would have been agreed. Had Dr Lindsay written that 'the Swedish Church is at once episcopal and Lutheran to this day', something could be said for the assertion without reading into 'episcopal' a sense which historically it does not bear.

It is necessary also to demur to a further misunderstanding of those with whom this author probably does not quite sympathize. He writes of 'the spiritual priesthood of all believers' as a 'distinctively protestant conception', and elsewhere of priestly mediation as 'a conception of mediaeval piety'. He points to the contradiction between the two, but the former is not protestant, nor the latter mediaeval, nor is there any contradiction between the two. And this would have been a point where Dr Lindsay, strictly from the historian's point of view, might have indulged in a little clarifying criticism of the principles of the Reformation. Luther unquestionably had his heroic period, but it was chiefly in negation and attack. He seized upon the Scriptural and Catholic doctrine of the spiritual priesthood of all believers; there he was right. But he gave it a negative turn; there he was wrong, at most men are when they start on negations; though we may admit it

was tempting, in Luther's case, to wield it as a weapon for excluding the then overbearing claims of the hierarchy. But take the best specimens of hierarchs—patristic, mediaeval, Anglican—and 'it is worth observing', as Dr Bright once put it (*Ancient Collects* p. 99 n.), 'how the most earnest maintainers of an external or hierarchical priesthood have emphatically asserted the internal priesthood or consecrated character of all the baptized'. Thus St Leo:—'Quid tam sacerdotale quam immaculatas hostias de altari cordis offerre?' Or St Thomas:—'Laicus iustus unitus est Christo unione spirituali, per fidem et caritatem, non autem per sacramentalem potestatem: et ideo habet spirituale sacerdotium, ad offerendum spirituales hostias.' Or to add a typical Anglican, we may put it in the words with which Dr Bright himself explained the quotations, borrowed from him above (*Sermons of S. Leo* p. 204): 'Doubtless, if Leo had been told that the ideas of a ministerial and of a general priesthood excluded each other, he would have answered, in effect, that the former was the appointed organ of the corporate exercise of the latter, and in no way interfered with its individual exercise.' It was because Luther, doubtless in the stress of battle, did not see, or chose to ignore, this entire compatibility—or rather identity—between the priesthood of the minister and the priesthood of the people, that the breach he made in Christendom has since seemed irreparable. He was a great Christian and a great reformer, but scarcely a great theologian, and certainly not a historian, great or small. It is a pity that Dr Lindsay, to whom the opportunity of the theologian and of the historian has last presented itself, has not used it, at this point, to shew that the breach is not really irreparable, now calmer times have come.

So far for impressions of the first volume, on its publication a year ago. The second deals with reform in lands beyond Germany. Book III tells the story of the Reformed, technically so called; that is, of Switzerland, France, the Netherlands, and Scotland. Here the author is at his best, illuminating and enthusiastic: save for the story of his own country where, perhaps for fear of going unnecessarily over well-trodden ground, he is disappointingly abrupt. Book IV is devoted to the Reformation in England; and the two remaining books to the fortunes of Anabaptists and Socinians on the one side and of the Counter-reformation on the other.

As in the first volume, there are a few slips. There was no bishop of the Valais, but of Sion: for bishops are normally of towns, not of territories. In the statement that 'Calvin was a Picard', and therefore likely to be a reformer, is there not confusion rather than connexion between Picardy and 'Picardi', i.e. Beghards, the name by which Luther designates the Bohemian Brethren, as in a letter of July 4, 1522? Is it certain, too, that 'the four feasts' retained by the

Bernese are rightly identified with 'Christmas, New Year's Day, the Annunciation, and the Day of Ascension'? There is something to be said for the usual 'four festivals' of Christmas, Easter, Ascension, and Pentecost.¹ Nor is it quite accurate to say that in 1549 'Have mercy upon us, O Lord' had been 'used as an invocation of God present in the sacramental elements', whereas, in 1552, it 'became an ordinary prayer to keep the Commandments'. If the reference be to the *Agnus Dei*, then, though in 1552 that was dropped from 'the communion time', it was retained after a sort by the new place assigned to the *Gloria in excelsis*. If the reference be to the *Kyrie eleison*, then 'Have mercy,' &c. had not been 'used as an invocation of God present in the sacramental elements'. Micronius, not 'Macronius' was the correspondent of Bullinger: and some words of his to the effect that the reformers 'had to contend with sectaries, Epicureans, pseudo-evangelicals... the old errors about infant baptism, the authority of the magistrate, community of goods, and the like' would have gone a long way towards redressing the balance of Dr Lindsay's chapter on the Anabaptists. He is rightly anxious to present their case in the new and fairer light of recent studies regarding them. But, in so doing, he appears to overlook the feelings which they inspired in their contemporaries. They inspired resentment because in religion they were radicals carrying the individualism of the official reformation further than its principals were willing to go. They inspired horror and dread in populace and statesmen because of the anti-social opinions of the sect. And, bearing in mind the brutality of all sides in the sixteenth century, it is not to be wondered at that they suffered severely: for cruelty has generally been prompted by fear, and terror makes the persecutor.

The *Order of Communion* is described as 'enjoining that the essential words of the Mass should still be said in Latin' and as 'inserting seven prayers in English in the ceremony'. But the Order itself was a mere adjunct to the Mass to be said 'without the varying' thereof: and, though it provided four exhortations, it gives but three additional prayers. It looks as if Dr Lindsay's account of the English Reformation, though particularly discerning on its political side, as in the proof that Elizabeth retained the Vestments, Cross, and Lights in order to rank as a Lutheran, and so secure protection from the Emperor under the Peace of Augsburg, were in other respects somewhat perfunctory. He is out of sympathy with its religious developments, perhaps because of 'the many Anglicans' whom he finds to 'have no sympathy with the great Reformation movement'. But he makes up by one feature—the purple patch, as of prelacy, over England with which, in his excellent map, he marks off the Anglican

¹ See Williston Walker *John Calvin* p. 208 n. 3.

Church from the pale blue sphere of Protestantism and the dark blue territories, Scotland included, of the Reformed. This is a welcome advance upon the persistent misrepresentations of continental map-makers, like Heussi and Mulert, who, not content with painting England and Germany all of one colour, explain the tint as including 'Lutheraner, auch die englische Hochkirche'.

But there are inaccuracies not due to lack of sympathy. 'The boy was destined for the Church', meaning 'for the sacred ministry', is worthy of a newspaper, not of a theologian: and St Charles Borromeo, who seems to be described as the nephew of the Pope of 1542, stood in that relation not to Paul III, but to Pius IV. Further, it was not the Act 2 Henry IV c. 15 but the writ which that Act superseded that, if Canon Dixon be right,¹ is properly entitled *De haeretico comburendo*.

But, after all, these blots are trifling and few. Taken as a whole, Dr Lindsay's *History of the Reformation* is not only very learned, intimately acquainted with the sources and well abreast even of ever-increasing monographs, but interesting, fresh, and abounding in grasp and insight. It has powerful rivals in Bishop Stubbs's edition of Hardwick's *History of the Reformation* and Dr G. P. Fisher's *History of the Reformation*; but it will at once take rank as, and long remain, one of the best guides available in English to the knowledge on a large scale of that century from whose toils British Christianity seems still so incapable of extricating itself.

B. J. KIDD.

THE ENGLISH CHURCH IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

A History of the English Church from the Accession of George I to the end of the Eighteenth Century. By the late J. H. OVERTON and F. RELTON. (London: Macmillans, 1906.)

BETWEEN 1878, when Canon Overton in conjunction with Mr Abbey published the two memorable volumes on the 'English Church in the Eighteenth Century', and 1902, when his book on the Nonjurors appeared, Canon Overton was incessantly occupied with the period to which he had devoted himself. If none of the later books was equal in solidity and thoughtfulness to the first, at least the whole series of seven substantial volumes covered the period from the Restoration to the Reform Bill with a completeness and consistency of treatment such as no English epoch of equal length has yet received. The reader of his works comes to know the author almost as well as the subject. Canon

¹ *History of the Church of England* i 197 n.

Overton belonged to the generation of Bishop Wilberforce, and shared his prepossessions. There is the dutiful admiration for the divines of the Restoration and of the age of Queen Anne, the enthusiasm for the revival of their spirit in the nineteenth century, and the depreciation of what lay between. We who have been in some measure disillusioned by the verdict of Mr Charles Booth concerning the success of the 'well-worked parish', and who remember how each ecclesiastical generation gratifies itself by a comfortable comparison of its own achievement with that of its predecessor, cannot avoid the suspicion that a certain injustice has been done to the eighteenth century, and the iteration of the familiar censures provokes criticism, and perhaps even stronger feelings. Enthusiasm, we know, was condemned in that period, and our authors repeat, as we should have expected, the immemorial condemnation of the bishops' attitude to those who excited it. It would have been well if an examination had first been made of the use of the word. Had this been done, it might have been found to signify a mental state which our modern missionaries assure us that they could, if they would, produce, but which experience has taught them that they cannot wisely excite. This is not the only example of a conventional judgement which needed, and has not received, revision. Another is the assignment of the brutality of the criminal law as a cause of the debasement of the populace. But the law was unchanged from that of earlier days; a parishioner of George Herbert who stole a sheep would have been hanged as surely as a parishioner of Parson Adams. It would have been more to the point to indicate how effectively the thought of death was exploited for evangelistic purposes. The object-lesson was easy to teach, and fell in with the taste of the age. When Blair's *Grave*, and Hervey's *Meditations among the Tombs*, and Gessner's *Death of Abel*, to name but three specimens of its charnel-house literature, were fashionable reading, dexterous preachers caught the tone of the day as skilfully as our modern divines; and for readers of a lower order the *Evangelical Magazine* would print at full length the homily in which a judge of assize explained to a poor girl, in the case of Effie Deans, how satisfactory from every point of view it was that she should be hanged. The prominence of death in the public mind was not an obstacle but a potent aid to the revival of religion.

But how far did it need to be revived? Our authors suggest rather than assert that it was at its lowest ebb. 'The spirit of religion had not quite died out', 'a church which commanded the enthusiastic attachment of such men as Edmund Burke and Dr Johnson could not be wholly corrupt,' may be taken as typical phrases. And there is a grudging tone when they have occasion to bestow praise; an occasion which would be theirs more often if a fraction of that minute research,

which Mr Frere, in a previous volume, devoted to survivals of mediæval usage, had been employed in collecting the evidence for works of piety and charity in the eighteenth century. There is abundant proof in the literature of the time—Yorick may serve as an example—that active benevolence was usual among those who were not ‘enthusiastic’; and the labour of such scholars as Provost Staley has shewn how widely practices, which were not Latitudinarian, prevailed. This consideration, again, is not put forward as it should be. In fact, the century seems to have been condemned before the evidence was collected. The seventeenth century would fare ill if its history were written in the same spirit. Indeed Puritans drew the same conclusion from the Caroline drama as to Caroline theology which Messrs Overton and Relton draw in regard to Georgian grossness and Georgian divines. There is an air of unreality about such judgement which is the stranger in a book which recognizes the truth that Wesleyanism was incompatible with churchmanship. We may hope that this valuable observation, made already by Mr Overton in earlier volumes, will put to silence the hackneyed self-reproach with which it is usual for Churchmen to speak of Wesley’s revolt. But it would have been well to point out how many of Wesley’s lieutenants were recruits from Dissent, and how ready he was to accept the services of men for whom his own Churchmanlike language was meaningless, and who were sure to abandon their connexion with the Church as soon as his strong hand was removed.

If we turn to the story of Evangelicalism we find an abundance of sympathy tempered by the disapproval that we should expect. We find almost all that we should wish to know, but not always in as historical a form as we could desire. In the eyes of contemporaries nothing was more conspicuous than the Calvinist controversy, and nothing is more characteristic of the age and the men than the grotesque scurrility with which it was conducted. If a history were an apology, it would be laudable to conceal the absurdities of excellent men, as is done in this book. But should we understand Cobbett or Burdett rightly if their zeal for reform of another kind were given as a reason for silence concerning their habits of speech? It would be well also to have shewn explicitly how Congregationalism grew up as a humble client of the Church, employed as a system of lay-readership now might be to supply the want of Evangelical clergy. Venn’s subscription to the chapel at Huddersfield, when he was leaving for Yelling and was dissatisfied with his successor, is thoroughly characteristic of the spirit of his party.

Another point worthy of fuller treatment is the prevalence of the Unitarian spirit in the latter part of the century. In this book the fact is stated, but in terms too general to make an adequate impression on the reader. The use which Bishop Law made of his influence with

Robertson, the Edinburgh historian, to get a degree in divinity for Belsham, whose only claim was his success as a Unitarian preacher, deserved to be mentioned. In the next volume that Unitarian influence over the Whig leaders at the time of the Reform Bill, which provoked the Oxford Movement, will have a prominent place, and it would have been well to prepare the reader for it in advance. As to the great opponent of the Unitarians, should it not have been said that it was not only on theological and political grounds that Horsley was attacked?

There is no topic which excites more curiosity than the status of the clergy in the eighteenth century, and the justice or injustice of the description which such writers as Macaulay and Thackeray, following an abundance of contemporary witnesses, have given of them. We should have hoped to find the problem solved in the present volume. It is indeed ripe for solution, and a multitude of quiet workers in all parts of England are ready with evidence for the antecedents of the parochial clergy, the families into which they married, and the fortunes of their children. Even apart from their aid, Mr Mayor's monumental history of St John's College, Cambridge, is a mine of such information as is required. But assistance of this kind has not been sought, and the true answer that there was no special status of the clergy, that they were recruited from all ranks, and associated each with the class to which he belonged, is not given. The answer to the further question, how it was that by the end of the century a clergyman, *qua* clergyman, had attained a dignity he never had before or since, may be that the dread of the French Revolution invested the class with a special lustre as officers of the army arrayed against anarchy and irreligion.

But such enquiries belong to the field-work of history, if the naturalists' term may be borrowed, and not to its desk-work. Of such field-work there is little evidence, and there are occasions when the book would have been much improved by it. But the desk-work is admirable. The survey of literature is complete, and the examples chosen for illustration could not be better selected. The brightness and good taste which we have learned to expect from Canon Overton have not failed him, and he has found a worthy successor in Mr. Relton. It would be difficult to distinguish between their shares of the work, and impossible to detect a difference in sympathy. But they have looked down upon the eighteenth century from a point whence it could not be adequately surveyed, and they have not given us an account of it written for its own sake, and from its own point of view. This, however, does not lessen the value of their collection of evidence, or our gratitude and admiration for the skill and thoughtfulness with which it is marshalled.

E. W. WATSON.

ANCIENT EGYPTIAN THEOSOPHY.

Poemandres: Studien zur griechisch-ägyptischen und frühchristlichen Literatur. Von R. REITZENSTEIN. (Leipzig: Teubner, 1904.)

IT is an illusion to see in the present a time of special conflict between the Christian belief and rival systems. The theosophy and the Christian Science of to-day have had their predecessors, and especially in the early centuries of the Church's history. If any one wishes to obtain materials for comparison with these latter-day phantom religions, he may be strongly recommended to read the work now under review.

Herr Reitzenstein surveys a large number of writings united by their reference to Hermes, and reaches the conclusion that there was a Hermetic community which was founded about the Christian era. This community he names after the *Poemandres*, which he takes as the leading Hermetic treatise. Hence the title of this volume of studies. With a confidence for which there are scarcely adequate grounds, he declares (p. 248), 'that the founder of the sect was an Egyptian priest, who united a doctrine of the creation of the world by Ptah, with an eastern doctrine of the servitude and liberation of mankind, and so formed a gnostic system.' This form of Gnosticism was further developed as the (supposed) community grew.

These studies furnish some illustrations not only for the history of Gnosticism in Egypt, but also for the history of the early Church. The author explains, for example, the 'speaking with tongues' by the enumeration of the names of God in various languages. Of this practice many instances can be given (p. 55 ff). Again, the function of the prophet in the early Church had some striking parallels outside her boundaries (pp. 200 ff, 230 ff). But it is impossible to follow the author in his main thesis that the *Poemandres* is a source from which Christian writers drew, and that the striking passages of a Christian tendency which may be found in it, were first composed by an Egyptian priest.¹

The *Poemandres* contains Egyptian elements on the one hand; Jewish and Christian on the other. The key to it is to be sought in the latter rather than in the Egyptian references discussed by Herr Reitzenstein. It was written, I take it, soon after the end of the first Christian century; and by some one strongly influenced by Christian teaching, in particular by the theology of Alexandria.

Herr Reitzenstein overlooks several important documents. He omits the Coptic Gnostics: the writers of the *Pistis Sophia*, and the Books of

¹ See my article in this *Journal*, April 1904, vol. v, p. 395 ff.

Ieu. In this way he has failed to take account of material contemporary with the authorities quoted by him. In fact the early history of Coptic literature is continuous with the close of the old Egyptian literature. And the Coptic works just mentioned, have many of the characteristics of the late inscriptions and papyri. Even the language is the same, except that the Coptic is the vernacular form of which the literary form is seen in the Egyptian authorities quoted by Herr Reitzenstein. In genuinely Egyptian literature, there are few traces of philosophic method; what there is, scarcely goes beyond the arrangement of the gods in groups. But this is far short of the free handling of concepts which is implied in philosophy. Hence it is very easy to over-estimate the philosophic importance of the inscription of London (p. 62 ff).

There are two distinguishable strains in the Hermetic literature; one, of which the *Poemandres* is the chief example, approximates to the rising theology of Alexandria; the other, of which the *Asclepius* is the type, attaches itself to the defence of the moribund paganism. Herr Reitzenstein (p. 212) treats the latter as the closing chapter in the developement which began with the *Poemandres*. He has thus proposed a problem of some importance, and if it is ever solved, it will be largely by the help of the scholarship which has gone to the composition of these studies.

FRANK GRANGER.

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Church Quarterly Review, April 1907 (Vol. lxiv, No. 127: Spottiswoode & Co.). The Church Quarterly Review: past and present—Ecclesiastical Courts—New College and King's: a study in reform—J. A. ROBINSON The Benedictine Abbey of Westminster—C. E. FLÖVSTRUP The Church of Denmark—E. W. WATSON Palladius and Egyptian monasticism—T. HOLMES London home industries and the sweating of women's labour—E. D. A. MORSHEAD Euripides and his modern interpreters—The Gospel history and its transmission—S. M. PALMER The religious crisis in France: some personal impressions—Short notices.

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